

# I CODICI AUTOGRAFI DEL DIACONO GIORGIO METOCHITES E LA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA DELLE SUE OPERE

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Nell'ambito di un progetto relativo all'edizione critica delle opere di Giorgio Metochites (ca 1250-1328), corredata di traduzione e commento, propongo in questa sede un'indagine preliminare sulla tradizione manoscritta di questi testi, in relazione ai loro codici autografi e alle vicende biografiche dell'autore.

Giorgio Metochites era il padre del ben più noto Teodoro (1270-1332), intellettuale di primo piano fra i suoi contemporanei, che condusse una brillante carriera politica sotto l'imperatore Andronico II (1282-1328), di cui fu 'grande logoteta' dal 1321 al 1328.<sup>1</sup> A lungo la questione della parentela tra Giorgio e Teodoro ha diviso gli studiosi, ma oggi si è concordi nell'affermare che certamente il primo fu padre del secondo.<sup>2</sup>

\* Questo articolo ha origine dalla mia tesi di laurea magistrale, *La tradizione manoscritta dell'Historia dogmatica e delle opere minori di Giorgio Metochites (1250-1328). Riflessi autobiografici e conflitti religiosi nello specchio degli autografi di un diacono unionista*, rel. Niccolò Zorzi, Università degli studi di Padova, 2018-2019. – Vedi la lista delle abbreviazioni alla fine dell'articolo.

1. Fra la vasta bibliografia su Teodoro Metochites vedi I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*; IDEM, Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of His Time, in P. A. UNDERWOOD (ed.), *The Kariye Djami. IV, Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background* (Bollingen Series 70), Princeton 1975, p. 17-91; E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métouchite*; B. BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites, in H. LAGERLUND (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500*, Dordrecht-New York 2011, p. 1266-1269; C. FÖRSTEL, Metochites and his Books between the Chora and the Renaissance, in H. A. KLEIN, R. OUSTERHOUT e B. PITRAKIS (ed.), *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered/Kariye Camii Yeniden*, Istanbul 2011, p. 241-266.

2. Per una sintesi del dibattito vedi R. J. LOENERTZ, *Théodore le Métouchite*; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 130-135; E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métouchite*, p. 32-33. La conferma definitiva si ricava da alcuni passi del carne autobiografico di Teodoro

Giorgio Metochites fu amico e stretto collaboratore del patriarca unionista Giovanni XI Bekkos (1275-1282) e diacono del clero imperiale a Costantinopoli, dal 1276 al 1283.<sup>3</sup> Egli sperimentò in prima persona le drammatiche vicende che seguirono il secondo Concilio di Lione del 1274 e il fallimentare tentativo di riunire le due Chiese.<sup>4</sup> Il contesto storico e le dispute religiose degli ultimi decenni del Duecento sono stati oggetto di studi approfonditi, ma la bibliografia esistente su Metochites è limitata e nel complesso abbastanza datata: manca ad oggi un'indagine specifica su questo personaggio, benché egli abbia rivestito un ruolo significativo nel complicato periodo storico in cui visse e le sue opere offrano ampie testimonianze autobiografiche (gli elementi più significativi in proposito saranno brevemente riassunti nel paragrafo I di questo contributo).<sup>5</sup> La lacuna della storiografia recente si spiega in parte con lo stato editoriale delle sue opere.

Metochites (rimasto inedito fino a pochi anni fa), nei quali il 'grande logoteta' di Andronico II fa riferimento alla sua carriera e, pur senza indicarlo per nome, a suo padre e alla sua condanna: vedi TEODORO METOCHITES, *Carmina*, ed. I. POLEMIS (CCSG 83), Turnhout 2015, p. 16 (v. 310-320), 19 (v. 391-398) e 23 (v. 510-511) e la relativa traduzione in TEODORO METOCHITES, *Poems*, trad. I. POLEMIS (Corpus Christianorum in Translation 26), Turnhout 2017, p. 60, 63, 66.

3. Brevi sintesi bio-bibliografiche sulla figura di Giovanni Bekkos sono fornite in J. GILL, John Beccos, patriarch of Constantinople, 1275-1282, *Βυζαντινά* 7, 1975, p. 251-266; *PLP*, n° 2548; A. M. TALBOT, John XI Bekkos, *ODB* 2, p. 1055; A. FAILLER, Bekkos Iohannes, *LTK*<sup>3</sup> 2, 1994, p. 184-185. Per uno studio più approfondito e recente su Bekkos vedi A. RIEBE, *Rom im Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel: Patriarch Ioannes XI Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon 1274* (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 8), Wiesbaden 2005, e E. RAGIA, Confessions of an Ingenious Man: the Confessions of Faith of John XI Bekkos in their Social, Political and Theological Background, in M.-H. BLANCHET e F. GABRIEL (ed.), *L'union à l'épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Monographies 51), Lovanio-Parigi-Bristol 2016, p. 39-75.

4. Sulla cronologia del secondo Concilio di Lione, che si tenne nella cattedrale lione di Saint-Jean dal 7 maggio al 17 luglio 1274, il miglior studio resta B. ROBERG, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)*, Bonn 1964; vedi anche le voci enciclopediche B. ROBERG, Lyon II, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 21, Berlino-New York 1991, p. 637-642, e M. ALBERT, Lyon, Konzilien, *LTK*<sup>3</sup> 6, 1997, p. 1157. Per un più ampio inquadramento storico vedi D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus and the West*, Cambridge 1959, p. 258-273; K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, I, Philadelphia 1976, p. 110-120; A. ALEXAKIS, Official and unofficial contacts between Rome and Constantinople before the Second Council of Lyons (1274), *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 29, 2007, p. 99-124. Gli atti di questo concilio non sono conservati: possediamo solo i 31 capitoli delle Costituzioni conciliari promulgate il primo novembre 1274. Esiste inoltre un altro importante documento in proposito, l'*Ordinatio Concilii Lugdunensis*: vedi A. FRANCHI, *Il concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio Concilii generalis Lugdunensis. Edizione del testo e note* (Studi e Testi francescani 33), Roma 1965. Documenti e testimonianze da parte greca riguardo al secondo Concilio lione sono raccolti in V. LAURENT e J. DARROUZÈS, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon* (AOC 16), Paris 1976.

5. Alla figura di Giorgio Metochites sono dedicate sintetiche voci enciclopediche: S. SALAVILLE, Georges le Métochite, *DTC* 6, 1920, col. 1238-1239; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und*

Come emergerà dalle pagine seguenti, la tradizione manoscritta delle opere di Metochites offre una specifica ragione di interesse in quanto ci restano ben quattro codici autografi, interamente copiati e corretti dalla mano dell'autore (riconosciuti come tali da Ciro Giannelli nel 1947).<sup>6</sup> Questi manoscritti costituiscono un caso di primaria importanza per la filologia d'autore in ambito bizantino, ma sono stati finora studiati solo superficialmente, come del resto l'intera tradizione manoscritta di Giorgio Metochites. I paragrafi II e III di questo contributo (dedicati, rispettivamente, ai codici autografi e a quelli apografi) mirano quindi a colmare questa lacuna.

Anche la situazione editoriale delle opere di Metochites è insoddisfacente: nessuna di esse, infatti, ha ad oggi ricevuto un'edizione critica. L'opera più importante di questo autore è l'*Historia dogmatica*, composta da tre libri (per un totale di 187 fogli manoscritti negli autografi non mutili *Vat. gr.* 1583 e *Laur. plut.* 7.31): essa fu pubblicata da Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi fra il 1871 e il 1905.<sup>7</sup> Questa edizione, però, non si basa sulla collazione di tutti i testimoni manoscritti ed è inficiata da numerosi errori.<sup>8</sup> Gli opuscoli *In Maximum Planudem* (piuttosto breve, occupa solo 10 fogli del codice autografo *Vat. gr.* 1716) e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* (più lungo, quasi 30 fogli nello stesso manoscritto) si leggono ancora nell'edizione pubblicata da Leone Allacci nel 1659, poi ristampata nel volume 141 della *Patrologia Graeca* (1865).<sup>9</sup> Di un

*Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, Monaco 1959, p. 684; V. LAURENT, Georgios Metochites, *LTK* 4, 1960, p. 703-704; S. SALAVILLE, Georges le Métochite, *DHGE* 20, 1984, col. 642; *PLP*, n° 17979; E. TRAPP, Metochites (Μετοχίτης), *ODB* 2, p. 1357. Esistono inoltre alcuni studi, risalenti alla metà del secolo scorso, incentrati su singoli episodi della vita di Metochites; ad occuparsi di questo autore sono stati soprattutto cattolici attenti al problema dei rapporti con la Chiesa ortodossa. Vedi V. LAURENT, La date de la mort; IDEM, Les Actes du Synode photien et Georges le Métochite, *EO* 37, 1938, p. 100-106; IDEM, Grégoire X (1271-1276) et le projet d'une ligue antiturque, *ibidem*, p. 257-273; M.-H. LAURENT, Georges le Métochite, ambassadeur de Michel VIII auprès du B. Innocent V, in *Miscellanea per Giorgio Mercati*, III (Studi e Testi 123), Città del Vaticano 1946, p. 136-153; V. LAURENT, Le rapport de Georges le Métochite apocrisiaire de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès de Grégoire X, *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* 23, 1946, p. 233-247; C. GIANNELLI, Le récit; R. J. LOENERTZ, Théodore le Métochite; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 283 n. 2. Il contributo più recente, che rivela un'impostazione fortemente polemica nei confronti degli studi precedenti, è E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 31-51.

6. I manoscritti *Vat. gr.* 1583, *Laur. plut.* 7.31, *Marc. gr.* II, 8 e *Vat. gr.* 1716 furono identificati come autografi nel fondamentale articolo C. GIANNELLI, Le récit, p. 91-104. Cf. Figura 2-5. Su questi manoscritti, vedi *infra*, p. 17-51.

7. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I-III.

8. L'edizione dei tre libri dell'*Historia dogmatica* curata da Cozza-Luzi tiene conto solo dell'autografo *Vat. gr.* 1583 e del suo apografo seicentesco *Vall. All.* XCII: è l'editore stesso ad informarci al riguardo nella *Praefatio* (cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, p. XIV, 15).

9. L'editio princeps di *In Maximum Planudem* fu pubblicata da Leone Allacci con il titolo *Refutatio trium capitum Maximi Planudis* nel volume L. ALLATIUS, *Graeciae Orthodoxae tomus secundus, in quo continentur scriptores Ioannes Veccus patriarch. Constantinop., Constantinus*

terzo trattato (*De processione Spiritus Sancti*, suddiviso in 5 *logoi*, 77 fogli nell'autografo) sono editi solamente cinque frammenti, tre dei quali furono pubblicati da Leone Allacci (1655 e 1661) e da François Combefis (1672) e poi ripresi nel volume 141 della *Patrologia*; Ciro Giannelli ha pubblicato nel 1947 altri due frammenti dell'operetta.<sup>10</sup> Non esiste alcuna traduzione in lingua moderna dell'intera produzione letteraria di Metochites: solo il libro I dell'*Historia dogmatica* e i due opuscoli *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* furono tradotti in latino dai rispettivi editori (Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi e Leone Allacci).

#### I. – IL DIACONO GIORGIO METOCHITES: BIOGRAFIA DI UN DIFENSORE DELL'UNIONE

Gli scritti di Giorgio Metochites testimoniano il suo impegno politico e la sua attiva partecipazione ai dibattiti teologico-dogmatici dell'epoca. Fedele agli insegnamenti di Giovanni Bekkos, Metochites votò la propria vita a promuovere la pace (εἰρήνη) e l'unione (ἔνωσις, συνέλευσις) fra le Chiese e a difendere la correttezza della formulazione latina sulla processione dello Spirito Santo a *Patre Filioque*.<sup>11</sup> Nonostante gli sforzi del patriarca Bekkos,

*Meliteniota chartophylax*, *Georgius Metochita diaconus*, *Maximus Chrysoberga*, Roma 1659, p. 922-958. Nel medesimo volume (p. 959-1074) è contenuta anche la *princeps* di *In Manuelem Moschopulum*, intitolata *Refutatio Manuelis Cretensis Nepotis*. Nella PG i due opuscoli presentano i seguenti titoli: *Georgii Metochitae diaconi magnae ecclesiae refutatio trium capitum a Maximo Planude monacho editorum*, PG 141, 1275-1308, e *Georgii diaconi Metochitae eorum quae scripsit Manuel Cretensis nepos refutatio*, *ibidem*, 1308-1406. Luigi Silvano ha annunciato la sua intenzione di curare una nuova edizione critica dei *Sillogismi anti-latini* di Planoudes e delle relative due *refutationes* di Giorgio Metochites e del Bessarione: vedi L. SILVANO, Notes on the manuscript tradition of Maximos Planoudes' *Syllogismi de processione Spiritus Sancti contra Latinos*, in A. NIKOLOV, E. KOSTOVA e V. ANGELOV (ed.), *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22-27 August 2011*, III, Sofia 2011, p. 166.

10. Un frammento dal libro IV fu pubblicato per la prima volta da François Combefis in *Auctarium Novissimum Bibliothecae Patrum*, II, Parigi 1672, p. 1017, e venne poi ristampato da Migne (*Georgii Metochitae ex libro IV de processione Spiritus Sancti*, PG 141, 1405-1414). Due frammenti del libro V furono pubblicati in due opere seicentesche di Leone Allacci (*De utriusque Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua in dogmate de purgatorio consensione*, Roma 1655, p. 668, e *Ioannes Henricus Hottingerus fraudis et imposturae manifestae convictus a Leone Allatio circa Graecorum dogmate*, Roma 1661, p. 511) e poi ripresi nella PG: *Georgii Metochitae ex libro V de processione Spiritus Sancti*, PG 141, 1414-1420. Altri due frammenti dal quinto libro del trattato sono stati editi da C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 95 n. 5, p. 104-111.

11. La questione dello scisma tra la Chiesa romana e quella bizantina e i problemi connessi sono argomento molto complesso e dibattuto: fra la vasta bibliografia in proposito vedi i recenti volumi H. CHADWICK, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church from Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, Oxford 2003; M. HINTERBERGER e C. D. SCHABEL (ed.),



la maggior parte del clero bizantino rimase sempre ostile all'unione proclamata a Lione, che di fatto si realizzò solo formalmente.<sup>12</sup> In qualità di portavoce del patriarca e dell'imperatore Michele VIII Paleologo (1261-1282), Giorgio Metochites svolse fra il 1275 e il 1279 importanti missioni diplomatiche presso la sede pontificia, per discutere i termini dell'unione formale delle Chiese e organizzare una nuova crociata contro i Turchi.<sup>13</sup>

*Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500* (Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales. Bibliotheca 11), Lovanio 2011; M.-H. BLANCHET e F. GABRIEL (ed.), *Réduire le schisme ? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Monographies 39), Parigi 2013; A. BUCOSSÌ e A. CALIA (ed.), *Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos. The Separation between Rome and Constantinople from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century* (Bibliothèque de Byzantion 22), Lovanio 2020. La disputa del *Filioque* aveva animato lo scontro fra Oriente e Occidente fin dalla controversia foziana dell'866, ma durante i contrasti che insorsero a Costantinopoli negli ultimi decenni del XIII secolo la questione assunse un ruolo predominante nello scontro fra unionisti e anti-unionisti. Per una bibliografia essenziale sul *Filioque* e il problema del *Credo* interpolato vedi F. DVORNIK, *Le schisme de Photius*, Parigi 1950; A. E. SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque: history of a doctrinal controversy*, Oxford-New York 2010; M.-H. BLANCHET e F. GABRIEL (ed.), *L'union à l'épreuve du formulaire*, cit. n. 3.

12. Sulla reazione greca all'unione delle Chiese del 1274 vedi H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *La société byzantine et l'union de Lyon*, *BS* 10, 1949, p. 28-41; EADEM, *Une page de l'histoire des relations byzantino-latines. Le clergé byzantin et l'Union de Lyon (1274-1282)*, *BS* 13, 1952-1953, p. 68-92; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael VIII Palaeologus and the Union of Lyons*, *Harvard Theological Review* 46, 1953, p. 79-89; D. NICOL, *The Byzantine reaction to the second Council of Lyons, 1274*, in G. CUMING e D. BAKER (ed.), *Councils and assemblies* (Studies in Church history 7), Cambridge 1971, p. 113-146 [= IDEM, *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world* (Collected Studies 12), Londra 1972, n° VI]; T. M. KOLBABA, *Repercussions of the Second Council of Lyon (1274): theological polemic and the boundaries of orthodoxy*, in M. HINTERBERGER e C. D. SCHABEL (ed.), *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, cit. n. 11, p. 43-68.

13. Della sua prima missione in Occidente (che si protrasse dall'estate del 1275 fino alla fine dell'estate dell'anno successivo), Giorgio Metochites ha lasciato, all'interno del libro V del trattato *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, un resoconto autobiografico pubblicato e tradotto da C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 104-111. Anche Pachymeres dà brevemente notizia di questa ambasceria, senza però menzionare Metochites: cf. PACHYMERES, *Historia*, II, V, 26, p. 522. Su questo viaggio di Giorgio Metochites presso la corte di Gregorio X e del suo successore Innocenzo V vedi V. LAURENT, *Le rapport de Georges le Métochite*, cit. n. 5; M.-H. LAURENT, *Georges le Métochite*, cit. n. 5; V. LAURENT, *Grégoire X*, cit. n. 5; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael VIII*, cit. n. 4, p. 285-294; K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy*, cit. n. 4, p. 121-125. Giorgio Metochites prese parte ad una seconda missione diplomatica in Occidente dal maggio 1277 al gennaio 1279; con lui partirono anche il metropolita di Cizico Teodoro Skoutariotes (*PLP*, n° 26204), il *chartophylax* Costantino Meliteniotes e tre alti funzionari della corte. Di questa missione resta il resoconto pubblicato da R. J. LOENERTZ, *Mémoire d'Ogier, notaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du pape Nicolas III. 1278, printemps-été*, *OCP* 31, 1965, p. 374-408. La lettera di accompagnamento dei legati imperiali è censita in F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. III, *Regesten von 1204-1282*, bearbeitet von P. WIRTH, Monaco 1977, p. 131-132, n° 2029. La delegazione bizantina aveva il compito di consegnare nelle mani del pontefice il documento che doveva porre formalmente fine allo scisma, in cui il patriarca e il clero bizantino

Nel 1276 Metochites ottenne il titolo di ἀρχιδιάκονος βασιλικός; inoltre, egli figura come ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων del patriarca di Costantinopoli nell'anno 1277.<sup>14</sup>

In seguito alla morte dell'imperatore Michele VIII (avvenuta nel dicembre 1282), il clero unionista perse ogni sostegno politico e la fazione avversaria prevalse, sostenuta dal nuovo imperatore Andronico II (1282-1328).<sup>15</sup> Giorgio Metochites, insieme a Costantino Meliteniotes, venne deposto dal suo incarico all'inizio del mese di gennaio 1283; pochi giorni dopo, Giovanni Bekkos (che era già stato preventivamente deposto il 26 dicembre) fu costretto a firmare la rinuncia al seggio patriarcale e una professione di fede ortodossa (sinodo di S. Sofia). Nel mese di maggio dello stesso anno, durante il primo Concilio delle Blacherne, i vescovi del sinodo permanente vennero deposti; infine, Bekkos, Meliteniotes e Metochites subirono una definitiva condanna da parte del patriarca Gregorio II (1283-1289), il dotto Giorgio di Cipro, in occasione del secondo Concilio delle Blacherne del 1285.<sup>16</sup>

riconoscevano il primato del Papa e l'aggiunta al *Credo* del *Filioque*: per questa lettera patriarcale dell'aprile del 1277 vedi V. LAURENT, *Les registes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*. I, *Les actes des patriarches*. 4, *Les registes de 1208-1309*, Parigi 1971, p. 223-226, n° 1433. Su queste relazioni diplomatiche fra Michele VIII e il papato e, in particolare, sulle differenti professioni di fede dell'imperatore vedi L. PIERALLI, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204-1282): studio storico-diplomatico ed edizione critica*, Città del Vaticano 2006.

14. Sia Pachymeres sia Gregoras (*Byzantina historia*, ed. L. SCHOPEN [CSHB 6], I, Bonn 1829, p. 130<sup>9-10</sup>) attestano l'esistenza di due arcidiaconi βασιλικοί sotto il patriarcato di Bekkos: si tratta di Metochites e Costantino Meliteniotes, il quale conservò il titolo anche dopo aver ottenuto la carica di *chartophylax* nel 1275; in proposito vedi J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les ὁφείζια de l'Église byzantine* (AOC 11), Parigi 1970, p. 114. Sulla figura di Costantino Meliteniotes vedi V. LAURENT, *Konstantinos Meliteniotes*, *LTK* 6, 1961, p. 497; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*, cit. n. 5, p. 683; *PLP*, n° 17856. A proposito dell'ufficio ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, invece, vedi H. G. BECK, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*, cit. n. 5, p. 115-116, e J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les ὁφείζια*, cit. *supra*, p. 378-379.

15. La morte di Michele VIII è narrata da PACHYMERES, *Historia*, II, VI, 36, p. 664-666. Sul ribaltamento degli assetti politici che seguì la sua morte e la cronologia dei concitati avvenimenti che portarono allo scioglimento dell'unione vedi A. FAILLER, *La déposition de l'épiscopat unioniste après la mort de Michel VIII Palaiologos* (mai 1283), *REB* 71, 2013, p. 173-186 (e la bibliografia *ivi* citata).

16. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 68, p. 90 (deposizione); I, 74-76, p. 98-102 (primo Concilio delle Blacherne); e I, 95-117, p. 132-167 (secondo Concilio delle Blacherne); PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, VII, 3-6, p. 24-30 (deposizione del clero unionista); VII, 17, p. 60-64 (primo Concilio delle Blacherne); e VII, 34-35, p. 100-118 (secondo Concilio delle Blacherne). Il Concilio delle Blacherne del 1285 si tenne da febbraio ad agosto, per un totale di cinque sessioni; Giorgio Metochites vi prese parte in prima persona e, insieme al collega Meliteniotes, si fece carico di difendere Giovanni Bekkos e la posizione unionista dalle accuse degli avversari. Ogni sforzo si rivelò però vano e i tre furono condannati dal *Tomos* patriarcale di Gregorio II: l'edizione più recente di questo testo è M. STAVROU, *Une réévaluation du*

Questa condanna non fu mai rimossa e accompagnò Bekkos, Metochites e Meliteniotes per il resto della loro vita: al riguardo risulta preziosa un'annotazione marginale presente in tutti e tre i manoscritti autografi dell'*Historia dogmatica* giunti fino a noi (Vat. gr. 1583, f. 166; Laur. plut. 7.31, f. 166; Marc. gr. II, 8, f. 156<sup>v</sup>, Figura 1).<sup>17</sup> Il testo dell'annotazione è il seguente:

Μετὰ τὸν ὃν φησι χρόνον διεβίβασε καὶ ἐτέρους καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς ποσοῦσθαι τὸν ἐν καταδίκαις χρόνον εἰς τεσσαρακοστὸν πέμπτον· τῶν δὲ συγκατακρίτων αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς τὸν ιδ' τῶν χρόνων, ὁ δὲ χαρτοφύλαξ εἰς τὸν κδ'.<sup>18</sup>

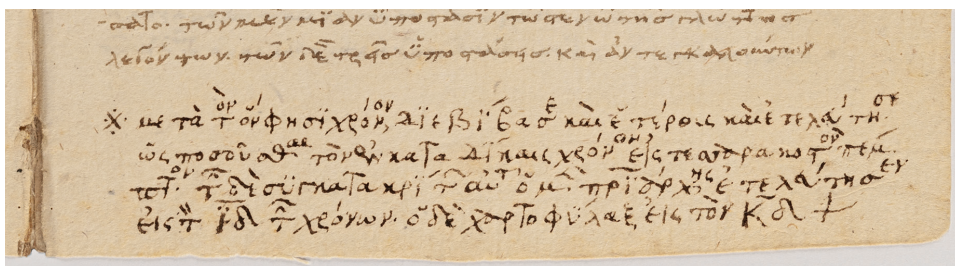
Questa nota si trova, in tutti e tre i casi, in corrispondenza del passo del libro III in cui l'autore afferma di scrivere nel diciottesimo anno dalla sua condanna:<sup>19</sup> l'annotatore registra gli anni che Bekkos, Meliteniotes e Metochites trascorsero «in reclusione» (ἐν καταδίκαις) prima di morire, rispettivamente quattordici, ventiquattro e quarantacinque. Le parole ἐν καταδίκαις e συγκατακρίτων fanno riferimento alla condanna giudiziaria, non alla condizione di prigionia in senso stretto: questo significa, per l'appunto, che la loro scomunica religiosa e la loro condanna politica non vennero mai rimosse fino alla morte.

*Tomos du Deuxième Concile des Blachernes* (1285) : commentaire, tradition textuelle, édition critique et traduction, in Ch. GASTGEBER, E. MITSIOU e J. PREISER-KAPPELLER (ed.), *The Patriarchate of Constantinople in Context and Comparison. Proceedings of the International Conference Vienna, September 12th-15th 2012*, Vienna 2017, p. 47-94. L'elenco dei firmatari di questo documento (fra cui troviamo anche il nome di Pachymeres) è stato pubblicato da V. LAURENT, *Les signataires du second synode des Blachernes*, EO 26, 1927, p. 129-149 (vedi anche J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les ὁφίμια*, cit. n. 14, p. 113-117). Sul concilio delle Blacherne del 1285 vedi A. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium. The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus*, New York 1997, p. 5-57, e E. RAGIA, *Confessions*, cit. n. 3, p. 63-71.

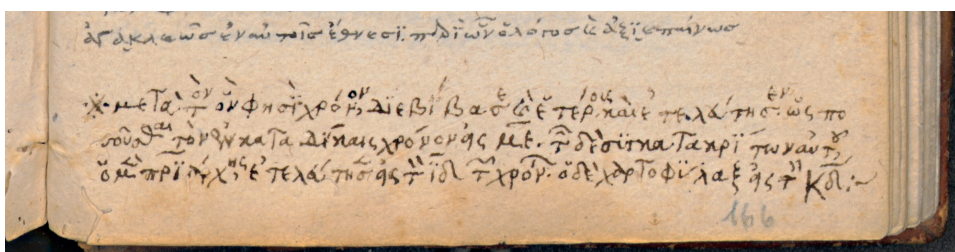
17. La scoperta di questa nota si deve a Vitalien Laurent, che la rintracciò nel Vaticano e nel Laurenziano (V. LAURENT, *La date de la mort*, p. 316). Esaminando il manoscritto Marciano, ho potuto constatare che la stessa nota è presente anche in questo codice. Sull'importanza di questa annotazione per la ricostruzione della storia degli autografi di Giorgio Metochites cf. *infra*, II.3.

18. «Dopo l'anno a cui si riferisce, egli [Metochites] ne passò altri e morì, in modo che i suoi anni di reclusione ammontano a quarantacinque; fra i suoi compagni di condanna, il patriarca [*scil.* Bekkos] morì nel quattordicesimo anno mentre il *chartophylax* [*scil.* Meliteniotes] nel ventiquattresimo». L'annotazione è stata pubblicata da V. LAURENT, *La date de la mort*, p. 316.

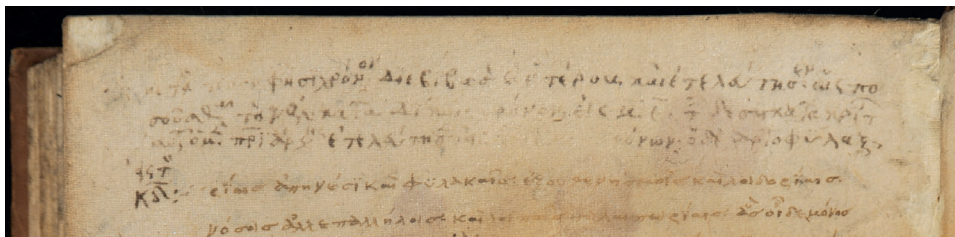
19. METOCHITES, *Historia*, III, 61, p. 351<sup>A36-41</sup>. Parlando delle sofferenze subite in prigione, egli scrive: ἤδη καταγεγραμμένος ἐξορίαις ἀπηνέσι καὶ φυλακαῖς, ἐξουθενισμοῖς καὶ λοιδορίαις, νόσοις ἀλλεπαλλήλως καὶ λοιπαῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ἃς οἶδε μόνος ὁ πάντ' εἰδὼς καὶ τὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἀπάρτι χρόνον ὑπερελάνοντα («sono ormai giunto alla vecchiaia fra crudeli esili e reclusioni, umiliazioni e ingiurie, continue malattie e altre sventure che solo può sapere Colui che tutto sa e che si protraggono ad oggi da diciotto anni»).



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 1: Annotazione sugli anni di prigionia di Metochites, Bekkos e Meliteniotes nei tre autografi dell'*Historia dogmatica*. **a.** Vat. gr. 1583, f. 166 (particolare); **b.** Laur. plut. 7.31, f. 166 (particolare); **c.** Marc. gr. II, 8, f. 156<sup>v</sup> (particolare).

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Sulla base della preziosa informazione fornitaci da questa nota e di un confronto con quanto ci riferisce Giorgio Pachymeres, già nel 1926 Vitalien Laurent poté stabilire che Giovanni Bekkos morì nel 1297, Costantino Meliteniotes nel 1307 e il nostro Metochites nel 1328.<sup>20</sup> Si deve supporre che questa nota sia stata apposta da qualcuno molto vicino a Giorgio Metochites e ben informato sulla sua sorte, verosimilmente un figlio o un nipote (cf. *infra*, II.3).

Come già detto, Metochites rimase per quarantacinque anni oppositore politico e perciò nemico dello stato. Tuttavia, all'interno di questo lungo arco cronologico (1283-1328) occorre distinguere diverse fasi della sua reclusione, che comportarono, di volta in volta, un diverso grado di limitazione della sua libertà.

Dopo la deposizione e la prima condanna del 1283, Bekkos venne allontanato dalla capitale e mandato in esilio a Prusa (odierna Bursa), mentre Costantino Meliteniotes si isolò in un monastero a Costantinopoli; Giorgio Metochites, invece, come scrive lui stesso, aveva preferito una reazione più cauta dei suoi colleghi e si era ritirato in solitudine nel suo *κελλίον*.<sup>21</sup> Gli anti-unionisti, scrive Giorgio, tentarono a più riprese e con vari espedienti di portarlo dalla loro parte.<sup>22</sup>

Gli anni di prigionia *stricto sensu* corrisposero, probabilmente, solo al periodo 1285-1290, quando, dopo la definitiva condanna del secondo Concilio delle Blacherne, Giorgio Metochites – insieme a Bekkos e Meliteniotes – venne esiliato sul golfo di Nicomedia e rinchiuso in una fortezza.<sup>23</sup> Nel 1290

20. L'anno di inizio della condanna è calcolato a partire dal 1283: cf. V. LAURENT, *La date de la mort*, p. 317-319. Questo studioso ha stabilito che non solo l'annotazione è degna di fede, ma che i dati che essa fornisce coincidono con quelli che troviamo in Pachymeres.

21. Vedi PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, VII, 11, p. 46-47 (deportazione di Bekkos a Prusa). La reclusione di Meliteniotes in un monastero di Costantinopoli e il ritiro in solitudine dell'autore è narrata da METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 91, p. 126<sup>9-11</sup>: *ἐκάτερος γὰρ ἡμεν, ὁ μὲν ἐν τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φροντιστηρίων, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ κελλίῳ, ἡρέμα καὶ καθ'ἑαυτοὺς ἐνσχολάζοντες* («entrambi eravamo infatti da soli e passavamo il tempo in solitudine, lui in uno dei monasteri di Costantinopoli, io nella mia cella»). Metochites parla di un *κελλίον* in cui egli si ritirò da solo: difficile stabilire se il riferimento sia da intendere a una cella monastica o alla sua abitazione, dal momento che il termine può assumere entrambe le valenze (cf. s.v. *κελλίον*, *LSJ*, p. 937; A. M. TALBOT, *Kellion* (*κελλίον*), *ODB* 3, p. 1120; s.v. *κελλίον*, *LBG* 1.4, 2001, p. 818). Su questo passo dell'*Historia* si sono già interrogati anche R. J. LOENERTZ, Théodore le Métochite, p. 186 n. 14, e E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 46 n. 31.

22. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 91-94, p. 126-132.

23. Dopo la condanna del Concilio delle Blacherne dell'agosto 1285, Bekkos venne imprigionato nel monastero degli Anargyroi, mentre Metochites e Meliteniotes in quello del Pantokrator (cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 118, p. 168<sup>10-14</sup>): i tre furono quindi sollecitati dall'imperatore a riappacificarsi con lui (PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, VII, 35, p. 116). Di fronte al netto rifiuto opposto dai tre, l'imperatore si vide costretto a condannarli all'esilio e alla



egli fu nuovamente trasferito nella capitale per decreto imperiale, a causa di un peggioramento delle sue condizioni di salute;<sup>24</sup> dal 1290 al 1297 gli fu concesso di risiedere nella sua dimora, come raccontano Metochites stesso e Pachymeres.<sup>25</sup> Il suo alto statuto sociale (e, in seguito, anche la crescente influenza a corte del suo primogenito) gli garantirono una sistemazione più simile agli ‘arresti domiciliari’ odierni che a una vera e propria prigionia. Pachymeres racconta poi che, alla morte di Bekkos (1297), a Metochites e Meliteniotes (il quale si trovava ancora in esilio) fu offerta l’occasione di riconciliarsi con l’imperatore, ma i due rifiutarono di rinnegare le proprie posizioni unioniste: per questo motivo essi vennero spostati al palazzo delle Blacherne, sotto un più stretto controllo imperiale.<sup>26</sup> Qui rimasero fino alla morte, avvenuta rispettivamente nel 1307 e nel 1328.

Nei decenni successivi alla morte di Metochites, la resistenza opposta ad Andronico II da parte dei *latinophrones* fu esaltata da parte latina e contribuì alla nascita e allo sviluppo di una ‘leggenda’ sulle sofferenze subite da Giorgio Metochites in nome dell’unione; fra i domenicani di Pera (difensori dell’unione nel XIV e XV secolo) questa esaltazione del ruolo di Metochites era già ben radicata all’epoca del frate domenicano Filippo di Bindo Incontri (noto anche come Filippo di Pera, vissuto in pieno XIV secolo, di cui parleremo più ampiamente in seguito), il quale non risparmia parole di lode per Metochites e la sua prigionia durata per decenni.<sup>27</sup> Partecipa di questa

prigionia; anche la famiglia di Metochites, molto probabilmente, seguì il padre lontano da Costantinopoli, come sostiene I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 270-271, sulla base di alcuni indizi presenti nei *Miscellanea* di Teodoro Metochites. Bekkos, Meliteniotes e Metochites vennero dunque rinchiusi nella fortezza di San Gregorio, situata sul lato meridionale del golfo di Nicomedia (PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, VII, 35, p. 117<sup>22-25</sup>); cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 122, p. 174-175. Albert Failler ha tentato di ricostruire la collocazione geografica precisa del castello di San Gregorio: lo studioso sostiene che dovesse trovarsi lungo quel tratto della costa meridionale del golfo di Nicomedia dove le montagne si affacciano sul mare, in una zona compresa tra l’antica città di Elenopoli (nelle vicinanze dell’attuale villaggio di Hersek) e quella di Preneto (oggi Karamürsel), nei dintorni dell’odierna Kavak Iskelesi: vedi A. FAILLER, *Chronologie et composition dans l’Histoire de Georges Pachymère (livres VII-XIII)*, *REB* 48, 1990, p. 5-87, qui p. 21-22.

24. Vedi F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, cit. n. 13, n° 2142, p. 15.

25. METOCHITES, *Historia*, III, 13-14, p. 326-327, e PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, VII, 34, p. 118.

26. PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III, IX, 29, p. 298.

27. Anticipiamo qui due estratti di Filippo Incontri che fanno riferimento alla prigionia di Metochites, tratti da due passi che analizzeremo più nel dettaglio rispettivamente nelle note 30 e 31: *Georgius autem Metochita XLII annis, permanens in confessione*, in custodia *quievit* (passo pubblicato da T. KAEPEL, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 174, e poi ripreso da E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 33) e *duo volumina composuit in carcere contra Graecos* (T. KAEPEL, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 175, ripreso da E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 33). Filippo Incontri scrive che il totale degli anni



idealizzazione del personaggio anche un'annotazione (di cui parleremo in seguito, cf. *infra*, III.2) presente al f. 72<sup>v</sup> del *Par. gr.* 1260, apposta almeno una generazione dopo l'autore, in cui si dà notizia di una prigionia di Giorgio Metochites lunga ventotto anni (ὅς ἦν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ χρόνους κη').

Le fonti successive all'autore, dunque, forniscono una rappresentazione falsata delle effettive condizioni in cui Metochites trascorse gli anni della sua condanna: infatti la sua reclusione, almeno a partire dal ritorno nella capitale (1290), fu, con ogni probabilità, molto meno dura di quanto si possa pensare e di quanto sia stato narrato in seguito. È pur vero che Metochites stesso, in certi passi delle sue opere, descrive con grande *pathos* le sofferenze e le privazioni da lui coraggiosamente sopportate per anni;<sup>28</sup> e tuttavia si deve supporre che in questi casi l'autore abbia volutamente esagerato il suo racconto a scopo polemico, dal momento che in altri passaggi dei suoi scritti egli stesso informa di godere di alcuni privilegi, come il poter conversare con qualcuno e il ricevere di nascosto scritti anti-unionisti.<sup>29</sup>

Giorgio Metochites morì a Costantinopoli nel corso dell'anno 1328, all'età di circa settantotto anni; il già menzionato frate domenicano Filippo Incontri racconta che il corpo di Giorgio venne spostato nottetempo in un

di prigionia di Metochites è 42, mentre abbiamo visto che l'annotatore dei tre autografi dell'*Historia* dice che egli ne passò in prigione 45. A tal riguardo, Thomas Kaeppli risolve così la contraddizione: «Son témoignage [*scil.* quella del domenicano] ne saurait prévaloir sur celui d'un annotateur presque contemporain de deux manuscrits autographes de l'*Historia dogmatica* de Métochite : le cod. *Vat. gr.* 1583 (f. 166) et le cod. *Laurent.* VII. 31 (f. 166)»: vedi T. KAEPELLI, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 174 n. 60. D'altra parte, accettare un totale di 42 anni di prigionia equivarrebbe a collocare l'inizio nel 1286, quando cioè Metochites si trovava già in esilio; è perciò molto più probabile che questo numero rispecchi o un errore di Incontri, oppure una corruzione della tradizione di questo testo. Per la bibliografia su Filippo Incontri vedi *infra*, n. 62.

28. Cf. ad esempio METOCHITES, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*, cit. n. 9, 1405<sup>A-B</sup> (testo alla n. 54).

29. Cf. METOCHITES, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*, cit. n. 9, 1404<sup>B</sup>: πλὴν ἐπεὶ τοπαράπαν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὐ παραχωροῦμεθα, ἡ παρρησία καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐνώπιον ἡ μετ' ἐνίων ἰδιαζόντως καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος [...] ἡνίκα ποθὲν ἡμῖν ἀπροσδοκῆτως, ἡ μετὰ τινων διαλεχθῆναι συμβαίη, ὥς ἐν τοῖς μεγάλαις ἀρχαῖς ἀπαξ γέγονε κατὰ συγκυρίαν, ἡ γραφὰς εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν παρ' ἐνίων κατὰ τῆς ὑποθήσεως γραφείσας ἐν παραβύστῳ («non mi è inoltre affatto permesso di parlare né in pubblico, soprattutto alla presenza degli imperatori [*scil.* Andronico II e il figlio Michele IX, associato al trono], né in privato con alcuni e in disparte [...] talvolta, in modo per me inaspettato, mi accade di conversare con alcuni – ad esempio una volta è successo per caso a palazzo – oppure di ricevere di nascosto da qualcuno opere scritte contro l'argomento»). Verosimilmente, a rendere meno proibitiva la condizione del padre intervenne Teodoro, sfruttando la sua crescente autorità e l'indiscusso favore di cui godeva presso l'imperatore; anche E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 50-51, ritiene che le condizioni di prigionia di Giorgio Metochites fossero meno dure di quanto si creda.

diverso luogo dopo la sepoltura, perché non fosse trafugato dalla fazione filo-latina.<sup>30</sup>

Come già detto, Metochites scrisse quattro opere, pervenuteci integralmente. Finora non era stato messo in luce il fatto che tutte furono scritte dall'autore negli anni della sua reclusione (1283-1328); questo dato, ricavabile dal contenuto autobiografico delle opere stesse, risulta molto utile al fine di una datazione più precisa dei manoscritti autografi.<sup>31</sup>

Poiché l'autore scrisse le sue opere mentre era recluso, occorre interrogarsi sulla sua possibilità di avere accesso, se non a una biblioteca, almeno ad alcuni libri. A tal proposito, va ricordato che l'autore stesso ammette di essere riuscito a ottenere di nascosto alcuni scritti.<sup>32</sup> La conferma che

30. *Georgius autem Metochita XLII annis, permanens in confessione, in custodia quievit. Et, ne corpus eius auferretur a nostris, postquam sepelierunt eum in locis solitariis tamquam excommunicatum et hereticum, iterum noctu ad alium locum transtulerunt* («Giorgio Metochites rimase in carcere quarantadue anni, persistendo nella sua professione di fede. Perché il suo corpo non venisse portato via dai nostri, dopo averlo seppellito in zona deserta, come uno scomunicato e un eretico, di nuovo lo spostarono nottetempo in un altro luogo»). L'opera del frate domenicano Filippo di Bindo Incontri (di cui parleremo più ampiamente nei II.3 e II.4) da cui è tratto questo passo è l'inedito trattato *De oboedientia romane ecclesie debita* (vedi C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Philippe de Péra o.p.*, *De oboedientia ecclesiae Romanae debita. Un polémiste dominicain devant l'histoire du schisme grec*, Mémoire inédit d'HDR, Rouen 2007, che non ho potuto vedere); l'estratto presentato è stato pubblicato da T. KAEPELLI, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 174, e da qui ripreso anche da E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 33.

31. Che Metochites compose effettivamente alcune opere in prigione è testimoniato, ancora una volta, anche da Filippo Incontri: egli scrive infatti che Metochites *duo volumina composuit in carcere contra Graecos* (T. KAEPELLI, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 175, ripreso da E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 33). È poi possibile ricostruire la cronologia delle opere di Metochites grazie ad alcuni indizi disseminati dall'autore nelle sue opere e a fattori contestuali. Nel libro I dell'*Historia* (METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 122, p. 175<sup>9</sup>), ad esempio, raccontando della sua deportazione sul golfo di Nicomedia (avvenuta sul finire dell'estate del 1285), l'autore scrive di trovarsi ancora in quella fortezza: *πρὸς τὸ ἐν ᾧ διάγομεν ἄρτι φρουρίον ἀγαγόντες* («mi condussero fino alla fortezza dove vivo tuttora»). L'esilio imposto a forza è l'ultimo degli eventi narrati nel libro I, che si chiude sullo sfondo di questo scenario; perciò, quando Metochites scrisse gli ultimi paragrafi di questo libro, egli si trovava ancora sul golfo di Nicomedia. Ne consegue che il *terminus ante quem* per la sua conclusione è il 1290, anno in cui l'autore tornò nella capitale. Ancora, per il libro II dell'*Historia dogmatica* e per l'opuscolo *In Manuelem Moschopulum* il 1285 costituisce un sicuro *terminus post quem*. Il primo è infatti la *refutatio* del *Tomos* patriarcale scritto da Gregorio II di Cipro nel 1285. Il secondo, invece, polemizza contro uno scritto di Manuele, ὁ τοῦ Κρήτης ἀνεψιός: Niceforo Moschopoulos (*PLP*, n° 19376), zio di Manuele, ottenne l'incarico di vescovo metropolita di Creta solo nell'anno 1285. Per quanto riguarda l'opuscolo polemico *In Maximum Planudem*, sappiamo che Planoudes scrisse i tre capitoli dopo il 1282 (anno in cui 'si convertì' alla fazione anti-unionista); ancora una volta la composizione del trattato di Metochites è perciò da circoscrivere agli ultimi quarantacinque anni della sua vita.

32. Cf. METOCHITES, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*, cit. n. 9, 1404<sup>B</sup> (testo e traduzione a n. 29).

Metochites ebbe effettivamente a disposizione alcuni libri può essere ricavata, ancora una volta, dalle sue stesse opere.<sup>33</sup>

II. – I CODICI AUTOGRAFI DI GIORGIO METOCHITES: *VAT. GR. 1583*, *LAUR. PLUT. 7.31*, *MARC. GR. II, 8* E *VAT. GR. 1716*

La tradizione manoscritta di Giorgio Metochites è affidata a dieci testimoni (un undicesimo codice è andato perduto nel XVII secolo). All'interno di questo gruppo di codici, quattro sono stati identificati come autografi e risalgono perciò al XIII secolo *ex.* / XIV secolo *in.*, più esattamente agli anni compresi tra il 1283 e il 1328 circa; i restanti sono invece apografi di epoca più tarda (XV-XVII secolo).

I tre libri dell'*Historia dogmatica* costituiscono l'opera più ampia e ambiziosa di Giorgio Metochites. Il titolo con cui oggi è comunemente nota non è dovuto all'autore, che non elaborò una denominazione complessiva per la sua opera, ma assegnò un titolo a ogni singolo libro. A scegliere il nome di *Historia dogmatica* per i tre libri fu, secondo quanto troviamo scritto nella *Prefazione* all'edizione di Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi, il cardinale Angelo Mai.<sup>34</sup> I tre libri costituivano comunque nel progetto dell'autore un'opera unitaria: essi, infatti, sono sempre tramandati insieme (e sempre nel medesimo ordine) dai testimoni manoscritti autografi.

Il libro I porta il titolo seguente: Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου λόγος διαλαμβάνων τὰ τῆς προβάσεως εἰρήνης μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς τε πρεσβυτέρας Πώμης καὶ τῆς νέας καὶ ἡμετέρας, καὶ τὰ παρηκολουθηκότα καθέξῃς αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν.<sup>35</sup> Il libro si articola in tre sezioni principali: nella prima l'autore ripercorre per sommi capi la storia dei rapporti fra l'antica e la nuova Roma, partendo dal Concilio di Nicea II del 787 e giungendo, attraverso la disputa foziana degli anni 866-880 e lo

33. Nei suoi scritti, Metochites ricorre molto spesso alla citazione diretta di passi patristici e biblici; non solo, ma a volte cita testualmente anche brani degli avversari, per meglio demolirne le affermazioni. La presenza di queste citazioni puntuali, talvolta anche piuttosto corpose, costituisce la prova che l'autore non può aver composto queste opere senza l'ausilio di altri libri. È dunque verosimile supporre che gli fosse concesso di tenerne con sé alcuni; fra questi erano certamente presenti quelli del maestro Giovanni Bekkos, rispetto a cui egli dimostra una spiccata dipendenza argomentativa. Nello studio che ho in corso sarà mia cura approfondire l'analisi delle fonti utilizzate da Metochites.

34. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, p. XIII: *Horum librorum, quos Maius Historiam dogmaticam voluit appellare.*

35. «Trattato del diacono Giorgio Metochites contenente il racconto della progressiva pace fra le due Chiese – quella della Roma più antica e quella della nuova e nostra Roma – e degli avvenimenti che si susseguirono, uno dopo l'altro, verso la sua sovversione».

scisma di Cerulario del 1054, fino ai suoi giorni. La parte finale dell'opera è dedicata, per converso, agli eventi più recenti, in particolare quelli compresi fra la morte di Michele VIII (1282) e la deportazione di Bekkos, Meliteniotes e Metochites in una località sul golfo di Nicomedia (1285). Il cuore del primo libro è costituito, simbolicamente, da una puntuale e articolata dissertazione teologica sulla processione dello Spirito a *Patre Filioque*, cui si accompagnano numerose citazioni patristiche: obiettivo dell'autore è quello di dimostrare la legittimità delle posizioni latine in materia trinitaria e l'essenza storico-politica (e non teologica) della divisione fra le Chiese.

Il libro II dell'*Historia* è intitolato Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου λόγος ἀντιρρητικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κυπρίου τόμῳ.<sup>36</sup> si tratta di una puntuale *refutatio* del *Tomos* sinodale scritto nel 1285 dal patriarca anti-unionista Gregorio II.

Il libro III, infine, presenta questo titolo: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου λόγος διαλαμβάνων τὰ κατόπιν τῶν προρρηθέντων δύο λόγων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ὑποθέσει λεχθέντα τε καὶπραχθέντα.<sup>37</sup> In esso l'autore continua la narrazione degli eventi contemporanei, riallacciandosi al libro I; anche in questo caso esposizione storica e dissertazione teologica si susseguono, alternandosi.

I testimoni autografi di quest'opera sono tre:

- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1583: sec. XIII *ex.*, cartaceo (ff. I e 188 membranacei), mm 212 × 150 (ma ff. II, IV-XVI mm 283 × 95, ripiegati), ff. XIX. 188 (Figura 2);<sup>38</sup>
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 7.31: sec. XIV *in.*, cartaceo, mm 230 × 155, ff. III. 188. III (Figura 3);<sup>39</sup>

36. «Trattato del medesimo diacono Giorgio Metochites contro il tomo di Gregorio di Cipro».

37. «Trattato dello stesso diacono Giorgio Metochites contenente quanto fu detto e fatto, a proposito del medesimo argomento, nel tempo successivo rispetto ai due libri già presentati».

38. Questo manoscritto è catalogato da C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1485-1683*, Città del Vaticano 1950, p. 191-193, e digitalizzato sul sito [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1583](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1583). Per la bibliografia in proposito vedi V. LAURENT, *La date de la mort*, p. 316-317; C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 96-103; P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 8 n. 35, p. 34-37 (in particolare p. 35 n. 6, 38 n. 29), 137; A. FRANCHI, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1249-1254). La legazione di Giovanni da Parma. Il ruolo di Federico II, Piceum Seraphicum* 14, 1977-1978, p. 106-273; S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 34-37; G. DE GREGORIO, *Spigolature dai codici greci della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma: un volume della fine del XVII secolo fra Collegio Greco e Collegio Romano (fondo greci 13)*, in P. CHERUBINI e G. NICOLAJ (ed.), *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno* (Littera antiqua 19), Città del Vaticano 2012, II, p. 1059-1090, qui p. 1076.

39. Il codice è descritto da A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I-II, Firenze 1764-1770, rist. anast. ed. F. KUDLIEN, Leipzig 1961, I,



ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπειδὴ ἡν. καὶ ἡν ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἀρτί κατὰ ἑξῆς πρὸς  
 κοπὴν κῆρτος ἀπὲς μετὰ μοι τῷ κελίῳ παρὰ ἑαυτὸν. τῶν  
 λογιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ καὶ κληρὸς καὶ πλοῦτος γεγνημένος. λόγος δὲ  
 αὐτῶν μοι κομίσθη τὸ πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἀξίωμα δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς  
 τὰ τῆς πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. ἡ τὰ τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ὁ δὲ  
 ἑξῆς ἀφῆρη σὶν. καὶ ἡ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 πρὸς μετὰ τὸν λογιστῶν. καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 πρὸς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῶν ἑξῆς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 διὰ τὴν ἡν ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 σὶν ἀνὰ τὰ πολλὰ ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 κοπὴν ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 σαι μὲν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 ἐπὶ τῶν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 σφίσις ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 αὐτῶν ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 κατὰ ἑξῆς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 κείσιν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 ἀνὰ ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 σαι οὐ. καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνὰ ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 ἀνὰ ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 σφίσις ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 αὐτῶν κείσιν μετὰ τῶν ἀνὰ ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
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Fig. 2: Vat. gr. 1583, f. 60<sup>v</sup> (Giorgio Metochites).

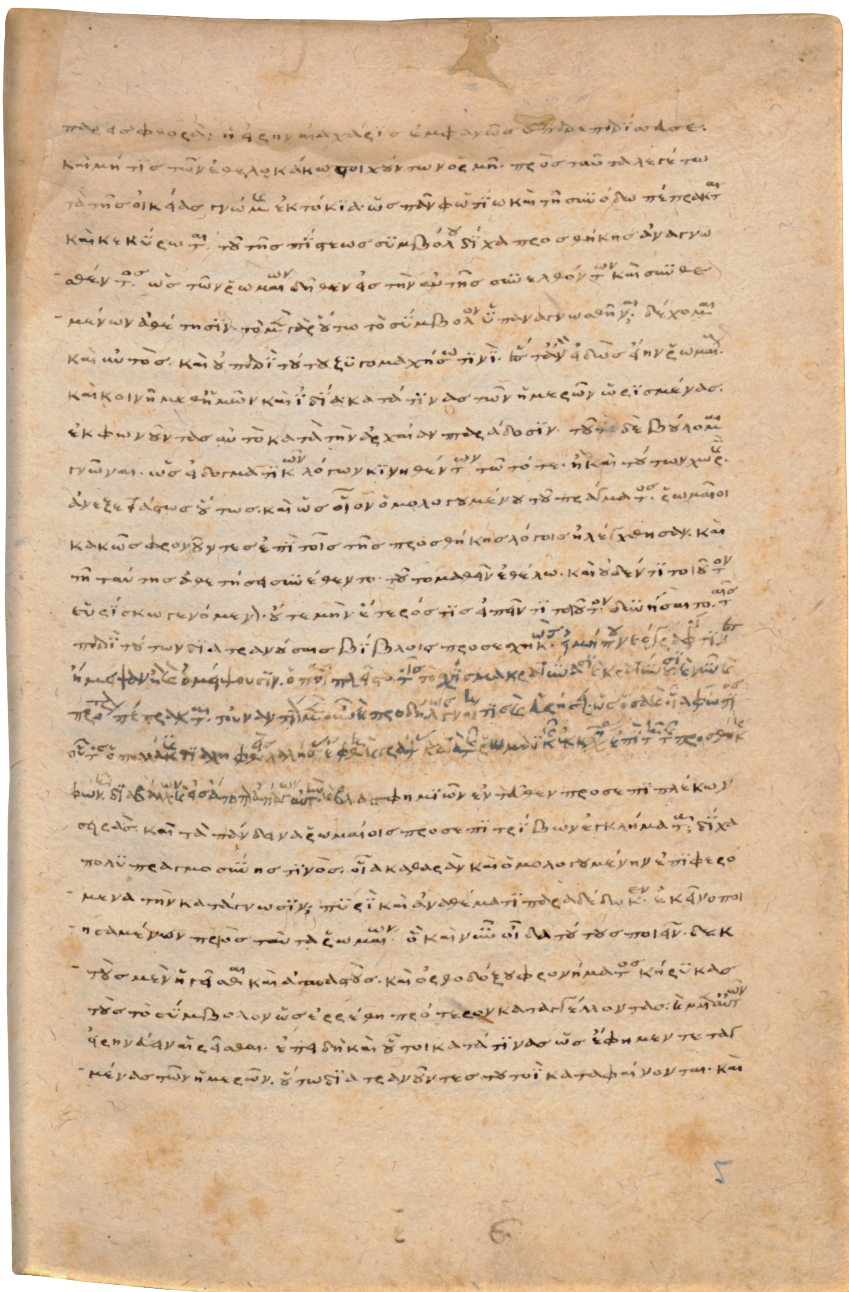


Fig. 3: *Laur. plut.* 7.31, f. 5 (Giorgio Metochites). Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



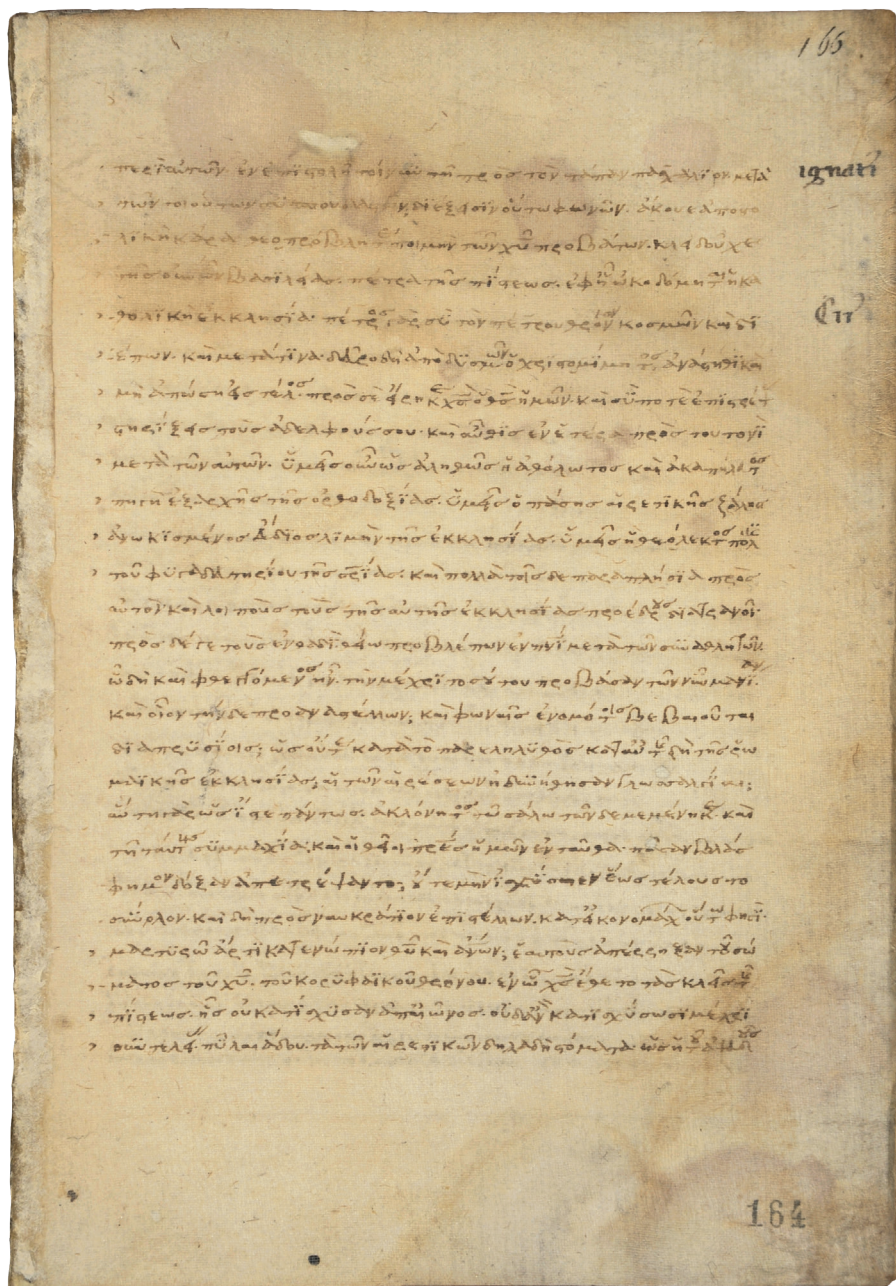


Fig. 4: *Marc. gr. II, 8, f. 164* (Giorgio Metochites). Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.  
Divieto di riproduzione.

- Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. II, 8 (coll. 1357): sec. XIV in., cartaceo, mm 230 × 152, ff. II. 174 (+ 61bis). I (Figura 4).<sup>40</sup>

Esistono, inoltre, due apografi seicenteschi dell'*Historia*:

- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, All. XCII: sec. XVII, cartaceo, mm 220 × 145, ff. II. 542. I. Questo manoscritto miscelaneo contiene il testo completo dell'opera ai ff. 3-95, che misurano mm 204 × 140 (Figura 8).<sup>41</sup>
- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, All. LXIX: sec. XVII, cartaceo, mm 270 × 195, ff. I. 161. I. Questo codice contiene solamente il libro I e parte del libro II, dove il testo si interrompe a οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ ὅτι ὑφίσταται δι' υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ υἱοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῦ.<sup>42</sup>

Il trattato *De processione Spiritus Sancti* e gli opuscoli *In Maximum Plaudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* hanno avuto una tradizione indipendente rispetto all'*Historia dogmatica*. Il trattato sulla processione dello Spirito Santo, suddiviso in cinque λόγοι indicati secondo un numerale ordinale progressivo, reca il seguente titolo: Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου σύγγραμμα διαλαμβάνον ἃ μὲν οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀντικείμενοι φασὶν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσει καὶ λοιπαῖς πατρικαῖς φωναῖς, αἵπερ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τοῦτο φωνοῦσιν, ἃ δὲ πατέρες οἱ θεοὶ διευλυτοῦντες διδάσκουσιν.<sup>43</sup>

p. 292. Il manoscritto è disponibile in formato digitale sul sito <http://mss.bmlonline.it/Catalogo.aspx?Shelfmark=Plut.7.31>. Il codice è menzionato in V. LAURENT, *La date de la mort*, p. 316; R. J. LOENERTZ, *Théodore le Métochite*, p. 50; C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 102-103; E. B. FRYDE, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici: 1469-1510*, I-II, Aberystwyth 1996, p. 499, 500; D. F. JACKSON, *Fabio Vigili's Inventory of Medici Greek Manuscripts*, *Scriptorium* 52, 1998, p. 199-204, qui p. 201; S. KOTZABASSI, *The Testament of Patriarch John Bekkos*, *Byzantina* 32, 2012, p. 25-36.

40. Il codice *Marc. gr. II, 8* è descritto nel catalogo di E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, I.1, Roma 1967, p. 91-92. Il manoscritto non è disponibile in formato digitale e non è mai stato studiato se non da C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 101-102. Altri studi dove si trova rapida menzione di questo codice sono i seguenti: K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Monaco 1897, ed. A. EHRHARD e H. GELZER (Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series 13), I, New York 1958<sup>2</sup>, p. 98; S. SALAVILLE, *Georges le Métochite*, *DTC* 6, 1920, col. 1238; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 283 n. 2.

41. Il codice *Vall. All. XCII*, ff. 3-95 è sommariamente catalogato da E. MARTINI, *Catalogo*, p. 214-215; esso non è digitalizzato. L'unica menzione di questo manoscritto in bibliografia si trova in C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 91 n. 5.

42. Il manoscritto *Vall. All. LXIX*, anch'esso non digitalizzato, è brevemente descritto in E. MARTINI, *Catalogo*, p. 211. Anche in questo caso C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 91 n. 5, è il solo riferimento bibliografico. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, II, 36, p. 202<sup>25-26</sup>.

43. «Trattato del diacono Giorgio Metochites dedicato all'esposizione di ciò che sostengono coloro che si oppongono alla pace fra le Chiese in merito alla processione dello Spirito Santo e riguardo alle altre autorità patristiche che affermano la processione dello Spirito dal Padre e dal Figlio e di ciò che invece insegnano i divini padri che li contraddicono».

La *refutatio* contro i sillogismi anti-latini di Massimo Planoudes è intitolata Ἀντίρρησις τῶν τριῶν κεφαλαίων ὧν ἐξέθητο Μάξιμος μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανοῦδης.<sup>44</sup> L'opuscolo polemico contro Manuele Moschopoulos, invece, porta il titolo di Ἀντίρρησις τῶν ὧν συνεγράψατο Μανουὴλ ὁ τοῦ Κρήτης ἀνεψιός.<sup>45</sup>

L'unico autografo che contiene, in quest'ordine, queste tre opere minori è:

- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1716: sec. XIV *in.*, cartaceo, mm 217 × 149, ff. II. 119. I (Figura 5).<sup>46</sup>

Da questo codice sono stati tratti cinque apografi; tre di essi contengono l'intero trittico:

- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, Γ.IV.26;<sup>47</sup>
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1260: sec. XV *in.*, cartaceo, mm 210 × 287, ff. III. 147. II (Figura 6). Le tre opere di Metochites sono raccolte nella prima unità codicologica (ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup>);<sup>48</sup>

44. «Confutazione dei tre capitoli editi dal monaco Massimo Planoudes».

45. «Confutazione di quanto ha scritto Manuele, nipote del vescovo di Creta»; l'opera di Moschopoulos contro cui polemizza Metochites è la *Διάλξεις πρὸς Λατίνους*, tuttora inedita (vedi A. M. TALBOT, Moschopoulos, Manuel, *ODB* 2, p. 1414).

46. Il Vat. gr. 1716 è catalogato da C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1684-1744*, Città del Vaticano 1961, p. 83-84. Di questo codice è disponibile la digitalizzazione sul sito [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1716](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1716). Su questo manoscritto si vedano i seguenti studi: C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*; P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 41-78; S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 50-60. Il resto della bibliografia esistente si limita a citare sommariamente questo manoscritto: vedi A. ERHARD *apud* KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, cit. n. 40, p. 98; S. SALAVILLE, Georges le Métochite, *DTC* 6, 1920, col. 1238-1239; V. LAURENT, Notes de chronologie et d'histoire byzantine de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *REB* 27, 1969, p. 209-228, qui p. 215; D. M. NICOL, The relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros, *BF* 4, 1972, p. 170-194, qui p. 178 n. 21; G. MATTEUCCI, Una lettera del 7 aprile 1274 da Leuca (Lecce) ed un «nascosto» unionista costantinopolitano, Giovanni Parastron O.F.M., in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dal VIII al XVI secolo*, Padova 1972, p. 971-1000, qui p. 982; P. CANART, Jean Nathanael et le commerce des manuscrits grecs à Venise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana, Venezia 3-6 ottobre 1973*, II, Firenze 1977, p. 417-438, qui p. 423 n. 23; P. CANART, De la catalogographie à l'histoire du livre. Vingt ans de recherches sur les manuscrits grecs, *Byz.* 50, 1980, p. 563-616, qui p. 602, 609; G. VISONÀ, Pseudo-Ippolito: *In sanctum pascha*. Il ruolo della comunità greco-veneta del sec. XVI nella storia della trasmissione del testo, *Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche* 54, 1980, p. 456-472, qui p. 463; G. PODSKALSKY, Orthodoxe und westliche Theologie, *JÖB* 31.2, 1981, p. 513-527, qui p. 526 n. 67.

47. Il codice Escorialense, oggi distrutto, è catalogato in G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los codices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial*, El Escorial 1968, p. 97 n° 212.

48. Il Par. gr. 1260 è catalogato in H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Parigi 1866, p. 280; una digitalizzazione del codice è disponibile sulla piattaforma Gallica, all'indirizzo <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/>





Fig. 5: Vat. gr. 1716, f. 1 (Giorgio Metochites).

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2751: 1542/3, cartaceo, mm 355 × 231, ff. VI. 368. III (Figura 7). Si tratta di un codice miscelaneo, in cui i tre trattati di Metochites sono contenuti ai ff. 162-287.<sup>49</sup>

Contengono invece il solo trattato sulla processione dello Spirito Santo i manoscritti:

- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, All. CXLIII: sec. XVII, cartaceo, mm 328 × 225, ff. III. 522. II. In questo codice miscelaneo il trattato di Metochites è contenuto ai ff. 234-276, che misurano invece mm 217 × 170 (Figura 9);<sup>50</sup>
- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, All. LXX: sec. XVII, cartaceo, mm 270 × 195 (ma f. 1 mm 229 × 190), ff. I. 174. I.<sup>51</sup>

# 1. L'allestimento dei codici autografi: caratteristiche paleografico-codicologiche

Ciro Giannelli poté riconoscere come autografo il *Marc. gr.* II, 8, grazie alla presenza della sottoscrizione apposta dall'autore al f. 174 (ἐπελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου); gli altri tre manoscritti furono attribuiti a Giorgio Metochites su base paleografica. La sua scrittura è contraddistinta dal modulo delle lettere piuttosto piccolo e dal *ductus* rapido, ma non troppo ricco di legature; quelle presenti

btv1b11000234p. La bibliografia su questo codice Parigino, relativamente all'unità codicologica che qui ci interessa, è limitata alla rapida menzione che si trova in C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 103 n. 2.

49. Il *Par. gr.* 2751 è catalogato in H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire*, cit. n. 48, III, 1888, p. 35 e descritto più dettagliatamente nella *Notice codicologique* pubblicata da Morgane Cariou nel settembre 2013 sulla pagina *Archives et manuscrits* del sito della Biblioteca di Francia: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc96453b>. Il codice è disponibile in formato digitale sulla piattaforma Gallica, all'indirizzo <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107227836>. Su questo manoscritto la bibliografia è molto scarna: H. OMONT, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri II*, Parigi 1889, p. 125-126, n° 367; C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 103 n. 2; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Les copistes de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier (1490-1567)*, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 10, 1986, p. 199-237, qui p. 204-207, 211, 221-222, 225-226.

50. Il codice *Vall. All.* CXLIII è catalogato in E. MARTINI, *Catalogo*, p. 231-232; se ne trova breve notizia anche in A. BUCOSI e E. DESPOTAKIS, *Niceta di Tessalonica (olim Niceta di Maronea): ricostruzione biografica e tradizione manoscritta*, *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 18, 2017, p. 243-287, qui p. 267-268. Di questo non è disponibile una digitalizzazione; l'unica menzione in bibliografia si trova in C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 91 n. 4.

51. Il manoscritto *Vall. All.* LXX è brevemente descritto in E. MARTINI, *Catalogo*, p. 212; non esiste una digitalizzazione del codice e l'unica occorrenza in bibliografia è sempre C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 91 n. 4.

interessano prevalentemente i gruppi γρ, πρ, σθ, σπ, στ, σχ, i dittonghi (ad esempio αι, ει, ευ) e infine ε seguita da consonante (εγ, εζ, ερ, εχ). Abbreviazioni e segni tachigrafici sono utilizzati soprattutto a fine riga. A parte qualche raro e sporadico caso, Metochites non commette errori ortografici, segno inequivocabile della buona istruzione da lui ricevuta; i pochi che si trovano sono dovuti al fenomeno dell'itacismo (in particolare, l'errore più frequente è la confusione tra il dittongo ει e la vocale ι).<sup>52</sup>

Grazie ai quattro codici autografi sopravvissuti, è possibile osservare l'evoluzione subita negli anni dalla scrittura di Metochites. Già Ciro Giannelli assegnava il *Vat. gr.* 1716 a una fase tarda della vita dell'autore, in base a un'impressione generale suscitata dalla sua scrittura: «si l'aspect général de l'écriture est absolument le même et si les formes des lettres coïncident tout à fait, je crois, pourtant, reconnaître dans le *Vat. gr.* 1716, par rapport au 1583, des traces d'un léger affaiblissement physique du copiste, comme s'il était plus âgé et que sa main eût perdu de la souplesse d'autrefois». <sup>53</sup>

Se la valutazione di Giannelli è difficile da sostanziare in osservazioni paleografiche precise, è vero però che l'autore stesso nell'*explicit* di *In Manuelem Moschopulum* (l'ultimo dei tre opuscoli contenuti nel *Vat. gr.* 1716) scrive di essere ormai molto vecchio e tormentato da innumerevoli sofferenze fisiche.<sup>54</sup> L'indebolimento della vista, in particolare, tanto lamentato dall'autore, si riflette forse anche nella sua difficoltà a seguire la traccia della rigatura a secco, una difficoltà che in questo codice si palesa in maniera molto più evidente e sistematica rispetto agli autografi precedenti.

52. La scrittura di Metochites si inserisce nel filone delle scritture di erudito della prima età paleologa: cf. *RGK*, III 110. Egli segna gli spiriti, gli accenti e la dieresi sulle vocali ι e υ, secondo l'uso coevo; di preferenza, invece, tende a non segnare lo *iota* muto (quando lo segna, lo sottoscrive). Metochites spezza di frequente le parole a fine riga, segnalando l'*a capo* per mezzo di un trattino orizzontale posto a inizio della riga successiva. Gli spazi fra le parole sono regolarmente presenti.

53. C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 97.

54. Riporto di seguito il passo in questione, trascrivendolo dall'autografo *Vat. gr.* 1716, ff. 116<sup>v</sup> (ultime due righe)-117 (cf. METOCHITES, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*, cit. n. 9, 1404<sup>D</sup>-1405<sup>A-B</sup>): τῶν παρειμένων γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς ἤδη τηλίκῃ συνεχόμενοι τῇ ἀμβλυωπίᾳ, ὥς ἐν οἷς ἡμῖν τὸ γράφειν κακουμένων σφόδρα τῶν ὁμμάτων, ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ ἔργου καὶ μῦναι αὐτὰ καὶ οὕτω τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνύειν, μὴ σφῶν τοπαράπαν ἀνεωγμένων [...] καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἔκ τε τοῦ γήρως, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν ἀλληλοδιαδόχων καθείρξεων καὶ ταλαιπωριῶν καὶ στέρξεων, οἷς ἐν νεότητι χρῆσθαι εἰώθειμεν τῶν ἐξ ἰατρείας θεραπευμάτων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὧν τὸ δύστηνον δεῖται σώμα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐπιρρεπὲς εἰς νοσήματα («io infatti al momento sono davvero tormentato da una tale debolezza di vista che mentre sto scrivendo, poichè i miei occhi sono deteriorati, devo interrompere il lavoro, chiuderli e trascorrere così la maggior parte del giorno, senza aprirli assolutamente [...] questi miei mali sono dovuti all'età avanzata, al continuo susseguirsi nell'arco di tanti anni di reclusioni, sofferenze e privazioni, alle medicine che da giovane ero solito usare e ad altri rimedi per guarire di cui ha bisogno un corpo fragile, soprattutto uno incline alle malattie»).



Questo manoscritto Vaticano è dunque, con ogni probabilità, il più tardo fra gli autografi di Metochites conservati.

Per quanto riguarda i testimoni dell'*Historia dogmatica*, l'analisi filologica da me condotta ha permesso di stabilire i rapporti stemmatici, e dunque una cronologia relativa, fra questi tre autografi. Le conclusioni cui sono giunta confermano e precisano l'ipotesi già formulata da Ciro Giannelli nel 1947.<sup>55</sup> Il più antico manoscritto dell'*Historia* è il *Vat. gr.* 1583; da questo codice fu poi trascritto il *Laur. plut.* 7.31, a sua volta antigrafo del *Marc. gr.* II, 8 (vedi *infra*, II.2).

Nonostante questi manoscritti siano stati realizzati in tempi diversi e nell'arco di quattro decenni, dal punto di vista codicologico e della *mise en page* risultano fra loro molto simili (Figura 2-5). Riassumiamo alcuni dati codicologici e paleografici.

Tutti gli autografi di Metochites hanno all'incirca le medesime misure (le dimensioni variano da mm 212 × 149 a 227 × 155).<sup>56</sup> I due autografi più antichi (*Vat. gr.* 1583 e *Laur. plut.* 7.31) sono di carta probabilmente di origine italiana, ma quasi del tutto priva di filigrane, mentre i due più recenti (*Marc. gr.* II, 8 e *Vat. gr.* 1716) sono di carta italiana dotata di filigrane.<sup>57</sup> I codici di Metochites erano originariamente tutti composti da quaternioni; l'autore ha numerato di sua mano i fascicoli, ponendo il numero corrispondente sempre nel margine inferiore interno del primo foglio *recto* (non in tutti i casi, però, esso risulta ancora visibile).

Giorgio Metochites ha copiato il testo delle sue opere sempre a piena pagina, al centro del foglio e all'interno di uno specchio di scrittura di dimensioni ridotte, che varia da mm 158 × 107 a 175 × 115. Il testo risulta perfettamente giustificato a destra e a sinistra. Nei suoi codici, ad eccezione

55. C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 101-103.

56. Le misure dei codici di Metochites corrispondono alla carta italiana in 4° (mm 440/460 × 290/310): vedi P. CANART, *Lezioni di paleografia e codicologia greca*, Città del Vaticano 1980, p. 57.

57. La carta del codice *Vat. gr.* 1583 è quasi del tutto sprovvista di filigrane, fatta eccezione per una piuttosto arcaica visibile ai ff. 99-100: il disegno è un fiore, simile a Mošin-Traljič 4019 (a. 1298): forme molto simili, verosimilmente forme gemelle in uso presso la stessa cartiera, sono poi 4020, 4021 e 4022, riferibili all'anno 1300. Il Laurenziano ne è completamente privo, mentre il *Marc. gr.* II, 8, come si può osservare ai ff. 52-57, 100-103, 141-142, presenta una filigrana identica a Mošin-Traljič 6549 (a. 1309, con una variante similare attestata nel 1336). Infine, nel *Vat. gr.* 1716 se ne possono riconoscere due: la prima (cf. ff. 1, 7, 105, 110) ha forma di rombo sovrastato da una croce (forse uno dei segni indeterminati Mošin-Traljič da 7254 a 7262, databili agli anni 1324-1326). La seconda (visibile al f. 116) è simile a Mošin-Traljič 3197 (a. 1313, attestata anche nel a. 1315). Vedi i rispettivi cataloghi: C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1485-1683*, cit. n. 38, p. 192 (sul *Vat. gr.* 1583 vedi anche C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 97 n. 3); A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus*, cit. n. 39, I, p. 292; E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae divi Marci*, cit. n. 40, p. 91; C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1684-1744*, cit. n. 46, p. 83 (sulle filigrane del *Vat. gr.* 1716 vedi anche C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 95).

del Marciano, l'autore si è servito dell'ausilio di uno schema di rigatura tracciato a secco (tipo Leroy-Sautel 00A1); il numero di righe scritte per pagina non è costante, ma varia da un minimo di 24 ad un massimo di 31, per ragioni che spiegheremo a breve. L'interlinea si mantiene sempre abbastanza ampia da conferire ariosità alla pagina e rendere la lettura del testo molto agevole.

L'inchiostro utilizzato è prevalentemente di colore marrone; i titoli e i capilettera iniziali sono invece tracciati in inchiostro rosso chiaro, tranne nel *Marc. gr.* II, 8, dove per i titoli è impiegato l'inchiostro nero. La qualità degli inchiostri utilizzati doveva essere piuttosto bassa, dal momento che in tutti i codici si sono notevolmente sbiaditi.

Com'è la norma per i libri copiati da un erudito, l'ornamentazione e la decorazione sono ridotte. In tutti e quattro i codici, infatti, sono presenti solo piccole cornici sopra ai titoli, tracciate da Giorgio stesso. Si tratta di un disegno costituito da un rettangolo lungo e stretto, intorno a cui si avvolge una spirale a motivi vegetali. Per queste cornici è stato sempre utilizzato un inchiostro del medesimo colore del titolo (dunque rosso, tranne nel Marciano, dove troviamo il nero).

Giorgio Metochites ha sistematicamente apposto *diplai* (>) o lemnischi (÷) in corrispondenza di quelle parti di testo in cui sono riportate citazioni di altri autori. L'impiego di tali segni diacritici è finalizzato a distinguere, all'interno del testo, le citazioni, che scandiscono con regolare frequenza le argomentazioni dell'autore.

Le modifiche al testo (su cui ritorneremo più in dettaglio nel paragrafo seguente) sono state apportate dall'autore sempre in modo ordinato.

## 2. *I tre autografi dell'Historia dogmatica: le relazioni stemmatiche e il processo di revisione e correzione dell'opera*

Le relazioni fra i tre testimoni autografi dell'*Historia dogmatica* di Giorgio Metochites non sono mai state studiate approfonditamente e non è mai stata condotta una collazione – completa o parziale – in base alla quale valutare la loro reciproca posizione stemmatica.

L'unico ad aver dedicato una qualche attenzione alle relazioni fra i tre autografi è stato, come si è accennato, Ciro Giannelli. Egli ha stabilito che il *Vat. gr.* 1583 è il manoscritto più antico dell'*Historia* in nostro possesso e che, a partire da questo testimone, l'autore stesso avrebbe poi trascritto il Laurenziano e il Marciano; sul rapporto fra questi ultimi due codici, però, Giannelli non ha indagato oltre.<sup>58</sup>

58. C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 101-103.

Pertanto, in questa sede ci proponiamo di verificare e precisare l'ipotesi da lui formulata, attraverso l'analisi filologica del testo. In particolare, si è cercato di ricostruire le relazioni stemmatiche esistenti fra questi tre testimoni, al fine di stabilire in quale successione essi siano stati realizzati.

Inoltre, la sopravvivenza di ben tre autografi della medesima opera ha offerto l'opportunità di studiare più da vicino le modalità di intervento e modifica del testo da parte dell'autore.<sup>59</sup> A questo proposito è bene sottolineare un dato importante, di cui ci si accorge quasi subito studiando questi tre manoscritti: l'autore si è sforzato di renderli il più possibile equivalenti fra loro da un punto di vista testuale. Questo significa che Metochites ha cercato di eliminare ogni possibile differenza: ha letto scrupolosamente ogni copia, ha corretto gli errori commessi e integrato le parole omesse. Ad ogni nuova e sostanziale modifica del testo egli ha puntualmente aggiornato ciascun manoscritto, eliminando la versione precedente in esso contenuta. Nell'intenzione dell'autore, quindi, questi tre codici dovevano riflettere una medesima fase di composizione dell'opera, ovvero quella definitiva.

Tuttavia, la persistenza di alcune piccole differenze, la presenza di segmenti testuali in rasura e di aggiunte interlineari ci consentono di intravedere, seppur in parte, il lavoro *in fieri* e di ricostruire in linea generale il procedimento seguito dall'autore nella realizzazione di questi tre codici. Il processo di copia, revisione e correzione dei tre autografi dell'*Historia* seguito da Giorgio Metochites si è sviluppato secondo le seguenti fasi:

1. copia del *Vat. gr.* 1583;
2. revisione del Vaticano, riscrittura di alcuni passi in rasura e aggiunte interlineari;
3. copia del Laurenziano dal Vaticano;
4. controllo sul Vaticano del testo copiato nel Laurenziano e conseguenti correzioni in rasura o in interlinea (laddove l'autore ha riscontrato errori);

59. La tarda età bizantina può vantare la conservazione di un significativo numero di codici autografi; negli ultimi anni numerosi studiosi si sono occupati di definire le caratteristiche di queste copie d'autore e di indagare le implicazioni sul piano filologico e ecdotico. Vedi E. V. MALTESE, Ortografia d'autore e regole dell'editore: gli autografi bizantini, in *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cremona 4-8 ottobre 1992*, Lucca 1995, p. 261-286 [= *RSBN* n.s. 32, 1995, p. 91-121]; D. HARLFINGER, Autographa aus der Palaiologenzeit, in W. SEIBT (ed.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit. Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger*, Vienna 1996, p. 43-50; A. GIANNOULI e E. SCHIFFER (ed.), *From Manuscripts to Books. Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10-11 December 2009)*, Vienna 2011; D. R. REINSCH, What should an editor do with a text like the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos?, in A. BUCOSSÌ e E. KIHLMAN (ed.), *Ars Edendi. Lecture Series*, II, Stoccolma 2012, p. 131-154.

5. copia del Marciano dal Laurenziano;
6. controllo del testo del Marciano con il codice Vaticano, in concomitanza con una seconda revisione del Laurenziano, e conseguenti correzioni in rasura o in interlinea.

Come già stabilito da Ciro Giannelli, dunque, il *Vat. gr.* 1583 rappresenta il testimone più antico fra i tre autografi dell'*Historia dogmatica*. Questo codice, infatti, è la copia di lavoro dell'autore: contiene numerose e significative porzioni di testo scritte in rasura e alcune brevi aggiunte nell'interlinea superiore. Si tratta, senza eccezioni, di parti dell'opera che nel Laurenziano e nel Marciano sono scritte in pulito, senza alcun segno di correzione o integrazione successiva. Da questo si può dedurre che il Vaticano sia l'autografo più antico e che questa prima revisione del testo sia avvenuta prima della copia degli altri due testimoni.

Ciò significa che Giorgio Metochites, subito dopo aver ultimato la stesura del *Vat. gr.* 1583, ha riletto il testo, aggiunto qualche parola e riscritto in rasura alcuni passi. L'autore ha riposto particolare attenzione nel lasciare le pagine il più ordinate possibile e, di conseguenza, ha eliminato le redazioni precedenti dei passi modificati: è così impossibile per noi recuperare il testo originario là dove esso è stato eraso (il testo originario risulta infatti illeggibile anche con l'ausilio della lampada a raggi ultra-violetti).

Metochites è intervenuto sul testo ricorrendo a rasure o aggiunte interlineari (mai marginali). Le modifiche apportate in rasura possono essere a loro volta suddivise in due categorie: riscrittura di intere frasi oppure interventi più puntuali. Gli interventi più ampi riflettono verisimilmente una modifica del contenuto dell'opera; se ne trovano solo dodici casi in tutto il codice. Quello che risulta comunque interessante è che di questi dodici occorrenze, nove si trovano nel primo libro, mentre solo due nel secondo e una nel terzo: il rimaneggiamento del testo del libro I fu quindi più consistente rispetto a quello degli altri due. Gli interventi puntuali, invece, riguardano solo una o due parole: in questo caso dobbiamo piuttosto pensare che si sia trattato di correzioni intese a migliorare la forma e lo stile. Questa attenta revisione doveva portare, nell'ottica dell'autore, alla redazione finale: il codice Vaticano contiene infatti l'*Historia dogmatica* nella sua veste rivista e definitiva. La certezza di questa affermazione deriva dal fatto che, come abbiamo accennato, il testo degli altri due autografi non presenta differenze a livello di contenuto rispetto a quello del *Vat. gr.* 1583, ma solo piccole migliorie sul piano della forma e dello stile.

Per comprendere i rapporti stemmatici fra il Laurenziano (indicato d'ora in poi con il *siglum* L) e il Marciano (M) rispetto al Vaticano (V) ho

collazionato il testo dei primi venti paragrafi di ciascuno dei tre libri dell'*Historia dogmatica*. Ne è emerso che il *Laur. plut.* 7.31 è una copia diretta del *Vat. gr.* 1583: **L**, infatti, contiene il medesimo testo di **V** e presenta nel testo e in pulito quelle porzioni dell'opera che nell'antigrafo abbiamo visto essere scritte in rasura o in interlinea. Rispetto a **V**, **L** presenta alcune varianti (sostituzioni, aggiunte, omissioni, diverso ordine delle parole); è proprio grazie alla presenza di queste differenze tra il Vaticano e il Laurenziano che è possibile identificare con sicurezza in quest'ultimo l'antigrafo del *Marc. gr.* II, 8. Tutte le varianti di **L** contro **V**, infatti, sono condivise anche da **M**, il quale, a sua volta, presenta una serie di varianti proprie. Se ne deduce che **M** è un apografo del manoscritto **L** e che quindi esso discende solo indirettamente da **V**.

Possiamo così giungere alla conclusione che il *Laur. plut.* 7.31 fu il secondo degli autografi dell'*Historia* ad essere realizzato, mentre il *Marc. gr.* II, 8 fu copiato per ultimo e rappresenta, quindi, l'autografo più recente di quest'opera, la versione finale, ufficialmente riconosciuta dall'autore come tale: è forse per questa ragione che **M** è l'unico dei tre testimoni a contenere una sottoscrizione.

Di seguito sono elencate alcune delle varianti più significative.

Varianti comuni a **L** e **M** contro **V**:<sup>60</sup>

*Hist.*, I, 11, 15<sup>20</sup>] κατακράτος **V**, om. **LM**

13, 18<sup>11</sup>] ἀπλῶς **V**, ἀπαξαπλῶς **LM**

18, 23<sup>11</sup>] βαδιεῖται ὁ λόγος **V**, ὁ λόγος βαδιεῖται **LM**

*Hist.*, II, 2, 180<sup>3-4</sup>] συλλαβῆς ἀλλοιοῦσιν **V**, συλλαβῆς ἢ κεραίας ἀλλοιοῦσιν **LM**

7, 183<sup>3</sup>] τὸ ἀζήμιον, [...] καὶ ἀκίνδυνον **V**, τὸ ἀκίνδυνον, [...] καὶ ἀζήμιον **LM**

183<sup>11</sup>] ἀοιδίμου ἐν βασιλεῦσιν **V**, ἀοιδίμου ἐκείνου ἐν βασιλεῦσιν **LM**

15, 188<sup>13</sup>] αὐτοῖς **V**, om. **LM**

17, 189<sup>32</sup>] ἔχον δεδιδαγμένος **V**, ἔχον ἐκφαίνειν δεδιδαγμένος **LM**

*Hist.*, III, 2, 320<sup>A3</sup>] μηδαμῶς **V**, οὐδαμῶς **LM**

10, 324<sup>B37</sup>] ἐκπορεύεται **V**, ἐκπορεύεσθαι **LM**

325<sup>A2</sup>] οὕτω **V**, οὕτω **LM**

16, 328<sup>B30</sup>] τὴν τῆς ὑπερορίας **V**, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας **LM**

60. I riferimenti collocati prima della parentesi quadra corrispondono al numero di paragrafo (in grassetto), di pagina e di riga dell'edizione di Cozza-Luzi (METOCHITES, *Historia*, I-II-III). La collazione, lo ricordiamo, è limitata ai paragrafi α'- κ' di ognuno dei tre libri.

Varianti di **M** contro **V** e **L**

**Hist., I, 3, 4<sup>7</sup>**] **μανίας** **VL**, **κακίας** **M**

**12, 16<sup>10</sup>**] **ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν** **VL**, **ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων** **M**

**16<sup>15</sup>**] **ταῦτα γενέσθαι** **VL**, **γενέσθαι ταῦτα** **M**

**Hist., II, 15, 188<sup>3</sup>**] **τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος** **VL**, om. **M**

**17, 189<sup>24</sup>**] **ἐστὶν ὁ καινὸς οὗτος** **VL**, **ὁ καινὸς οὗτός ἐστιν** **M**

**18, 190<sup>3</sup>**] **τυγχάνοιεν** **VL**, **τυγχάνουσιν** **M**

**190<sup>20</sup>**] **ἐκ Πατρὸς** **VL**, om. **M**

**190<sup>22</sup>**] **δι' Ἰησοῦ** **VL**, om. **M**

**Hist., III, 8, 324<sup>A2</sup>**] **νόος** **VL**, om. **M**

**12, 326<sup>A8</sup>**] **ἐξ αὐτῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων** **VL**, **παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐξ αὐτῶν** **M**

**14, 327<sup>A30</sup>**] **κεκτημένα** **VL**, **κεκτημένους** **M**

Occorre precisare che le varianti di **L** e **M** rispetto a **V** – e poi di **M** rispetto a **V** e **L** – sono state esclusivamente introdotte dall'autore in fase di copia (e non successivamente): le varianti compaiono infatti nel testo e in pulito, senza segni di correzione o ripensamento. Tali modifiche consistono quasi sempre in mutamenti dell'*ordo verborum* (inversioni o simili), omissioni o aggiunte di singole parole o sostituzioni di un termine con un altro. Trattandosi di autografi, non è facile stabilire se tali varianti siano da considerare errori di copia commessi dall'autore o modifiche intenzionali. Considerati, però, da un lato la grande attenzione posta da Metochites nel trascrivere e correggere i propri codici, e dall'altro il carattere per lo più migliorativo di questi interventi, è molto probabile che si tratti di modifiche da lui apportate consapevolmente – almeno nella maggior parte dei casi.

La sopravvivenza di queste piccole differenze deve però trovare, all'interno del generale obiettivo dell'autore di creare tre codici testualmente equivalenti, una spiegazione ragionevole. È probabile che in questi casi Metochites abbia scelto di non cambiare di conseguenza anche il testo dell'antigrafo **V** perché i cambiamenti da lui apportati sono in fin dei conti modesti: si tratta, senza eccezione, di interventi che non alterano in alcun modo il senso della frase o il suo contenuto, ma che agiscono solo sul piano della forma e dello stile.

Conclusa la trascrizione di **L**, Metochites collazionò questo codice con l'antigrafo (il *Vat. gr.* 1583), correggendo sistematicamente tutti gli errori, salvo alcune omissioni. Tale modalità di revisione rispecchia la volontà dell'autore di realizzare copie corrette e prive di errori. Questa correzione avvenne certamente prima della realizzazione di **M**: la maggior parte delle porzioni di testo che in **L** sono scritte in rasura o nell'interlinea in **M** sono copiate nel testo (delle eccezioni diremo a breve). Prima di utilizzare **L**



come antigrafo per la trascrizione di un terzo autografo, quindi, Metochites si assicurò della correttezza del testo in esso contenuto.

È interessante notare che, se in **V** l'autore era intervenuto dopo la copia a modificare alcune parti del testo, in **L** invece egli ha solo corretto gli errori e le omissioni, senza più intervenire direttamente sul testo. Fa eccezione, in questo senso, un unico caso: la presenza di una consistente porzione di testo scritta in rasura sia in **V** sia in **L** dimostra che questa modifica fu apportata dall'autore quando entrambi questi codici erano già stati copiati. La parte di testo interessata riguarda un passo del libro I (7), che indico di seguito in corsivo:

f. 4<sup>v</sup> **V**, f. 5 **L**: οὐτε μὲν ἕτερός τις εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον δυνήσαιο, ταῖς περὶ τούτων διατρανούσαις βίβλοις προσεσχηκώς, εἰ μὴ πον νεόγραφοί τινες ἤμειψαν ἢ καὶ ἀμείψουσιν, ὅποια πλεῖστα τοῖς τὸ σχίσμα κρατύνασι καὶ κρατύνουσι καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον πέπρακται· τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν καὶ προδήλως γνωίη τις καὶ εὐρήσει ὡς ὅσα καὶ οἷα Φώτιος οὗτος ὁ πολλάκις διαληφθεὶς λαλήσας ἔφθη καὶ γράψας κατὰ τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς προσθήκης φωνῇ διαβάλλων καὶ εἰς ἄτοπον ἀπάγων αὐτήν.<sup>61</sup>

Non è più possibile per noi verificare se questo passo fosse scritto in rasura anche in **M**: esso si trova infatti in corrispondenza della lacuna che coinvolge i paragrafi 4-9 del libro I (lacuna meccanica, dovuta alla caduta di due bifogli tra il f. 2<sup>v</sup> e il f. 3 del codice **M**). Dobbiamo perciò limitarci a individuare nella copia del Laurenziano un sicuro *terminus post quem* per la modifica di questa sezione dell'*Historia dogmatica*.

Il medesimo meccanismo di correzione e revisione del testo che abbiamo descritto per **L** è stato applicato anche a **M**: dopo averne concluso la trascrizione, Metochites ha collazionato anche questo manoscritto con i precedenti autografi, per sistemare errori e omissioni. Occorre notare che nel copiare **M** l'autore ha commesso molti più errori che negli altri codici: le correzioni da lui apportate su questo manoscritto sono quindi molto più numerose di quelle presenti in **V** e **L**. Le ragioni potrebbero essere state molteplici: l'età più avanzata (d'altronde **M** fu l'ultimo autografo dell'*Historia* ad essere realizzato), oppure la noia, la fretta o le difficili condizioni di lavoro. La revisione di **M** (come già era successo per **L**) non comportò

61. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 7, p. 10<sup>14-21</sup>: «Né qualcun altro potrebbe affermare una cosa simile, prestando fede ai libri che si occupano dell'argomento, a meno che certi nuovi autori abbiano alterato o alterino un domani tutte le numerose azioni che sono state compiute da coloro che, adesso e in futuro, hanno rafforzato e rafforzeranno lo scisma; al contrario, uno potrebbe davvero imparare e scoprire chiaramente tutte quelle cose che Fozio (figura spesso controversa) ha detto e scritto per primo contro la Chiesa romana, opponendosi all'aggiunta del Filioque e giudicandola assurda».

alcuna sostanziale modifica al testo; anche in questo caso, quindi, l'intervento di Metochites sulla copia conclusa era puramente finalizzato al controllo della correttezza del testo da lui trascritto.

Va infine osservato che in **L** e in **M** si trovano anche alcune integrazioni comuni, poste in entrambi i codici nell'interlinea superiore o, meno frequentemente, in rasura; tali integrazioni sanano le omissioni commesse da Metochites nel trascrivere **L** da **V** (e sono in tutto analoghe alle integrazioni presenti in **L** e regolarmente confluite nel testo di **M**). Non si può escludere che, tra queste integrazioni, quelle in interlinea fossero già presenti in **L** al momento della copia di **M**, e possano essere state tralasciate per distrazione da Metochites durante la trascrizione di **M** (e dunque potrebbero essere state introdotte in **M** in seguito a una nuova collazione su **L**). Questa ipotesi però mal si adatta alle cinque integrazioni comuni a **L** e **M** che in **L** sono state effettuate in rasura (contrassegnate da un asterisco nell'elenco che segue): in questo caso le integrazioni difficilmente sarebbero sfuggite a Metochites durante la copia di **M** da **L** (si noti che per integrare in rasura queste omissioni in **L** l'autore ha raschiato via la parola o il gruppo di parole immediatamente precedenti o successive all'omissione e ha riscritto la porzione di frase completa, riducendo il modulo di scrittura e lo spazio fra le singole lettere). Perciò, almeno nel caso di queste integrazioni comuni che sono in rasura su **L**, si deve ipotizzare che si tratti di correzioni apportate su **L** successivamente alla copia di **M** – e non di integrazioni già presenti su **L** ma dimenticate da Metochites nella trascrizione di **M** – e che quindi esse derivino necessariamente da un'ulteriore collazione di questi due manoscritti con **V**. Metochites deve aver collazionato un'ultima volta su **V** tanto **L** quanto **M**, probabilmente di pari passo (questo infatti risulta il modo più rapido ed economico); oppure, può avere collazionato **L** su **V** e poi **M** su **L** *post correctionem* (o viceversa). Le integrazioni non comprendono errori e dunque non è possibile risolvere la questione e ricostruire con esattezza questa ultima fase di revisione e controllo.

Le integrazioni di omissioni comuni a **M** e **L** sono le seguenti:

Integrazioni di omissioni comuni a **L** e **M**:

\* f. 8 **L** (in rasura), f. 5 **M** (in interlinea): λόγος. *Hist.*, I, 13, p. 17<sup>16</sup>

\* f. 8<sup>v</sup> **L** (in rasura), f. 5<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): οὐ δικαστηρίων. *Hist.*, I, 13, p. 18<sup>5</sup>

\* f. 9 **L** (in rasura), f. 5<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): ἐπιστέλλων. *Hist.*, I, 14, p. 19<sup>3-4</sup>

f. 16<sup>v</sup> **L** (in interlinea), f. 11<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): τὴν ἀρχήν. *Hist.*, I, 24, p. 34<sup>19</sup>

f. 32<sup>v</sup> **L** (in interlinea), f. 26<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): αἰθις. *Hist.*, I, 49, p. 68<sup>13</sup>

f. 79 **L** (in interlinea), f. 71 **M** (in interlinea): αὐτοῖς. *Hist.*, I, 118, p. 168<sup>9</sup>

- f. 92 **L** (in interlinea), f. 83 **M** (in interlinea): ἄ τε καὶ τοῖς θεοφόροις ἀντι-  
καταστῆναι προηρημένος. *Hist.*, II, 12, p. 186<sup>14-15</sup>
- f. 109 **L** (in interlinea), f. 100<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): ἐπ' αὐταῖς. *Hist.*, II, 39,  
p. 204<sup>28</sup>
- f. 116 **L** (in interlinea), f. 108 **M** (in interlinea): καθ' ἡμῶν. *Hist.*, II, 51,  
p. 212<sup>33</sup>
- f. 119<sup>v</sup> **L** (in interlinea), f. 111 **M** (in interlinea): πρὸς ἅπαν. *Hist.*, II, 55,  
p. 216<sup>21</sup>
- f. 121 **L** (in interlinea), f. 112<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): οὕτω δὴ καὶ Υἱὸς πηγῇ  
ζωῆς ὀνομάζεται. *Hist.*, II, 58, p. 218<sup>1-2</sup>
- \* f. 121 **L** (in rasura), f. 112<sup>v</sup> **M** (in rasura): τὰς ἀποδείξεις τοῦ κοινωνεῖν.  
*Hist.*, II, 58, p. 218<sup>7</sup>
- \* f. 124 **L** (in rasura), f. 116 **M** (in interlinea): μᾶλλον. *Hist.*, II, 64, p. 221<sup>23-24</sup>
- f. 125 **L** (in interlinea), f. 116<sup>v</sup> **M** (in interlinea): καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀποτεινο-  
μένη· καὶ κεῖθεν τὸ ἐδραῖον ἐπιφερομένη καὶ ἀναμφήριστον. *Hist.*, II, 65,  
p. 222<sup>19-20</sup>
- f. 127 **L** (in interlinea), f. 118<sup>v</sup> **M** (in rasura): καὶ διανοίας. *Hist.*, II, 67,  
p. 224<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Gli autografi di Giorgio Metochites passati agli eredi

Ci occuperemo ora di ricostruire, per quanto possibile, la storia dei codici autografi appena descritti, seguendone il percorso da Costantinopoli fino alle attuali sedi di conservazione.

Una preziosa testimonianza del frate domenicano di Pera Filippo Incontri (cui si è già accennato) ci permette di acquisire un'importante informazione riguardo alla storia degli autografi nei decenni immediatamente successivi alla morte di Metochites;<sup>62</sup> scoperta da Thomas Kaeppli negli anni '50 del

62. Filippo di Bindo Incontri, di origine senese, era un domenicano del convento di Pera/Galata (vicino a Costantinopoli); dal 1351 egli fu anche inquisitore nelle colonie latine in Oriente. Di questo autore ci sono pervenute tre opere. La prima, intitolata *Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia ecclesie romane*, è, alla stregua dell'*Historia dogmatica*, un racconto delle cause che provocarono la separazione dei Greci dai Latini. Nel *De oboedientia romane ecclesie debita* l'autore sostiene e difende l'unione delle Chiese. Infine, nel *De processione Spiritus Sancti* troviamo le medesime tematiche dell'omonimo trattato di Metochites. Per la bibliografia su questo personaggio vedi R. J. LOENERTZ, Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri O.P. du couvent de Péra, inquisiteur en Orient, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18, 1948, p. 265-280 [= R. J. LOENERTZ, *Byzantina et franco-graeca. Series altera. Articles choisis parus de 1936 à 1969, republiés avec la collaboration de P. M. DE CONTENSON, E. FOLLIERI e P. SCHREINER* (Storia e letteratura 145), Roma 1978, p. 19-35]; T. KAEPPLEI, Deux nouveaux ouvrages; C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 237), Roma 1997, p. 211-237;

secolo scorso, essa non è stata però considerata negli studi recenti su Incontri.<sup>63</sup> In un passo del suo *Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia ecclesie Romane* (opuscolo inedito), l'autore sostiene di aver ricevuto in dono due autografi di Giorgio Metochites da uno dei suoi nipoti:

*Qui [scil. Georgius Metochita] et duo volumina composuit in carcere contra Graecos que habui a quodam nepote suo, quos scripserat idem Georgius propriis manibus.*<sup>64</sup>

Questa testimonianza ci permette non solo di osservare gli ottimi rapporti intessuti dal frate domenicano con l'alta società bizantina, ma anche di capire che gli autografi di Giorgio Metochites vennero conservati dalla famiglia dopo la sua morte.<sup>65</sup> Si deve dunque immaginare che i codici scritti da Giorgio vennero recuperati dai familiari (forse da Teodoro stesso) e custoditi per almeno due generazioni; impossibile identificare questo nipote di Giorgio che donò i manoscritti a Incontri, dal momento che non possediamo sufficienti informazioni sui membri della famiglia. 'Nepos' può indicare sia 'nipote di zio' sia 'nipote di nonno'; nulla sappiamo su eventuali fratelli o sorelle di Giorgio (e tantomeno sui loro possibili figli), mentre esiste qualche informazione in più sui figli di Teodoro Metochites. A questo proposito, va segnalato che tre dei cinque figli maschi di quest'ultimo rivestirono un ruolo attivo nelle trattative di unione fra Oriente e Occidente condotte nel 1355 dall'imperatore Giovanni V Paleologo (1341-1376, 1379-1391): a raccogliere e conservare l'eredità materiale del nonno potrebbe

EADEM, Philippe de Péra O.P. et Demetrios Kydonès, in B. COSTA (ed.), *Diligite sapientiam. Miscellanea in onore di Salvatore Manna*, Bari 2003, p. 339-345; EADEM, Un historien dominicain et ses sources. Présentation du *De oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae debita* de Philippe de Péra, O.P., *BF* 29, 2007 [= A. ARGYRIOU, C. OTTEN-FROUX, P. RACINE e G. SAINT-GUILLAIN (ed.), *L'Église dans le monde byzantin de la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade (1204) à la chute de Constantinople (1453). VIII<sup>e</sup> Symposion Byzantinon, Strasbourg, 7, 8 et 9 novembre 2002*], p. 175-199; EADEM, Les Prêcheurs, du dialogue à la polémique (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle), in M. HINTERBERGER e C. D. SCHABEL (ed.), *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, cit. n. 11, p. 151-168, qui p. 154-166; EADEM, Les prêcheurs de Péra et la réduction du schisme (1252-1439), in M.-H. BLANCHET e F. GABRIEL (ed.), *Réduire le schisme ?*, cit. n. 11, p. 57-74.

63. Questo passo è stato pubblicato da T. KAEPEL, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 175 (a partire dal f. 339<sup>v</sup> del codice 47 della Biblioteca Capitolare della cattedrale di Mersebourg) e poi ripreso da E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*, p. 33. Oltre al codice di Mersebourg sono noti altri tre testimoni delle opere di Incontri: Basilea, Universitätsbibl., A.I.32 e A.VI.15, e Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Conv. soppr., C.7.419. Cf. C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les prêcheurs de Péra*, cit. n. 62, p. 74.

64. «Giorgio Metochites compose in prigione anche due volumi contro i Greci, che ho avuto da un suo nipote e che aveva scritto Giorgio di propria mano».

65. Sul fatto che i manoscritti autografi di Giorgio fossero ancora custoditi dalla famiglia due generazioni dopo vedi R. J. LOENERTZ, *Théodore le Métochite*, p. 50, e I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 283 n. 2.

essere stato proprio uno di loro, ma questa resta solo una delle tante ipotesi possibili.<sup>66</sup>

Avere la certezza che i manoscritti autografi di Giorgio Metochites vennero custoditi per qualche tempo dagli eredi ci permette anche di restituire il giusto contesto a un dato significativo: come si è già ricordato, in tutti e tre i testimoni dell'*Historia dogmatica* è presente la medesima annotazione, scritta con le stesse parole e in corrispondenza dello stesso passo del libro III in tutti e tre i codici (*Vat. gr.* 1583, f. 166, *Laur. plut.* 7.31, f. 166, *Marc. gr.* II, 8, f. 156<sup>v</sup>). La mano che ha apposto questa nota è la stessa in tutti e tre i casi: a comporre questa annotazione, in un tempo certamente successivo al 1328 (anno di morte di Giorgio), dev'essere stato verosimilmente qualcuno di molto vicino a lui.<sup>67</sup> L'ipotesi più convincente è che essa sia stata scritta, se non da Teodoro (la cui scrittura non è stata identificata con sicurezza in alcun testimone), da un successivo erede:<sup>68</sup> solo un membro della famiglia, infatti, può aver avuto accesso a tutti e tre gli autografi contemporaneamente.

Il dono dei due manoscritti autografi a Filippo Incontri (che va forse collocato intorno agli anni '50 del XIV secolo, vedi paragrafo successivo) costituisce un sicuro *terminus ante quem* per la realizzazione di questa nota.

#### 4. *Filippo Incontri, il cardinale Bessarione, Alvise Lollino: storia degli autografi Vat. gr. 1716 e Marc. gr. II, 8 nei secoli XIV-XVII*

Con ogni probabilità, il *Vat. gr.* 1716 e il *Marc. gr.* II, 8 fuoriuscirono insieme dalla biblioteca della famiglia Metochites. Nel paragrafo precedente abbiamo già visto che Filippo Incontri ricevette in dono da uno dei nipoti di Giorgio due codici autografi contenenti le sue opere. Questi due manoscritti

66. Si tratta di Alessio (*PLP*, n° 17977), Niceforo (*PLP*, n° 17986) e Demetrio (*PLP*, n° 17980): sul ruolo da loro avuto nelle trattative del 1355 vedi O. HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Varsavia 1930 [rist. Londra 1972], p. 45 n. 1.

67. Così anche T. KAEPEL, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 174 n. 60.

68. Nel 1962 Ihor Ševčenko ha identificato come autografi di Teodoro Metochites alcuni *marginalia* presenti ai ff. 49, 52 e 115<sup>r-v</sup> del ms. Paris, BnF, grec 2003 (contenente opere storiche e filosofiche dell'erudito e copiato da Michele Klostomalles tra il 1328 e il 1334): vedi I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*, p. 58-59 n. 5, 282 n. 3. Questa identificazione, tuttavia, è stata messa in dubbio da diversi studiosi: vedi K. HULT, *Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy. Semeioseis gnomikai 1-26 & 71* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 65), Stoccolma 2002, p. XVIII-XX. La presunta scrittura autografa di Teodoro (si tratta comunque di un campione estremamente ridotto) non somiglia alla mano che ha apposto l'annotazione sui tre autografi di Giorgio. Perciò, se si vuole ritenere valida l'identificazione di Ševčenko, è probabile che la suddetta nota non sia da attribuire alla mano di Teodoro; diversamente, non si può escluderne l'autografia.

dovevano avere, verosimilmente, un contenuto fra loro diverso: più precisamente, uno doveva essere dedicato al *De processione Spiritus Sancti* seguito dai due opuscoli, l'altro all'*Historia dogmatica*. Identificare con certezza i codici posseduti da Incontri fra quelli sopravvissuti è di fatto impossibile, ma con gli elementi in nostro possesso si possono formulare, con la dovuta cautela, alcune ipotesi.

Molto probabilmente, l'autografo del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* donato a Filippo fu l'attuale *Vat. gr.* 1716: questo, infatti, non è solo l'unico esemplare autografo contenente tali opere ad essersi conservato, ma fu forse anche l'unico che l'autore riuscì a scrivere. In favore del passaggio di questo codice in mani 'latine' a un'epoca piuttosto alta si segnalano le due *maniculae* disegnate nel margine sinistro del f. 1<sup>v</sup>, specchio di un'abitudine tipicamente occidentale (ma difficili da datare con precisione).

Ipotizzare quale sia stato, invece, l'esemplare dell'*Historia dogmatica* donato a Incontri è più difficile. Anche in questo caso è più economico ipotizzare che si tratti di uno dei tre autografi conservati (*Vat. gr.* 1583, *Laur. plut.* 7.31 e *Marc. gr.* II, 8), escludendo che ne siano esistiti altri. Considerando quanto diremo a breve a proposito della storia quattro-cinquecentesca dell'attuale Marciano e la presenza nelle sue pagine di più mani latine databili al XIV secolo, questo codice ha qualche probabilità in più rispetto agli altri di essere quello donato a Incontri.

L'interesse di Filippo Incontri per un autore come Giorgio Metochites si spiega facilmente: durante il suo noviziato nel convento di Pera egli era stato allievo del frate Simone di Costantinopoli (veterano delle dispute *contra Graecos* in campo religioso) ed era divenuto lui stesso convinto oppositore delle posizioni teologiche orientali, nonché amico e collaboratore di Demetrio Kydones.<sup>69</sup> È dunque possibile che Incontri si sia procurato questi scritti di Metochites per trarne informazioni e spunti utili alla stesura delle

69. Nel suo *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, Filippo Incontri scrive (vedi T. KAEPEL, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages*, p. 172): *Fr. Simon Constantinopolitanus ordinis Praedicatorum, qui satis erat imbutus scientia Graeca magis etiam quam Latina, quem vidi nonagenarium existentem, qui multa scripta dimisit contra Graecos, ex cuius scriptis et libris initium habui contra Graecos disputandi, qui mortuus est me existente novitio* («Simone di Costantinopoli, appartenente all'ordine dei frati predicatori, era sufficientemente imbevuto di conoscenza delle opere greche anche più di quelle latine; egli era nonagenario quando io lo conobbi. Egli pubblicò moltissimi scritti contro i Greci: proprio a partire da questi trattati e da questi libri, io mi sono avvicinato al dibattito contro i Greci. Frate Simone morì quando io ero un novizio»). Durante gli ultimi secoli dell'impero bizantino molti frati domenicani attivi in Oriente profusero grandi sforzi per riunire le due Chiese, sia sul piano politico sia su quello dogmatico: vedi C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les dominicains*, cit. n. 62, p. 143-179. Sulla collaborazione fra Incontri e Demetrio Kydones vedi *ibidem*, p. 215-216, e EADEM, *Les prêcheurs de Péra*, cit. n. 62.



proprie opere, che affrontano gli stessi argomenti: un confronto fra il testo di Giorgio Metochites e quello delle opere di Incontri (tuttora inedite), benché evidentemente di grande interesse, eccede tuttavia i limiti di questo studio. Il primo dei trattati di Incontri fu completato verso il 1356/1357; se vale la mia ipotesi, quindi, egli dovette entrare in possesso dei codici di Giorgio qualche tempo prima di questa data, all'incirca nei primi anni '50.<sup>70</sup>

A conferma del passaggio del Marciano in un contesto latino dopo non molti decenni dalla morte dell'autore restano diverse annotazioni presenti nelle sue pagine, databili al XIV secolo e probabilmente da attribuire a più mani.<sup>71</sup> Sul foglio di guardia iniziale si legge una frase benaugurante (*qui scripsit hunc librum vadat in paradisum*), seguita dal secondo versetto del Salmo 6 (*domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripas me*). Un passo del medesimo salmo (6, 3-4) è stato trascritto, sempre dalla stessa mano, anche al f. 174<sup>v</sup>: *domine miserere m(ei) / sana me domine quoniam / conturbata est ossa mea / et anima*. Nei margini del testo, di una mano diversa (forse più d'una) si trovano annotazioni che indicano, in forma estesa o abbreviata, il nome del Padre della Chiesa di volta in volta citato da Metochites. Si trova ad esempio scritto «Basili» o «Ba» accanto ad alcune citazioni da Basilio di Cesarea ai ff. 19<sup>v</sup>, 115, 168<sup>v</sup>; ancora, si legge «Athanasii» o «Ath» ai ff. 19, 103, 108<sup>v</sup>, 110<sup>v</sup>, 112, 116, 152, 169, in margine a *excerpta* da opere di Atanasio di Alessandria. Chi ha apposto le annotazioni con i nomi dei Padri era evidentemente di cultura latina (e quindi occidentale), ma in grado di leggere il testo greco dell'opera di Metochites; in particolare, queste note rivelano un interesse specifico per il dibattito sul *Filioque* e per i passi patristici a sostegno del dogma della processione dello Spirito Santo dal Padre e dal Figlio. Il passaggio di questo manoscritto all'interno del convento domenicano di Pera sembra dunque un'ipotesi plausibile; non è invece possibile identificare con certezza l'autore di queste note latine con Filippo Incontri, poiché la sua mano è purtroppo ad oggi ignota.

La storia del *Vat. gr. 1716* e del *Marc. gr. II, 8* durante il XV secolo può essere in parte ricostruita grazie ai più antichi inventari (datati dal 1468 al 1575) dei libri appartenuti al cardinale Bessarione (ca 1403-1472) e poi alla Libreria di San Marco o Biblioteca Marciana a Venezia.<sup>72</sup> In questi elenchi

70. La cronologia degli scritti di Filippo Incontri di Pera è stata stabilita da T. KAEPPPELI, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages: il Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia ecclesie romane* fu completato intorno al 1356/57, il *De oboedientia romane ecclesie debita* negli anni 1358-59 e il *De processione Spiritus Sancti* nel 1359.

71. Ringrazio la prof.ssa Nicoletta Giové (Padova) per l'*expertise* paleografica.

72. Gli antichi cataloghi della Libreria di San Marco sono pubblicati in L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*. Sulla figura del cardinale si vedano in breve le seguenti voci enciclopediche: L. LABOWSKY, Bessarione, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 9, 1967, p. 686-696;

figurano anche codici contenenti le opere di Giorgio Metochites; essi, tuttavia, sino ad oggi non erano stati identificati, né messi in relazione con la tradizione manoscritta delle opere di questo autore.

Occupiamoci per prima cosa dell'esemplare del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, la cui esistenza è attestata in quattro dei sei inventari della Marciana:

Inventario A (1468)<sup>73</sup>

n° 175: *Item Gregorii diaconi Metochitae de processione Spiritus Sancti, in papyro, antiquum volumen.*<sup>74</sup>

Inventario B (1474)<sup>75</sup>

*In capsula signata B*, n° 938: *Georgii diaconi metochitae et de processione spiritus sancti, in papiro antiquissimo.*<sup>76</sup>

Inventario C (1524)<sup>77</sup>

*In capsula signata K*, n° 488: *Gregorii diaconi de processione spiritus sancti, in papyro.*<sup>78</sup>

Inventario E (1545/1546)<sup>79</sup>

34Γ, n° 395: *Gregorii diaconi Metochitae de processione spiritus sancti, in papyro, antiquum volumen.*<sup>80</sup>

*PLP*, n° 2707; A. M. TALBOT, Bessarion, *ODB* 1, p. 285. Fra i molteplici studi dedicati a Bessarione umanista e alla sua biblioteca vedi M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*, p. 45-61; G. FIACCADORI et alii (ed.), *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra*, Napoli 1994; J. MONFASANI, *Bessarion scholasticus: a Study of cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library* (Byzantios 3), Turnhout 2011; A. RIGO e N. ZORZI (ed.), *Bessarion's Books. Studies on the Cardinal's manuscripts in Venice and around Europe* (Bibliologia 59), Turnhout 2022.

73. Nel maggio 1468 il cardinale Bessarione donò una parte consistente dei suoi libri alla Repubblica di Venezia (vedi M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*, p. 77-85): si tratta, dunque, dell'inventario di questa donazione. Vedi L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 23-34, 147-189.

74. L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 164.

75. Dopo la morte del cardinale (avvenuta il 18 novembre 1472), molti altri codici e incunaboli che gli erano appartenuti furono trasferiti a Venezia ad opera del Senato della Repubblica. Non è sempre facile ricostruire modi e tempi degli spostamenti di questi gruppi di libri, che giunsero attraverso varie vie e a più riprese. Nel 1474 venne compilato un secondo inventario per aggiornare quello precedente. L'inventario descrive i libri, raggruppandoli a seconda delle casse in cui essi si trovavano. Sull'argomento cf. *ibidem*, p. 34-57, 191-243.

76. *Ibidem*, p. 240.

77. L'inventario del 1524 fu stilato in seguito alla risistemazione dei volumi nelle casse. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 57-73, 245-290.

78. *Ibidem*, p. 269.

79. L'inventario del 1545/1546 fu compilato in seguito al decreto del 30 dicembre 1544, che sanciva un controllo da parte dei Riformatori del contenuto della biblioteca, nel frattempo trasferita da palazzo ducale alla chiesa di San Marco (vedi M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*, p. 111-119); si tratta del primo inventario marciano in ordine alfabetico e i volumi sono elencati per banchi e scaffali. Vedi L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 82-91, 327-397.

80. *Ibidem*, p. 348.

Queste quattro voci sono chiaramente riferite sempre al medesimo codice, il cui autore, nonostante la confusione fra i nomi ‘Georgius’ e ‘Gregorius’, è sempre il nostro Metochites.

Il manoscritto bessarioneo è definito come un codice cartaceo, antico o antichissimo (*in papyro, antiquum volumen, in papiro antiquissimo*). Questo testimone del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* potrebbe dunque identificarsi con l’unico autografo noto – e forse l’unico esistito – di Metochites, ovvero l’attuale *Vat. gr. 1716*, la cui storia non confligge con questa ipotesi (esso entrò infatti nella collezione Vaticana solamente negli anni ’20 del Seicento insieme al fondo lolliniano, come diremo meglio più avanti).<sup>81</sup> Donato a Filippo Incontri verso la metà del XIV secolo, questo codice potrebbe essere rimasto nella biblioteca del convento di Pera; il cardinale Bessarione potrebbe aver rintracciato questo manoscritto a Costantinopoli quando vi tornò nel 1435-1436, in occasione dei preparativi per il Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze del 1438-1439, cui egli prese parte, oppure esserselo procurato in Italia durante il medesimo concilio.<sup>82</sup> Com’è noto, teologi e dotti bizantini giunsero in Italia per discutere dell’unione fra le Chiese portando con sé

81. Anche se non viene esplicitamente indicato da questi inventari, l’esemplare di Giorgio Metochites in essi descritto doveva contenere, oltre al trattato *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, anche *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum*. È infatti verosimile che Bessarione conoscesse almeno uno degli altri due trattati polemicici: egli scrisse una confutazione dei sillogismi planudei sulla processione dello Spirito Santo, così come aveva fatto solo Giorgio Metochites prima di lui. Il titolo greco di quest’opera bessarionea è Πρὸς τοὺς Μαξιμίμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Πλανοῦδης περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ Λατίνων συλλογισμούς e la sua edizione più recente è ancora *Sapientissimi cardinalis domini Bessarionis refutatio syllogismorum Maximi Planudae de processione Spiritus Sancti contra Latinos*, PG 141, 309-317 [= *Opuscola aurea Theologica quorundam clariss. Posteriorum Graecorum circa processionem Spiritus Sancti*, ed. P. ARCUDIO, Roma 1670, p. 615-629]. Anche in questo caso, il confronto tra i due testi non può essere condotto in questa sede.

82. Il Concilio che si aprì nel 1438 a Ferrara (e che venne poi spostato a Firenze) fu l’ultimo tentativo di trovare un comune accordo fra le Chiese. Per una bibliografia recente su questo Concilio vedi J. HERRIN e S. M. McMANUS, *Renaissance Encounters: Byzantium meets the West at the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438-39*, in M. S. BROWNLEE e D. H. GONDIKAS (ed.), *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*, Boston 2013, p. 35-56; S. KOLDITZ, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438/39). Das byzantinische Kaisertum im Dialog mit dem Westen*, Stoccarda 2014, p. 502-514; M.-H. BLANCHET, *Theology, Philosophy, and Politics at Ferrara-Florence*, in A. KALDELLIS e N. SINIOSSOGLU (ed.), *Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2017, p. 557-572; D. BALDI, I ‘Documenti del Concilio’ di Firenze e quasi sei secoli di storia, *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 53, 2017, p. 287-374. Fra i più convinti sostenitori dell’unione vi era il cardinale Bessarione, il quale, fra il 13 e il 14 aprile 1439, pronunciò un accorato appello di pace di fronte alla delegazione bizantina giunta al Concilio: vedi BESSARIONE DI NICEA, *Orazione dogmatica sull’unione dei greci e dei latini*, ed. G. LUSINI, Napoli 2001 (con un saggio introduttivo di Antonio Rigo).

numerosi libri contenenti opere in favore dell'unione, cui avrebbero potuto attingere durante il dibattito.<sup>83</sup>

Il trattato sulla processione dello Spirito Santo non è l'unico codice di Metochites registrato negli inventari della collezione marciana. Nell'Inventario D del 1543 figura infatti l'*item* seguente:

Inventario D (1543)<sup>84</sup>

n° 767: *Gregori diaconi de duabus ecclesiis, graece, in papiro.*<sup>85</sup>

Come per le precedenti voci degli inventari che abbiamo esaminato, anche in questo caso si può supporre che il compilatore abbia trascritto erroneamente 'Gregorius' anziché 'Georgius' e abbia omissso il cognome (ma non l'indicazione 'diaconus'); il riferimento è quindi da intendersi, con ogni probabilità, a Giorgio Metochites. Il titolo *de duabus ecclesiis* ad altro non può riferirsi che all'*Historia dogmatica*: nessun altro titolo delle opere di questo autore, infatti, contiene il riferimento alle due Chiese (né tantomeno si può supporre che la dicitura sia stata inserita a proposito del *De processione* da un catalogatore che aveva familiarità con il contenuto del testo, poiché Metochites non era certo fra gli autori più letti e conosciuti). Come abbiamo già accennato, Metochites non elaborò mai un titolo complessivo per questi tre libri: il catalogatore si è quindi limitato a trascrivere una parte del titolo del primo libro.<sup>86</sup> La dicitura «de duabus ecclesiis» ricalca due parole del titolo, che è molto lungo e articolato: proprio questa ripresa parziale costituisce un indizio del fatto che l'*item* 767 dell'Inventario D potrebbe corrispondere all'attuale Marciano. Infatti, se andiamo a vedere quali parole del titolo del libro I risultano ancora leggibili al f. 1 del *Marc. gr.* II, 8, la somiglianza con la descrizione dell'inventario del 1543 è notevole: Γεωργίου τοῦ διακόνου [...] λόγος [...] (δια)λαμβάνων τὰ τῆς [...] ἀμφοτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν [...] (πρεσβυ)τέρας [...] καὶ τῆς νέας καὶ [...] παρηκολουθηκότα καθεξῆς. Si spiegherebbe così perché il compilatore non

83. Vedi D. SPERANZI, La biblioteca dei Medici. Appunti sulla storia della formazione del fondo greco della libreria medicea privata, in G. ARBIZZONI, C. BIANCA e M. PERUZZI (ed.), *Principi e Signori. Le biblioteche nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno di Urbino, 5-6 giugno 2008*, Urbino 2010, p. 214-264, qui p. 224.

84. Il 21 agosto 1543 i libri appartenuti a Bessarione furono trasferiti dalle casse di palazzo ducale agli scaffali della nuova biblioteca nella chiesa di San Marco (M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*, p. 105-110); è in tale occasione che fu redatto l'Inventario D. In proposito vedi L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 73-81, 291-325.

85. *Ibidem*, p. 317.

86. Il titolo del libro I, lo ricordiamo, recita: Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Μετοχίτου λόγος διαλαμβάνων τὰ τῆς προβάσεως εἰρήνης μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς τε πρεσβυτέρως Πώμης καὶ τῆς νέας καὶ ἡμετέρας καὶ τὰ παρηκολουθηκότα καθεξῆς αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν.

abbia registrato il cognome dell'autore e il titolo completo: semplicemente, già allora non erano più leggibili su quel manoscritto.

L'identificazione del manoscritto *Marc. gr. II, 8* (che pure, come diremo, alle metà del Settecento non fu catalogato con gli altri codici del fondo bessarioneo) con l'*item* 767 dell'Inventario D risulta ancor più convincente se si considera che il codice presente nell'inventario non può essere identificato con altri testimoni superstiti dell'*Historia dogmatica*. Il *Vat. gr. 1583*, infatti, nel XVI secolo si trovava ancora in Oriente, a Chio, mentre il *Laur. plut. 7.31* era entrato già sul finire del XV secolo nella collezione medicea (vedi *infra*, II.5 e II.6); i codici *Vall. All. LXIX* e *XCII*, infine, sono da escludere a priori in quanto copie seicentesche. Si potrebbe certo ipotizzare l'esistenza di un esemplare oggi perduto; tuttavia, credo che sia effettivamente possibile che il codice descritto al punto 767 dell'Inventario D sia proprio l'attuale Marciano.

Questa voce *de duabus ecclesiis* riferita a un codice di Giorgio (Metochites) compare però solamente nell'Inventario D: prima e dopo questa data non ve ne è traccia. Allo stesso tempo, proprio questo inventario del 1543 è l'unico in cui non troviamo attestazione del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* di Metochites: è probabile che nell'Inventario D, redatto nel 1543, l'esemplare del *De processione* non sia stato registrato in quanto temporaneamente assente dalla biblioteca. Infatti (come vedremo meglio nel paragrafo III.3), proprio nei primi anni '40 del Cinquecento Guillaume Pellicier commissionò a Giovanni Katelos di Nauplia una copia dei tre trattati di Metochites (contenuta oggi nel codice *Par. gr. 2751*, ff. 162-287); il manoscritto usato come modello fu l'autografo allora conservato alla Marciana, il *Vat. gr. 1716*.

Come spiegare il fatto che l'unica attestazione di un codice dell'*Historia dogmatica* di Metochites negli inventari della Marciana sia contemporanea all'assenza nel medesimo inventario del manoscritto del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*? Forse i due volumi, che contengono gli *opera omnia* di Metochites, potevano essere riuniti in un unico codice: è possibile allora che essi siano stati inventariati nel 1468 e così in seguito sotto un'unica voce. Questo spiegherebbe perché non troviamo esplicitamente inventariato il codice dell'*Historia* prima e dopo il 1543; solo in quell'anno la temporanea assenza del testimone del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* avrebbe costretto i bibliotecari a catalogare singolarmente il manoscritto dell'*Historia dogmatica*.

Se davvero il *Marc. gr. II, 8*, in età rinascimentale, fu unito al *Vat. gr. 1716* nella collezione bessarionea, si può ipotizzare inoltre che i due codici abbiano condiviso la medesima storia anche in precedenza. È allora possibile che sia



stato proprio il *Marc. gr. II, 8* il testimone dell'*Historia dogmatica* donato a Filippo Incontri verso la metà del XIV secolo e in seguito acquistato da Bessarione insieme al codice del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, il *Vat. gr. 1716*.

A partire dal sesto inventario della biblioteca Marciana, l'Inventario F del 1575, non si trova più alcuna traccia dei codici di Metochites.<sup>87</sup> È proprio in questo periodo che il manoscritto *Vat. gr. 1716* dovette abbandonare la Biblioteca Marciana (se vale la mia identificazione), per approdare nelle mani di Alvise (Luigi) Lollino (1552-1625). Nel 1889, infatti, Pierre Batiffol ha dimostrato l'appartenenza del *Vat. gr. 1716* alla biblioteca lolliniana, grazie al numero «41» che si trova scritto nella parte superiore del primo foglio di guardia anteriore: esso corrisponde infatti al numero d'inventario che fu assegnato al manoscritto all'interno della collezione di Lollino.<sup>88</sup>

Alvise Lollino visse tra Padova e Venezia per lungo tempo (1571-1596), prima di spostarsi definitivamente a Belluno (di cui divenne vescovo nel 1596): grazie alla sua fitta rete di relazioni in Italia e in Oriente, costruì negli anni una prestigiosa collezione libraria, che poteva vantare un numero notevole di codici greci.<sup>89</sup> Egli custodì sempre con grande cura la sua biblioteca e, negli anni, ne compilò tre diversi inventari.<sup>90</sup> Fra questi, il primo fu redatto tra il 1585 e il 1591: al numero 8 vi troviamo indicato il codice di Metochites (*Georgij Metochitae de processione Spiritus Sancti libri v. et*

87. Questo inventario fu compilato in seguito al trasferimento dei codici nella sede della Libreria di San Marco progettata dal Sansovino: vedi L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 91-100, 399-427. Sulla costruzione della Libreria sansoviniana vedi M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*, p. 121-171.

88. P. BATIFFOL, *Les manuscrits grecs de Lollino évêque de Bellune. Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la Vaticane, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 9, 1889, p. 28-48, qui p. 34-35.

89. Alvise Lollino nacque a Gortina (Creta) da famiglia di origine veneziana; in seguito alla conquista turca di Cipro e alle frequenti incursioni sull'isola di Creta, intorno al 1571, Alvise e la sua famiglia fecero ritorno a Venezia. Nel 1583 Lollino si addottorò *in utroque iure* all'università di Padova (e, di nuovo, nel 1596 acquisì la laurea in teologia nel medesimo ateneo). Grazie ai suoi contatti in Grecia, Lollino riuscì a procurare, per sé e per altri, moltissimi manoscritti greci, occupandosi in particolare di far trascrivere opere bizantine che in Occidente risultavano rare o addirittura sconosciute. In breve tempo, egli costruì relazioni con le personalità più importanti della scena culturale veneziana e poi romana; fu eletto vescovo di Belluno nel 1596 e ricoprì questo incarico fino alla morte. Sulla figura di Alvise Lollino vedi L. ALPAGO-NOVELLO, *La vita e le opere di Luigi Lollino vescovo di Belluno (1596-1625)*, *Archivio Veneto* (serie 5) 14, 1933, p. 15-116 e 15, 1934, p. 199-304; P. CANART, *Alvise Lollino et ses amis grecs*, *Studi veneziani* 12, 1970, p. 553-587; S. BENEDETTI, *Lollino, Luigi (Alvise)*, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 65, 2005, p. 449-453 (e la bibliografia ivi citata).

90. Questi inventari sono conservati nel tomo 12 dell'Archivio della Biblioteca Vaticana (ff. 46-53) e sono stati pubblicati da P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 212-243.

*aduersus Max. Planudem*).<sup>91</sup> Se, come ho suggerito, Lollino entrò in possesso dell'autografo prima conservato alla Marciana, allora egli dovette acquisirlo tra il 1571 (anno in cui si trasferì a Venezia) e il 1585, data di compilazione di questo primo inventario. Ma il codice dovette fuoriuscire dalla Marciana prima del 1575 (anno della redazione dell'Inventario F, in cui non compare), secondo una dinamica impossibile da ricostruire. Il responsabile di questa fuoriuscita potrebbe essere stato Lollino stesso o un possessore intermedio, di cui però non è rimasta traccia.

Ritroviamo poi il manoscritto anche nel terzo e ultimo inventario, compilato da Lollino negli anni 1596-1620.<sup>92</sup> Come abbiamo visto, all'interno della biblioteca lolliniana il codice di Metochites fu registrato con il numero d'inventario 41 (i numeri d'inventario di Lollino sono convenzionalmente detti *numeri antiqui*, per distinguerli da quelli *novi*, vedi *infra*).<sup>93</sup>

Secondo il volere di Lollino, dopo la sua morte (avvenuta il 28 marzo 1625) i libri greci furono donati all'amico e pontefice Urbano VIII (1623-1644).<sup>94</sup> Così, i codici greci appartenuti a Lollino (fra cui anche il *Vat. gr.* 1716) giunsero a Roma verso la fine del maggio 1625 e furono definitivamente incorporati nel fondo greco non molto tempo dopo: essi ricevettero la moderna segnatura entro il 3 dicembre 1628.<sup>95</sup>

91. Questo primo inventario è semplicemente intitolato «Graecorum codicum manu scriptorum index»; sull'argomento, cf. *ibidem*, p. 43-44, 216.

92. Questo inventario, esclusivamente dedicato ai libri teologici, reca il titolo *Index graecorum codicum manuscriptorum theologicorum Aloysij Lollinij Bellunij episcopi*: *ibidem*, p. 45-46, 229.

93. *Ibidem*, p. 241.

94. Sulla storia dei codici di Alvise Lollino confluiti nel fondo greco della Vaticana vedi *ibidem*, p. 41-78, 204-247 e S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 50-60.

95. Il 3 dicembre 1628 Leone Allacci è il primo a citare un codice lolliniano con la sua moderna segnatura; questa data costituisce dunque un sicuro *terminus ante quem* per la definitiva aggiunta dei codici di Lollino al fondo vaticano (P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 56). Fra l'arrivo di questi codici a Roma e la loro definitiva aggiunta al fondo greco della biblioteca, trascorsero alcuni anni. In questo lasso di tempo, la loro legatura venne sostituita con una nuova, recante lo stemma di Scipione Cobelluzzi (bibliotecario vaticano dal 1618 al giugno 1626): vedi J. BIGNAMI ODIER, avec la collaboration de J. RUYSSCHAERT, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Studi e Testi 272), Città del Vaticano 1973, p. 328; P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 5, 55; S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 52. Qualche mese più tardi Felice Contelori, primo custode della Vaticana dal 27 novembre 1626 al 7 maggio 1630, decise di riorganizzare la catalogazione di tutti i codici sulla base del loro formato; in questa occasione, i codici di Lollino ricevettero nuove segnature (*numeri novi*). Il codice *Vat. lat.* 7762 conserva, ai ff. 19-31, l'inventario che fu compilato da Contelori in occasione di questa nuova numerazione dei codici lolliniani: *Index librorum graecorum quos Aloysius Lollinus episcopus bellunensis legavit s. d. n. Urbano VIII*. Questo inventario è stato pubblicato da P. BATIFFOL, *Les manuscrits grecs de Lollino*, cit. n. 88. In questo elenco, accanto a ogni titolo sono riportati due numeri: il primo corrisponde alla nuova collocazione che fu data ai codici (*numeri novi*), il

Prendiamo ora in esame l'autografo Marciano dell'*Historia dogmatica*, le cui vicende nel XVI-XVIII secolo sono difficili da ricostruire. Dopo la probabile menzione che troviamo nell'Inventario D del 1543, non si ha più alcuna notizia del codice per oltre due secoli. Il manoscritto riaffiora, infatti, solo nelle *Appendici* manoscritte al catalogo di Zanetti, compilate a partire dal 1796 da Pietro Bettio (1769-1846): qui troviamo il codice catalogato all'interno della seconda classe, *Patres et scriptores ecclesiastici*.<sup>96</sup> Al f. 25<sup>v</sup> del catalogo manoscritto Bettio lo descrive così: *1357. Cod. VIII, chart. in 4<sup>o</sup> saec. XIII ff. 176. GEORGII DIACONI METOCHITAE Sermo complectens concordiam inter Ecclesiam utramque, antiquae Romae et novae ac nostrae initam, et quae deinceps secuta sunt. Eiusdem Sermo antirrheticus in (Georgii) Cyprii Tomum. Eiusdem Sermo complectens quae post habitos sermones duos superiores eadem de re disputata et gesta sunt*.<sup>97</sup>

Dall'Inventario D del 1543 fino alle *Appendici* di Bettio non abbiamo perciò alcuna notizia certa in merito alle vicende di questo codice: nei registri stessi della biblioteca la provenienza di questo manoscritto non è indicata. Di certo, però, se il codice (come si è ipotizzato precedentemente) appartenne alla biblioteca di Bessarione ma non fu poi catalogato insieme al fondo antico, le spiegazioni possibili sono solo due: o nel frattempo esso era fuoriuscito dalla biblioteca, per poi rientrarvi, oppure venne semplicemente dimenticato dai catalogatori settecenteschi Zanetti e Morelli.<sup>98</sup> Secondo la prima ipotesi, meno probabile, questo manoscritto potrebbe essere fuoriuscito dal fondo in un arco cronologico che si estende dalla metà del Cinquecento circa fino ai primi anni dell'Ottocento: i meccanismi di dispersione dei codici risultano sempre difficili da ricostruire e il nostro Marciano

secondo a quella che gli stessi codici avevano avuto nella biblioteca di Lollino (*numeri antiqui*). Il nostro autografo di Metochites è perciò indicato così nell'inventario: 32 (41). *Georgii Metochitae de processione Spiritus Sancti, fol. 1 – Maximi monachi Planudes Confutatio trium capitum, fol. 77*. Sulla corrispondenza tra *numeri antiqui* (numero d'inventario di Lollino), *numeri novi* (segnature vaticane anni 1626-1628) e segnature odierne vedi P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 241-243.

96. Questa *Appendice* si rese necessaria in seguito alle numerose donazioni e acquisizioni avvenute nel frattempo (soprattutto in seguito alla soppressione delle biblioteche e degli istituti religiosi). Il catalogo manoscritto di Bettio è disponibile in forma digitale sul sito [http://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/dett\\_catalogo.php?IDCAT=241](http://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/dett_catalogo.php?IDCAT=241).

97. Il compilatore si è certamente servito degli studi dell'erudito seicentesco Leone Allacci per ricostruire il titolo del libro I, che risulta altrimenti illeggibile al f. 1 del Marciano; in particolare, Bettio deve aver consultato L. Allatii *De Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres*, Colonia 1648, col. 771.

98. Vedi A. M. ZANETTI e A. BONGIOVANNI, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum per titulos digesta. Praeside et moderatore L. Theupolo equite ac D. Marci proc. iussu senatus*, Venezia 1740 e I. MORELLI, *Bibliothecae regiae divi Marci Venetiarum custodis Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina*, I, Bassano 1802.

non fa eccezione.<sup>99</sup> In alternativa, si può supporre che questo autografo di Metochites non abbia mai abbandonato la Biblioteca Marciana: sono diversi i codici bessarionei che, pur trovandosi allora in biblioteca, non furono catalogati da Zanetti e Bongiovanni con il fondo antico (per varie ragioni, non sempre chiare).<sup>100</sup>

### 5. Il Vat. gr. 1583 a Chio: Giovanni Chametes e Leone Allacci

In merito alla storia quattrocentesca del Vat. gr. 1583 non possediamo alcuna notizia. Nel Cinquecento esso si trovava a Chio, come si desume da due note di possesso presenti sui fogli di guardia anteriori: una fu apposta dal presbitero chiota Giovanni Cotula (?), la cui identità rimane ignota, l'altra da un certo Paolo Giustinian.<sup>101</sup> Allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze, però, risulta impossibile stabilire quando e da chi esso sia stato trasferito a Chio da Costantinopoli.

Al f. XVIII<sup>r-v</sup> di questo codice troviamo una ὑπόθησις dell'*Historia dogmatica* sottoscritta da un certo Giovanni Chametes (Ἰωάννης Χαμέτης), verosimilmente possessore di questo codice e personaggio non altrimenti noto.<sup>102</sup> Nella sottoscrizione a questo *argumentum* egli si definisce χαρτοφύλαξ Χίου καὶ μέγας ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.<sup>103</sup> Si tratta

99. Il manoscritto Marciano potrebbe essersi allontanato in seguito ad un prestito non restituito, anche se nei registri della Marciana (che sono comunque incompleti) non risulta che sia mai stato prestato alcun codice di Giorgio Metochites: vedi H. OMONT, Deux registres de prêts de manuscrits de la bibliothèque Saint-Marc à Venise (1545-1559), *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 48, 1888, p. 651-686; C. CASTELLANI, *Il prestito dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca di S. Marco in Venezia ne' suoi primi tempi e le conseguenti perdite dei codici stessi*, Venezia 1897, estratto da *Atti del reale Istituto Veneto di lettere, scienze ed arti* (serie 7) 8, 1896-1897, p. 311-337; C. VOLPATI, Per la storia e il prestito di codici della Marciana nel secolo XVI, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 27, 1910, p. 35-61.

100. Vedi L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*, p. 104. Il pessimo stato attuale di conservazione del manoscritto Marciano, i danni meccanici che hanno provocato la perdita di numerosi bifogli e lo stato avanzato di depolimerizzazione della carta rappresentano un valido indizio del fatto che forse questo codice venne effettivamente dimenticato per decenni in condizioni di conservazione non ideali.

101. Entrambe le note sono trascritte e datate in C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1485-1683*, cit. n. 38, p. 192. Nella prima, collocata al f. I<sup>r</sup> e databile al XVI secolo, si legge: *Presbit(er)i Ioa(n)nis Cotu[l]iae (?) Chie(n)sis*. La seconda, apposta sul f. I<sup>r</sup> e pressoché coeva alla precedente, recita *Manuale Pauli Justiniani labore (?) q(uondam) Antonii*; questa nota è stata apposta a rovescio e occorre perciò girare il codice di 180° per leggerla.

102. Numerosi personaggi appartenenti alla famiglia Χαμέτης sono attestati a Chio nel XVII-XVIII secolo (e poi fino all'Ottocento): vedi A. K. SAROU (ed.), *Ιστορία της Χίου*. I/2, G. I. ZOLOTAS, *Τοπογραφία πόλεως Χίου. Γενεαλογία*, Atene 1923, p. 523. La famiglia, però, doveva avere certamente origini più antiche, dal momento che la prima attestazione di un certo Nicolas Chametes risale al XIII secolo: vedi C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 96 n. 1 e *PLP*, n° 30550.

103. Il testo dell'ὑπόθησις è pubblicato in METOCHITES, *Historia*, II, p. 228.

quindi di un alto dignitario ecclesiastico, archivista metropolitano dell'isola, insignito del titolo – puramente onorifico a quest'altezza cronologica – di grande archimandrita del patriarcato di Costantinopoli.<sup>104</sup> Dal momento che non esiste altra testimonianza manoscritta di questo *argumentum* di Chamestes, a lungo si è ritenuto che quella presente nel *Vat. gr.* 1583 costituisse una copia autografa. Tuttavia, Ciro Giannelli ha identificato la mano che ha scritto l'ὑπόθησις con quella del bibliotecario vaticano Giovanni Matteo Caryophyllis (ca 1565-1635): non è quindi in base alla datazione della scrittura che si può assegnare una data all'autore di questo testo.<sup>105</sup> La totale assenza di informazioni sulla figura di Giovanni Chametes non ci consente di chiarire l'identità di questo personaggio e, soprattutto, di esplicitare le ragioni che lo portarono ad interessarsi di un autore come Giorgio Metochites.

Questo autografo di Metochites venne aggiunto alla collezione vaticana già nei primi anni del Seicento: i manoscritti Vaticani greci con moderno numero di segnatura da 1487 a 1683 sono infatti entrati in biblioteca tra il 1611 e il 1622. Sulla base della loro provenienza, questi 197 codici possono essere suddivisi in 21 gruppi;<sup>106</sup> il gruppo più consistente è formato dai 62 manoscritti donati dal Collegio greco di S. Atanasio alla Vaticana nel novembre del 1613, ma il *Vat. gr.* 1583 non fu tra questi.<sup>107</sup> Il nostro autografo di Metochites può verosimilmente aver fatto parte di soli due dei suddetti gruppi: secondo Paul Canart e Salvatore Lilla, esso è confluito nella collezione vaticana o insieme ai codici di Giovanni Matteo Caryophyllis (ca 1565-1635) oppure insieme a quelli di Leone Allacci (1586-1669).<sup>108</sup>

Tanto Caryophyllis quanto Allacci (il primo cretese, il secondo chiota) si formarono al Collegio greco di Roma e vi insegnarono per un certo periodo;<sup>109</sup>

104. A proposito del titolo μέγας ἀρχιμανδρίτης vedi L. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque*, Parigi 1895, p. 21-22.

105. Vedi C. GIANNELLI, *Le récit*, p. 96 n. 1. Egli ha ipotizzato che Chametes, entrato in possesso di questo codice, abbia composto l'*argumentum* di propria mano, scrivendolo su un foglio di guardia. Questo foglio di guardia autografo, ormai danneggiato e difficilmente leggibile, sarebbe stato sostituito, nei primi anni del XVII secolo, dalla copia effettuata da Caryophyllis che sopravvive ancora oggi.

106. Sulla storia dei Vaticani greci 1487-1683 si vedano P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 1-40, e S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 34-49.

107. La lista dei manoscritti del Collegio greco è conservata nel t. 11 degli Archivi della Biblioteca Vaticana ai ff. 261-264<sup>v</sup> ed è pubblicata in P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 170-172. Un elenco identico si trova anche nel t. 158 degli Archivi del Collegio greco, f. 38: il testo è stato parimenti pubblicato da P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 172-173. In questi elenchi non si trova mai menzionato alcun esemplare di Metochites.

108. P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 35, 38 n. 29, 166, 201, e S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*, p. 34-35.

109. Per uno studio sui professori del Collegio greco di Roma negli anni 1576-1700 vedi Z. N. TSIRPANLES, *Τὸ ἐλληνικὸ κολλέγιο τῆς Ρώμης καὶ οἱ μαθητὲς του (1576-1700)*



in seguito, tutti e due divennero bibliotecari vaticani. Entrambi, inoltre, pur essendo di origine greca, condividevano le medesime posizioni filo-papali e anti-greche in materia ecclesiastica: avevano perciò buone ragioni per interessarsi a un'opera come l'*Historia dogmatica* di Giorgio Metochites.

Sulla base di questi pochi dati, è impossibile stabilire con assoluta certezza se prima del suo ingresso in Vaticana l'attuale *Vat. gr.* 1583 sia appartenuto a Caryophyllis o Allacci. Pur con la massima prudenza, però, è forse possibile addurre qualche argomento a favore di Allacci.

Leone Allacci, infatti, non solo trascorse i primi anni della sua vita a Chio (dove doveva trovarsi anche il manoscritto), ma vi ritornò per un altro periodo dopo la fine degli studi (1610). In questa occasione, egli fu al servizio dell'arcivescovo latino dell'isola, Marco Giustiniani; il fatto che al f. I<sup>v</sup> del codice si trovi la nota di possesso di un membro di questa famiglia potrebbe suggerire che il manoscritto fosse all'epoca ancora custodito nella biblioteca di casa Giustiniani. Allacci si sarebbe dunque trovato nella condizione adatta per entrare in possesso del libro. D'altronde, l'interesse di Allacci per l'opera di Giorgio Metochites è ben testimoniato non solo dai suoi scritti a favore dell'unione fra le Chiese, ma anche dalle due copie dell'*Historia dogmatica* da lui realizzate (cf. *infra*, III.4).

Nel codice *Vat. gr.* 1583 si trovano poi numerose note di lettura attribuibili alla mano di Allacci.<sup>110</sup> Inoltre, sappiamo che Allacci portò con sé a Roma (e successivamente donò alla Vaticana) almeno due codici che aveva acquistato in patria.<sup>111</sup>

Per converso, la presenza a Chio di Caryophyllis non è in alcun modo attestata. L'unica ragione per sospettare che Caryophyllis abbia posseduto questo codice Vaticano è il fatto che egli trascrisse l'*argumentum* di Chamaetes al f. XVIII<sup>r-v</sup>: questa operazione, però, potrebbe essere stata svolta in un tempo successivo all'entrata del codice in biblioteca ed essere quindi frutto del lavoro svolto da Caryophyllis in veste di bibliotecario.

Depositato alla Vaticana entro il 1622, il *Vat. gr.* 1583 ricevette un primo numero di collocazione («1562»). Quando, nel 1628, Felice Contelori decise

(*Ανάλεκτα Βλατάδων* 32), Salonicco 1980, p. 289-292 (Giovanni Matteo Caryophyllis), 377-383 (Leone Allacci).

110. Nel codice si trovano numerosi *marginalia* di mano di Leone Allacci, che ancora non gli erano stati attribuiti; in alcuni casi, egli ha riscritto a margine alcune parole che nel testo risultavano poco leggibili, in altri ha segnato *inter legendum* alcuni nomi dei personaggi menzionati nel racconto e gli autori patristici citati dall'autore. Cf. ff. 5<sup>v</sup>, 6, 7, 8<sup>r-v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>, 12, 13<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17, 20<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>r-v</sup>, 22, 23<sup>r-v</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>, 26, 27, 31, 32<sup>r-v</sup>, 33<sup>r-v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>.

111. Questi due codici sono il *Vat. gr.* 1599 (X secolo) e il *Vat. gr.* 1604 (XIII-XIV secolo): vedi P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*, p. 166.

di ricollocare i codici Vaticani greci (a partire dal numero 1487), al nostro manoscritto venne definitivamente attribuita l'attuale segnatura.<sup>112</sup>

## 6. *Il Laur. plut. 7.31 e la Biblioteca Medicea*

La totale assenza di note di possesso e *marginalia* nel *Laur. plut. 7.31* non facilita la ricostruzione delle sue vicende. Il primo dato certo sulla storia di questo codice si ricava dall'inventario della biblioteca medicea privata redatto da Giano Laskaris nel 1495. La quindicesima voce dell'elenco corrisponde infatti al nostro manoscritto: *300. Georgii dyaconi sermo continens ea quae scripta sunt circa pacem utriusque ecclesiae veteris et nove Romane, in papyro et corio viridi operto. Gre.*<sup>113</sup> Questa voce, oltre a fornirci il numero d'inventario assegnato al codice nella collezione medicea (300), ci restituisce un'altra preziosa informazione, altrimenti perduta: l'autografo di Metochites, prima della sostituzione cinquecentesca della legatura, era rivestito da una coperta di cuoio verde.

Come è noto, la prima attestazione dell'esistenza di codici greci nella biblioteca del Magnifico risale all'anno 1480: da questa data in poi il numero di libri greci da lui posseduti aumentò notevolmente.<sup>114</sup>

L'odierno *plut. 7.31* potrebbe essere stato trasferito in Occidente in occasione del Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze del 1438-1439. Come si è già ricordato, i padri conciliari al seguito dell'imperatore Giovanni VIII Paleologo (1425-1448) giunsero da Costantinopoli accompagnati da numerosi libri: l'*Historia dogmatica* di Metochites costituiva senz'altro un testo utile per i sostenitori della causa unionista.<sup>115</sup>

112. Sulla catalogazione dei Vaticani greci 1487-1962 e sui problemi che essa ha posto vedi *ibidem*, p. 1-23.

113. Con l'espulsione dei Medici da Firenze, la biblioteca (come molti dei beni della famiglia) venne saccheggiata e depredata; dal 1495 al 1508 essa fu depositata presso il convento di San Marco a Firenze. Giano Laskaris – il quale sottrasse in prima persona molti preziosi volumi – venne incaricato di redigere un inventario della biblioteca confiscata, datato 22 ottobre 1495. Vedi F. PINTOR, *Per la storia della libreria medicea nel Rinascimento. Appunti d'Archivio, Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 3, 1960, p. 189-210, qui p. 190. L'inventario è suddiviso in due parti: la prima comprende i codici greci, la seconda quelli latini. Il testo dell'inventario è stato pubblicato da E. S. PICCOLOMINI, *Inventario della libreria medicea privata compilato nel 1495, Archivio Storico Italiano* (serie 3) 20, 1874, p. 51-94 (la voce relativa al nostro codice si trova a p. 53). Un'accurata descrizione di questo documento si trova in I. G. RAO, *Il fondo manoscritto*, in T. DE ROBERTIS *et alii* (ed.), *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*, I, Firenze 2008, p. 3-15, qui p. 9-10.

114. Vedi E. B. FRYDE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cit. n. 39, p. 5. La notizia si ricava dai registri di prestito della biblioteca medicea: qui nell'ottobre 1480 fu registrato un prestito di un gruppo di codici greci (vedi M. DEL PIAZZO, *Protocolli del Carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1473-74, 1477-92*, Firenze 1956, p. 226, 228).

115. Vedi D. SPERANZI, *La biblioteca dei Medici*, cit. n. 83, p. 224.

Ma questo codice potrebbe essere arrivato a Firenze e poi entrato nella biblioteca medicea per altre vie; per esempio esso potrebbe essere stato acquistato in Oriente da Giano Laskaris o da Angelo Poliziano nell'Italia settentrionale, anche se nei loro appunti di viaggio non compare nessun manoscritto recante questo titolo o attribuito a questo autore.<sup>116</sup>

Una volta entrato nella collezione medicea, il codice vi rimase definitivamente, nonostante le vicissitudini che la biblioteca ebbe a subire nei secoli successivi.<sup>117</sup>

### III. – GLI APOGRAFI (XV-XVII SECOLO) DELLE OPERE DI METOCHITES

Oltre ai quattro autografi, si sono conservati altri sei codici contenenti le opere di Giorgio Metochites; un settimo testimone è andato perduto nella seconda metà del XVII secolo. Si tratta, evidentemente, di apografi dei codici copiati e corretti dall'autore.

116. Negli anni 1490-1492 Giano Laskaris compì numerosi viaggi in Italia e in Oriente alla ricerca di libri da acquistare per arricchire la collezione medicea: la lista dei codici di Lorenzo de' Medici e di quelli visti presso altre biblioteche private a Padova, Venezia e in Oriente è stata pubblicata da K. K. MÜLLER, *Neue Mitteilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1, 1884, p. 333-412, qui p. 367-411. Per un tentativo di identificazione dei codici acquistati da Laskaris per la biblioteca del Magnifico vedi E. B. FRYDE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cit. n. 39, p. 7-9, 686-696, e D. SPERANZI, Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il *Laur. plut.* 58.2, Laskaris e Giovanni Mosco, *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 18, 2007, p. 181-216 (con bibliografia). Nei mesi di giugno e luglio 1491 Poliziano compì, insieme a Pico della Mirandola, un viaggio fra Bologna, Ferrara, Rovigo, Padova e Venezia, alla ricerca di nuovi libri per la biblioteca del Magnifico. Le note di viaggio del Poliziano sono conservate in forma autografa nel codice *Monac. lat.* 807: vedi A. DANELONI, *Per l'edizione critica delle note di viaggio del Poliziano*, Messina 2013.

117. Con un accordo datato 25 aprile 1508, il cardinale Giovanni de' Medici riuscì a tornare nuovamente in possesso di quello che rimaneva della biblioteca di famiglia. Fra il 1508 e il 1510 Fabio Vigili compilò quindi un inventario di tutti i libri greci recuperati dal cardinale, oggi conservato ai ff. 2-76<sup>v</sup> del codice *Vat. Barb. lat.* 3185; in proposito vedi l'inventario di D. F. JACKSON, *Fabio Vigili's Inventory*, cit. n. 39, p. 199-204, e il recente studio di S. GENTILE e D. SPERANZI, *Antichi cataloghi. Gli inventari dei manoscritti greci della libreria medicea privata*, in P. DEgni, P. ELEUTERI e M. MANIACI (ed.), *Greek Manuscripts Cataloguing. Past, Present and Future* (Bibliologia 48), Turnhout 2018, p. 15-38. Ritroviamo il nostro codice al numero 165. L'autografo di Metochites non fu quindi sottratto alla collezione, destino che venne evidentemente riservato a codici più preziosi. La ricca collezione libraria della famiglia de' Medici costituì il primo nucleo della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, aperta al pubblico l'11 giugno 1571: in questa occasione, i manoscritti vennero collocati nei plutei progettati da Michelangelo e ricevettero le signature correnti. Le antiche legature furono sostituite da quelle medicee in marocchino rosso e impressioni a freddo, dotate di catena: vedi I. G. RAO, *Il fondo manoscritto*, cit. n. 113, p. 3, e D. SPERANZI, *La biblioteca dei Medici*, cit. n. 83, p. 220.

Fra questi sette codici, cinque contengono il *De processione Spiritus Sancti*: sono l'*Escor.* Γ.IV.26 (perduto), il *Par. gr.* 1260 (ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup>), il *Par. gr.* 2751 (ff. 162-287), il *Vall. All.* CXLIII (ff. 234-276) e il *Vall. All.* LXX; di questi, solo i primi tre presentano anche i due opuscoli *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum*. Gli apografi dell'*Historia dogmatica* sono invece solo due: il *Vall. All.* XCII (ff. 3-95) e il *Vall. All.* LXIX.

Analizzando questi codici, si è cercato di integrare con nuove ricerche i pochi dati forniti dai rispettivi cataloghi. Come per il capitolo precedente, anche in questo caso si è cercato di porre una particolare attenzione alla ricostruzione della storia dei manoscritti e alla loro posizione nella tradizione.

### 1. Escor. Γ.IV.26

Il codice *Escor.* Γ.IV.26 andò distrutto durante l'incendio che divampò il 7 giugno 1671 e che consumò gran parte della biblioteca dell'Escorial: su di esso possediamo solo le informazioni offerte dall'inventario manoscritto dei codici greci dell'Escorial, risalente al 1599-1600.

Le prime testimonianze certe su questo manoscritto emergono a partire dalla fine del XVI secolo; esso compare infatti al numero 96 del catalogo dei codici di Antonio Agustín (1517-1586), compilato da Martín López de Vaillo nel 1586.<sup>118</sup> L'interesse di Antonio Agustín per i tre trattati di Metochites si può ben collegare alle diverse e varie tematiche studiate da questo personaggio; egli, infatti, si occupò principalmente di storia del diritto romano e di diritto ecclesiastico, ma anche di numismatica, araldica, epigrafia, filologia e teologia.<sup>119</sup> Secondo le volontà testamentarie dell'arcivescovo, alla

118. Martín López de Vaillo, studioso e scrittore lui stesso, aveva lavorato al servizio di Agustín come bibliotecario: vedi J. F. ALCINA ROVIRA, Martín López de Bailo, humanista al servicio de Antonio Agustín, in C. SCHRADER, C. JORDÁN e J. E. BELTRÁN (ed.), *Didaskalos. Estudios en Homenaje al Profesor Serafín Agud con motivo de su octogésimo aniversario* (Monografías de Filología Griega 9), Saragozza 1998, p. 251-258. Alla morte dell'umanista, egli si occupò di stilare un elenco dei codici presenti nella biblioteca: il catalogo di Lopez è oggi pubblicato in G. ANTOLÍN, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, V, Madrid 1923, p. 156-265.

119. Sulla figura di questo umanista vedi J. TOLDRÁ, Un gran renacentista español D. Antonio Agustín y Albanell, uno de los principales filólogos del siglo XVI, *Real Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense* 45, 1945, p. 3-50; C. GUTIÉRREZ, *Espanoles en Trento*, Valladolid 1951, p. 93-124; R. BERTRÁN ROIGÉ, L'etapa italiana d'Antonio Agustín y les seves relacions ambe el collegio de España a Boloña, in *Jornades d'Història. Antonio Agustín y el seu temps (1517-1586)*, I, Barcellona 1988, p. 227-242; M. DANZI, *La biblioteca del cardinale Pietro Bembo* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 399), Ginevra 2005, p. 57-59 (sul rapporto di Agustín con Pietro Bembo). La monografia J. F. ALCINA ROVIRA

sua morte la collezione libraria fu donata alla biblioteca del monastero di San Lorenzo de El Escorial; i codici di Agustín vennero incorporati nel 1591. Questo manoscritto del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* si trova così inventariato nel catalogo manoscritto dei codici dell'Escorial che fu compilato nel 1599-1600.<sup>120</sup>

In questo catalogo il codice è datato al XIV-XV secolo: questa datazione è per noi impossibile da confermare o smentire, dal momento che il manoscritto è andato perduto. Se così fosse, dovremmo pensare a un testimone di origine orientale e uno dei più antichi dopo gli autografi.

## 2. Par. gr. 1260 (ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup>)

L'attuale *Par. gr.* 1260 (Figura 6) entrò a far parte della biblioteca reale di Fontainebleau verso la metà del XVI secolo; si tratta di un manoscritto composito, formato dall'unione di due unità originariamente indipendenti. La prima (ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup>) contiene le tre opere minori di Giorgio Metochites.<sup>121</sup> Questa prima unità non reca alcuna sottoscrizione, ma l'analisi delle filigrane suggerisce di datarla agli anni '30 del XV secolo.<sup>122</sup> Si tratta, dunque, del più antico apografo conservato delle opere di Metochites.

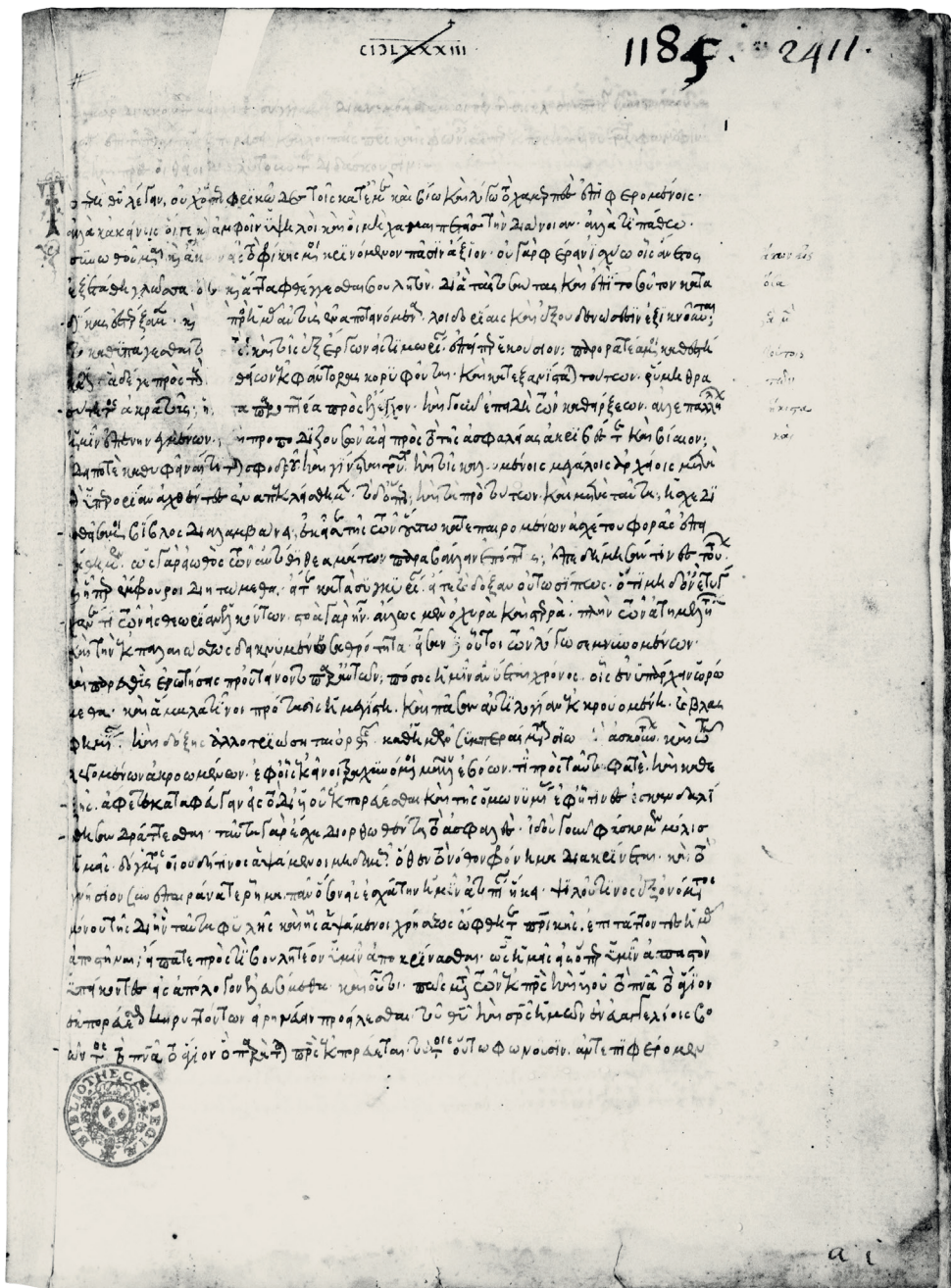
e J. SALVADÓ RECANSES, *La biblioteca de Antonio Agustín. Los impresos de un humanista de la Contrarreforma*, Alcañiz 2007, si occupa della biblioteca dell'umanista spagnolo, prendendo in esame soprattutto i libri a stampa.

120. Questo inventario corrisponde all'attuale codice X.I.18, catalogato in G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo*, cit. n. 47, II, p. 261-262, n° 360. La descrizione dell'esemplare di Metochites si trova al f. 51.

121. La seconda unità codicologica corrisponde ai ff. 73-147<sup>v</sup>. Essa è databile alla prima metà del XV secolo e presenta due scritti di papa Gregorio I in un'inedita traduzione greca. Nonostante l'assenza di sottoscrizione, il copista di questa sezione è stato identificato da Annaclara Cataldi Palau con Giorgio Baiophoros, attivo nella prima metà del XV secolo (1402/1407-ca 1434) nel monastero di Prodromos Petra a Costantinopoli; vedi A. CATALDI PALAU, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto di Giorgio Baiophoros, in S. LUCÀ (ed.), *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma Tor Vergata – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21-24 aprile 2004*, Roma 2008, p. 263-277, qui p. 271. Per Baiophoros copista vedi *RGK*, I 55, II 74, III 90. Per un'analisi più generale di questo personaggio vedi *PLP*, n° 2043; E. GAMILLSCHEG, Zur Rekonstruktion einer Konstantinopolitaner Bibliothek, *RSBS* 1, 1981 [*Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*], p. 283-293; A. CATALDI PALAU, Un nuovo manoscritto, cit. n. 121.

122. Nel codice si possono distinguere tre diverse filigrane; la prima è visibile ai ff. 9, 13 e 14, ma il disegno è di difficile identificazione (si distingue una figura inscritta in un cerchio). La seconda (ff. 20, 26, 29, 50) rappresenta un fiore sormontato da una croce stilizzata e risulta molto simile a *Fleur* 79 Harlfinger (marzo 1434). La terza, presente ai ff. 41 e 65, corrisponde invece a una variante delle forbici simile a Briquet 3661 (Venezia 1438) e *Ciseaux* 21 Harlfinger (novembre 1432).





I ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup> sono dovuti a un'unica mano, evidentemente di un professionista.<sup>123</sup> Ciro Giacomelli mi segnala una notevole somiglianza fra questo copista e un anonimo collaboratore dell'*Anonymus 26 Harlfinger*, presente nei ff. 1-48<sup>v</sup> del codice *Marc. gr. Z. 529* (coll. 847), un codice non sottoscritto, ma da assegnare ai primi decenni del xv secolo e da localizzare in area orientale.<sup>124</sup>

La collazione da me condotta su alcuni passi del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* ha permesso di identificare l'antigrafo del *Par. gr. 1260*: per le opere di Giorgio Metochites esso è copia del *Vat. gr. 1716*. Questo dato costituisce un nuovo tassello della storia del codice Vaticano e ci conferma che l'attuale Parigino dovette essere copiato in Oriente, dal momento che qui – secondo la nostra ipotesi – doveva trovarsi il suo antigrafo all'inizio del xv secolo (cf. *supra*, II.4).

Al f. 72<sup>v</sup>, sotto l'ultima riga di testo, il copista del *Par. gr. 1260* ha scritto un'annotazione, separandola dal testo di Metochites per mezzo di una cornice (composta da piccole croci rosse e grigie). La prima parte di questa nota è vergata in inchiostro rosso: τῷ τὸ τέλος δεδωκότι θεῷ χάρις. La seconda è invece scritta in inchiostro scuro e recita: πόλιμα κυ(ρίου) γεωργίου ἀρχιδιακόνου κωνσταντινουπόλεως· ὃς ἦν πατὴρ κυ(ρίου) θεοδώρου τοῦ μετοχίτου καὶ παρακοιμουμένου (*sic*) τοῦ βασιλέως· ὃς ἦν ἐν τῇ

123. La scrittura di questo copista è caratterizzata da modulo piccolo e un *ductus* veloce, per cui risulta piuttosto corsiva e molto legata. Fra le forme di lettera particolari segnaliamo *alpha*, *beta* bilobulare, *gamma*, *delta* e *kappa* maiuscoli, *theta* aperto, *tau* alto e *omega* chiuso; fra le legature si distinguono la legatura 'a staffa' *tau-rho*, lo svolazzo di *rho* legato e *tau-omikron*. Egli segna regolarmente spiriti e accenti. Il testo è disposto a piena pagina su 32 righe, all'interno di uno specchio di scrittura di mm 150 × 214: i margini sono quindi piuttosto ampi. Il copista non si è servito dell'ausilio di alcuno schema di rigatura. L'inchiostro utilizzato è di colore grigio-marrone per il testo, mentre i titoli e i capilettera iniziali di ciascun libro sono rubricati (vedi i ff. 1, 8<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>, 52). Il codice è composto da 9 fascicoli, tutti quaternioni (1-9<sup>8</sup>). La numerazione originale dei fascicoli, estremamente curata e professionale, è 'a registro' con lettere latine; essa risulta ancora visibile nell'angolo inferiore destro del *recto* di ciascun foglio.

124. Ciro Giacomelli (Padova) *per litteras*. Il codice *Marc. gr. Z. 529* è un manoscritto miscelaneo, che contiene nei fogli copiati dall'anonimo l'*Onomasticon* di Giulio Polluce; esso è catalogato in E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codici graeci manuscripti. The-saurus antiquus*, II, Roma 1985, p. 415-417. L'*Anon. 26 Harlfinger* collaborò con Bessarione sia in Oriente (Costantinopoli 1420, poi Mistrà 1430) sia in Occidente (1450 Roma); la sua mano è stata finora identificata nei codici *Marc. gr. Z. 212* (coll. 606), ff. 338<sup>v</sup>-342<sup>v</sup>, 412<sup>v</sup> l. 8-25, 413<sup>v</sup>-424, 498-499<sup>v</sup>; *Marc. gr. Z. 261* (coll. 725), ff. 225-241, 252<sup>v</sup>-260, 261<sup>v</sup>-273, 277<sup>v</sup>-284; *Londin. Harleianus* 5635, ff. 43-51, 52-62; *Vindob. phil. gr. 64*, ff. 453-499<sup>v</sup>. Su questo copista vedi D. HARLFINGER, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-Aristotelischen Schrift Περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν. Ein kodikologisch-kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Klärung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse im Corpus Aristotelicum*, Amsterdam 1971, p. 175-176, 419; N. ZORZI, *Per la tradizione manoscritta dell'inedito commento all'Etica Nicomachea di Giorgio Pachimere. I, Il Marc. gr. 212 di Bessarione e i suoi apografi. II, Ermolao Barbaro e il commento di Pachimere (con una proekdosis del capitolo 18)*, *Nea Rhome* 12, 2015, p. 245-304, qui p. 257-258.

φυλακῇ χρόνους κη'.<sup>125</sup> Questa annotazione, pur fornendo un diverso conteggio degli anni di prigionia di Giorgio Metochites (28 invece di 45), registra però con certezza la paternità di Giorgio rispetto a Teodoro (su cui, come si è già detto, in passato si è a lungo dibattuto).<sup>126</sup>

Il copista potrebbe certo aver inserito questa dicitura di sua iniziativa; tuttavia l'assenza di altre note o *marginalia* e il notevole numero di errori di trascrizione commessi lasciano supporre che il copista non fosse un erudito, ma, come si è detto, uno scriba professionista. È allora piuttosto probabile che anche la nota al f. 72<sup>v</sup> sia stata da lui copiata dall'antigrafo. A questo punto, le possibili ipotesi sono due.

La prima è che il *Par. gr.* 1260 sia un apografo indiretto del *Vat. gr.* 1716 e che dunque la nota sia stata aggiunta per la prima volta sul (perduto) manoscritto intermedio fra questi due. La seconda è che la postilla in questione fosse originariamente presente anche sull'autografo: il foglio finale del *Vat. gr.* 1716, del resto, è stato resecato subito al di sotto dell'ultima riga di testo ed è quindi possibile che essa si trovasse nella parte di foglio andata perduta, o su un foglio di guardia. Come si è detto, un'annotazione simile, seppure non identica, si trova anche nei tre autografi dell'*Historia dogmatica*: sarebbe quindi lecito ipotizzare che anche su questo ultimo autografo uno degli eredi di Giorgio avesse apposto una breve nota informativa su di lui.

### 3. *Par. gr.* 2751 (ff. 162-287)

Il *Par. gr.* 2751 (Figura 7) è un codice composito organizzato, formato da quattro unità di contenuto religioso;<sup>127</sup> la sezione contenente le tre opere

125. Sul contropiatto anteriore del codice è stato incollato il foglietto corrispondente alla prima catalogazione parigina del codice; chi l'ha scritto, oltre a descrivere il contenuto, ha anche tradotto in latino questa annotazione. Una mano diversa ha successivamente segnalato la discrasia fra quanto si legge al f. 72<sup>v</sup> di questo codice e la notizia fornita da Leone Allacci sulla base dei suoi studi su Giorgio Metochites: gli anni di reclusione furono effettivamente 45 e non 28. La postilla recita: *Leo Allatius per annos 45 eum in vinculis fuisse asserit in epistola nuncupatoria praefixa tomo secundo Graeciae orthodoxae*. Questa aggiunta è dunque senz'altro posteriore al 1659, anno di pubblicazione del volume II di *Graecia Orthodoxa*.

126. Il totale degli anni di prigionia suggerito da questa annotazione è errato, poiché 28 non sembra essere il frutto di alcun conteggio significativo. Questa cifra, infatti, porterebbe a identificare nel 1300 l'anno di inizio della prigionia; a quell'altezza cronologica, però, Metochites aveva già trascorso cinque anni in esilio (1285-1290) e si trovava confinato nella propria abitazione nella capitale (solo nel 1307 fu trasferito al palazzo delle Blacherne). Il numero κη', del resto, sembra essere una correzione, seppur di prima mano; considerando la presenza di un dato errato, questa correzione potrebbe essere indice di un'incertezza da parte del copista nel trascrivere questa cifra, forse difficilmente leggibile al momento della copia.

127. Ognuna di queste quattro parti è stata copiata da una mano diversa e poi assemblata con le altre, secondo un progetto ideato a monte con precisione. La *ratio* che ha guidato la



[illegible]

Fig. 7: *Par. gr.* 2751, f. 162 (Giovanni Katelos).

minori di Metochites (ff. 162-287) corrisponde alla seconda unità. La mano che ha copiato i tre trattati di Giorgio Metochites è una sola. Il copista non ha aggiunto alcuna sottoscrizione; tuttavia, Annaclara Cataldi Palau lo ha identificato con Giovanni Katelos (Γωάννης Κάτελος), attivo negli anni 1540-1543 a Venezia.<sup>128</sup>

La prima unità codicologica (ff. 1-159) del manoscritto contiene i *Poemata* di Teodoro Metochites e il suo copista è stato identificato nello «Scriba di Bruxelles».<sup>129</sup> La terza unità codicologica (ff. 290-352<sup>v</sup>) è l'unica ad essere corredata di sottoscrizione: essa fu apposta da Pietro Antonio a Venezia il 17 aprile 1541.<sup>130</sup> Vi sono contenuti la breve *Expositio fidei* di Gregorio Taumaturgo e due scritti di Barlaam.<sup>131</sup> La quarta e ultima unità (ff. 353-368<sup>v</sup>), il cui copista rimane tuttora non identificato, contiene tre orazioni sull'annunciazione alla Vergine.<sup>132</sup>

scelta di unire queste opere è facilmente individuabile: si tratta, infatti, di scritti incentrati sulla mistagogia dello Spirito Santo e sull'Annunciazione alla Vergine.

128. Egli era un nobile originario di Nauplion, trasferitosi nella città lagunare in seguito alla conquista turca della città (novembre 1540). Katelos si guadagnò inizialmente da vivere grazie alla copia di codici greci e fu al servizio di Guillaume Pellicier (per il quale copiò undici codici ad oggi sopravvissuti). Sulla figura di questo copista vedi O. L. SMITH, *On some Manuscripts of Heron, Pneumatica, Scriptorium* 27, 1973, p. 96-101, qui p. 97; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Les copistes de Guillaume Pellicier*, cit. n. 49, p. 205-207, 222, tav. II; *RGK*, II 220 e III 278. Nel *Par. gr.* 2751 egli ha copiato il testo di Metochites a piena pagina; la rigatura è tracciata a secco (tipo Leroy-Sautel 20D1) e si contano 30 righe scritte per pagina. L'inchiostro utilizzato dal copista è nero per il testo e rosso per i titoli. Giovanni Katelos ha evidentemente riletto e controllato il testo da lui trascritto, perché nel margine esterno dei fogli si trovano alcune integrazioni di parti di testo omesse (ff. 205, 222, 262<sup>v</sup>, 265, 276<sup>v</sup>) e correzioni ortografiche (un esempio al f. 228<sup>v</sup>).

129. L'edizione più recente dei *Poemata* di Teodoro è TEODORO METOCHITES, *Carmina*, cit. n. 2. L'identificazione dello «scriba di Bruxelles» in questo codice si deve a M. CARIOU, *Un nouveau manuscrit de la paraphrase aux Ixoutiques de Denys dans les papiers de Conrad Gessner. Avec une note sur le «Scribe de Bruxelles»*, *Scriptorium* 71, 2017, p. 239-268, qui p. 260-261, 266.

130. La sottoscrizione si trova al f. 349<sup>v</sup>: ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν παρὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Πέτρου Ἀντωνίου· εὐχεσθε καὶ μὴ κτησάσθε διὰ τὸν κύριον ἐκ τῶν ἡμῶν σφαλμάτων. ρφμϛ' 1541 χιλιοστῶ πεντακοσιοστῶ σαράκοστῶ πρώτῳ ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπριλλίου (sic) εἰς τὴν βενετίαν. Su questo copista vedi A. CATALDI PALAU, *Les copistes de Guillaume Pellicier*, cit. n. 49, p. 204, 211, 225 e *RGK*, II 468.

131. Il breve testo di Gregorio Taumaturgo (*CPG* 1764) si legge in *PG* 10, 984-988. Gli scritti di Barlaam sono invece pubblicati in BARLAAM CALABRO, *Opere contro i Latini*, ed. A. FYRIGOS (Studi e Testi 348), II, Città del Vaticano 1998, p. 246-447 (*De processione Spiritus Sancti adversus Latinos, sermones VI*), 466-481 (*Legatus sive de Spiritu Sancto*).

132. Si tratta di *In annuntiationem beatae Mariae* (*CPG* 8174) di Andrea di Creta (*PG* 97, 881-913), *In annuntiationem beatae Virginis* (*CPG* 4519) attribuita a Giovanni Crisostomo (*PG* 50, 791-796) e l'analogo *Oratio de annuntiatione* di Teodoto monoeremita (*BHG* 1123), edita in A. BALLERINI, *Sylloge monumentorum ad mysterium conceptionis immacolatae virginis Deiparae illustrandum*, II, Roma 1856, p. 211-236.



La storia del manoscritto *Par. gr. 2751* è facile da ricostruire, grazie all'identificazione di tre dei quattro copisti che trascrissero le unità codicologiche di cui è composto. Giovanni Katelos e Pietro Antonio, infatti, sono due dei numerosi scribi che nei primi anni '40 del Cinquecento copiarono a Venezia numerosissime opere greche per l'arcivescovo di Montpellier Guillaume Pellicier (1490-1567), ambasciatore a Venezia del re Francesco I di Francia (1515-1547). Non solo, ma anche lo «scriba di Bruxelles» (cui si deve la prima unità del codice) collaborò alla copia di alcuni testi per l'ambasciatore francese.<sup>133</sup> Perciò, il *Par. gr. 2751* fu certamente copiato a Venezia nel 1541-1542, su commissione di Pellicier: le filigrane presenti concordano pienamente con questa datazione.<sup>134</sup>

A Venezia, quindi, doveva trovarsi, nei primi decenni del Cinquecento, un codice di Giorgio Metochites contenente il *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum*; come già detto (cf. *supra*, II.4), negli inventari della biblioteca Marciana un manoscritto di questo tipo risulta attestato fin dal 1468. Che questo codice fosse il *Vat. gr. 1716* si può sostenere non solo in base alla ricostruzione della sua storia sopra prospettata (pur in maniera ipotetica), ma soprattutto grazie ai risultati della collazione (parziale) da me condotta: il Vaticano, infatti, fu utilizzato come antigrafo da Giovanni Katelos per la copia dei ff. 162-287 del Parigino.

I dati in nostro possesso sembrano dunque suggerirci concordemente che, intorno al 1541/1543, l'attuale *Vat. gr. 1716* fu prelevato dalla Biblioteca Marciana e utilizzato come antigrafo per la copia dell'esemplare destinato al re di Francia; poiché i registri di prestito della biblioteca di San Marco furono compilati a partire dal 1545, di questo prestito di qualche anno precedente non resta alcuna traccia.<sup>135</sup> Ad ogni modo, l'autografo dovette essere in seguito restituito ai bibliotecari entro il 1545, anno in cui venne registrato nell'Inventario E della Marciana. Il manoscritto *Par. gr. 2751* fu invece trasferito a Parigi dallo stesso Pellicier e aggiunto alla collezione libraria di Fontainebleau (l'odierna legatura fu realizzata nel 1545).

133. Vedi M. CARIOU, *Un nouveau manuscrit*, cit. n. 129, p. 258.

134. Nel codice sono state identificate più filigrane. Nei ff. 162-287, ovvero quelli che principalmente interessano a noi, è possibile ritrovare un tipo di filigrana molto simile a *Flèche 24 Harlfinger* (Venezia 1542). Nella prima parte (quella contenente i *Carmina* di Teodoro) è stata individuata una filigrana come *Chapeau 51 Harlfinger* (Venezia 1542): vedi M. CARIOU, *Un nouveau manuscrit*, cit. n. 129, p. 266. Nella terza sezione (in parte copiata da Pietro Antonio), la sottoscrizione da lui apposta ha permesso di datare la filigrana *Ancre 51* (Venezia 1540-1542) che compare nei ff. 290-368.

135. Vedi H. OMONT, *Deux registres*, cit. n. 99, e C. CASTELLANI, *Il prestito*, cit. n. 99.

#### 4. I codici allacciani di Giorgio Metochites

Il fondo Allacci della Biblioteca Vallicelliana di Roma conserva quattro codici di Giorgio Metochites.<sup>136</sup> Si tratta di copie realizzate nel XVII secolo dall'erudito Leone Allacci, due dell'*Historia dogmatica*, Vall. All. XCII, ff. 3-95 e Vall. All. LXIX, e due del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, Vall. All. CXLIII, ff. 234-276 e Vall. All. LXX.

Allacci, dopo aver pubblicato nel 1659 i due opuscoli contro Planoudes e Moschopoulos, si dedicò alla preparazione di un'edizione critica delle restanti due opere di Metochites, che non riuscì però a terminare a causa della sopravvenuta morte (1669).<sup>137</sup> A testimoniare il lavoro preparatorio per l'edizione dell'*Historia dogmatica* e del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* rimangono oggi i manoscritti Vall. All. LXIX e LXX. Questi due codici sono molto simili, sia nella struttura materiale sia nel metodo di lavoro che rivelano: in vista dell'edizione delle due opere di Metochites, Leone Allacci copiò il testo da un manoscritto già in suo possesso (All. XCII per l'*Historia* e All. CXLIII per il *De processione*), per poi collazionarlo con l'autografo Vaticano corrispondente (rispettivamente Vat. gr. 1583 e Vat. gr. 1716) e registrarne le varianti (di fatto le lezioni corrette). È perciò molto probabile che i manoscritti Vall. All. LXIX e LXX siano stati realizzati a breve distanza l'uno dall'altro, come dimostra anche la presenza in entrambi di una medesima filigrana.<sup>138</sup>

136. Diversamente da quanto indicato nel testamento, il patrimonio librario di Allacci non confluì immediatamente nella collezione della biblioteca Vallicelliana (fondata verso la fine del Cinquecento da Filippo Neri), ma rimase sotto la tutela della Vaticana. Nella prima metà del Settecento queste carte figurano in possesso di Raffaele Vernazza (1710-1780) e poi di Agostino Mariotti (1724-1806), erudito e collezionista d'arte, cui va il merito di aver riordinato e catalogato per primo le numerosissime carte allacciane: vedi S. PASQUINUCCI, Agostino Mariotti, in A. TARTUFERI e G. TORMEN (ed.), *La fortuna dei primitivi. Tesori d'arte dalle collezioni italiane fra Sette e Ottocento*, Firenze 2014, p. 135-137 (con bibliografia). I manoscritti appartenuti ad Allacci, che ammontavano a circa 234 (97 greci e 137 latini), entrarono fisicamente in Vallicelliana solo nel 1803, proprio grazie a Mariotti: il codice Vat. lat. 9191 contiene ai ff. 134-136 l'elenco dei codici di Allacci da lui donati alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana. Vedi A. M. GIORGETTI VICHÌ e S. MOTTIRONI, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca Vallicelliana* (Indici e Cataloghi n.s. 7), Roma 1961, p. VIII.

137. Ricordiamo che *In Maximum Planudem* e *In Manuelem Moschopulum* furono pubblicati da Allacci nel 1659, nel tomo II della *Graecia Orthodoxa*.

138. La filigrana visibile sui codici Allacci LXIX (ff. 3, 31 e 41) e LXX (ff. 74, 105 e 141) non è catalogata in alcun repertorio. Essa raffigura un'aquila di profilo posata su tre montagne stilizzate, all'interno di una circonferenza; sopra di essa si trova la lettera «F»; a sinistra dell'aquila si distingue una «G», a destra una «N». Stabilire quale dei due manoscritti sia stato copiato prima risulta impossibile: la denominazione di «Tomus primus» al codice LXIX e quella di «Tomus secundus» al LXX è stata registrata da Angelo Mai sui frontespizi dei due codici e non è detto perciò che essa rispecchi l'ordine in cui i due volumi vennero approntati da Leone Allacci.

Nella *Diatriba de Georgiis* (pubblicata nel 1651), Allacci elenca i titoli degli scritti di Metochites a lui noti (ovvero tutti e quattro) e in quali biblioteche sia possibile reperirli.<sup>139</sup>

Di seguito i quattro codici allacciani sono presentati più nel dettaglio.

1. Il codice *Vall. All. XCII* (Figura 8) è un manoscritto miscelaneo, in cui sono state rilegate insieme carte allacciane di vario contenuto e diverse dimensioni; i ff. 3-95 contengono una copia, interamente realizzata da Leone Allacci, dei tre libri dell'*Historia dogmatica*. L'antigrafo di questo esemplare è senza dubbio l'attuale *Vat. gr.* 1583, il quale, secondo l'ipotesi precedentemente formulata, appartenne allo stesso Allacci (cf. *supra*, II.5). La discendenza diretta del codice allacciano dall'autografo più antico dell'*Historia dogmatica* è suggerita, oltre che dall'analisi filologica, anche da altri elementi. Scorrendo le pagine del *Vall. All. XCII* si nota infatti che, di tanto in tanto, sono stati lasciati alcuni spazi bianchi all'interno delle righe: essi si trovano sempre in corrispondenza di parole che nel manoscritto Vaticano risultano del tutto o in parte illeggibili a causa dell'inchiostro sbiadito o di macchie di umidità.<sup>140</sup>

2. Anche il *Vall. All. CXLIII* (Figura 9) è un codice fattizio, frutto della rilegatura nello stesso codice di varie carte allacciane, diverse per contenuto, dimensioni e datazione; i ff. 234-276, corrispondenti alla sezione 35, contengono i cinque *logoi* del trattato di Giorgio Metochites sulla processione dello Spirito Santo.

Come emerge chiaramente dalla collazione da me condotta fra gli esemplari conservati del *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, Allacci ha tratto la copia dei ff. 234-276 del *Vall. All. CXLIII* dal *Par. gr.* 2751 (ff. 162-238<sup>v</sup>) e ha poi collazionato il testo anche con il *Par. gr.* 1260 (ff. 1-44<sup>v</sup>), registrando le varianti in margine tramite la dicitura «ex altero codice». È perciò logico

139. L. Allatii *Diatriba de Georgiis*, in I. A. Fabricii *Bibliotheca graeca volumen duodecimum*, ed. G. C. HARLES, Amburgo 1809 (rist. Hildesheim 1970), p. 1-136, qui p. 44-45.

140. Ne riportiamo di seguito alcuni esempi. Al f. 3, r. 10 del codice *Vall. All. XCII* si legge: καὶ τῆς νέας καὶ ἡμετέρας (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενον: questo punto corrisponde al f. 1, r. 15 del *Vat. gr.* 1583, che risulta effettivamente di difficile lettura. In questo caso, perciò, le parole mancanti possono essere integrate solo grazie agli altri due autografi, il *Laur. plut.* 7.31 e il *Marc. gr.* II, 8. Anche l'editore Cozza-Luzi, che pure non ha visto il Laurenziano e il Marciano, ha indicato una lacuna in questo punto: cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 1, p. 1<sup>12</sup>. Ancora, al f. 6, r. 16 del codice allacciano si legge: κατεξάνισταται χόλῳ (πολλῷ καὶ) ἀμύνης ἀσχετῶ φορῶ: f. 6, r. 18 del *Vat. gr.* 1583. Come nel caso precedente, anche qui l'integrazione è resa possibile solo grazie agli altri due autografi, e l'editore ha lasciato la lacuna: cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, I, 11, p. 15<sup>5</sup>. Infine, al f. 94<sup>v</sup>, r. 9 troviamo: ἀνευδότης κατεπειγόμενα. (Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, οὐκ) ἐφ' ἡμῶν, che corrisponde al f. 187<sup>v</sup>, r. 2 del *Vat. gr.* 1583. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, III, 107-108, p. 369<sup>B29-30</sup>.





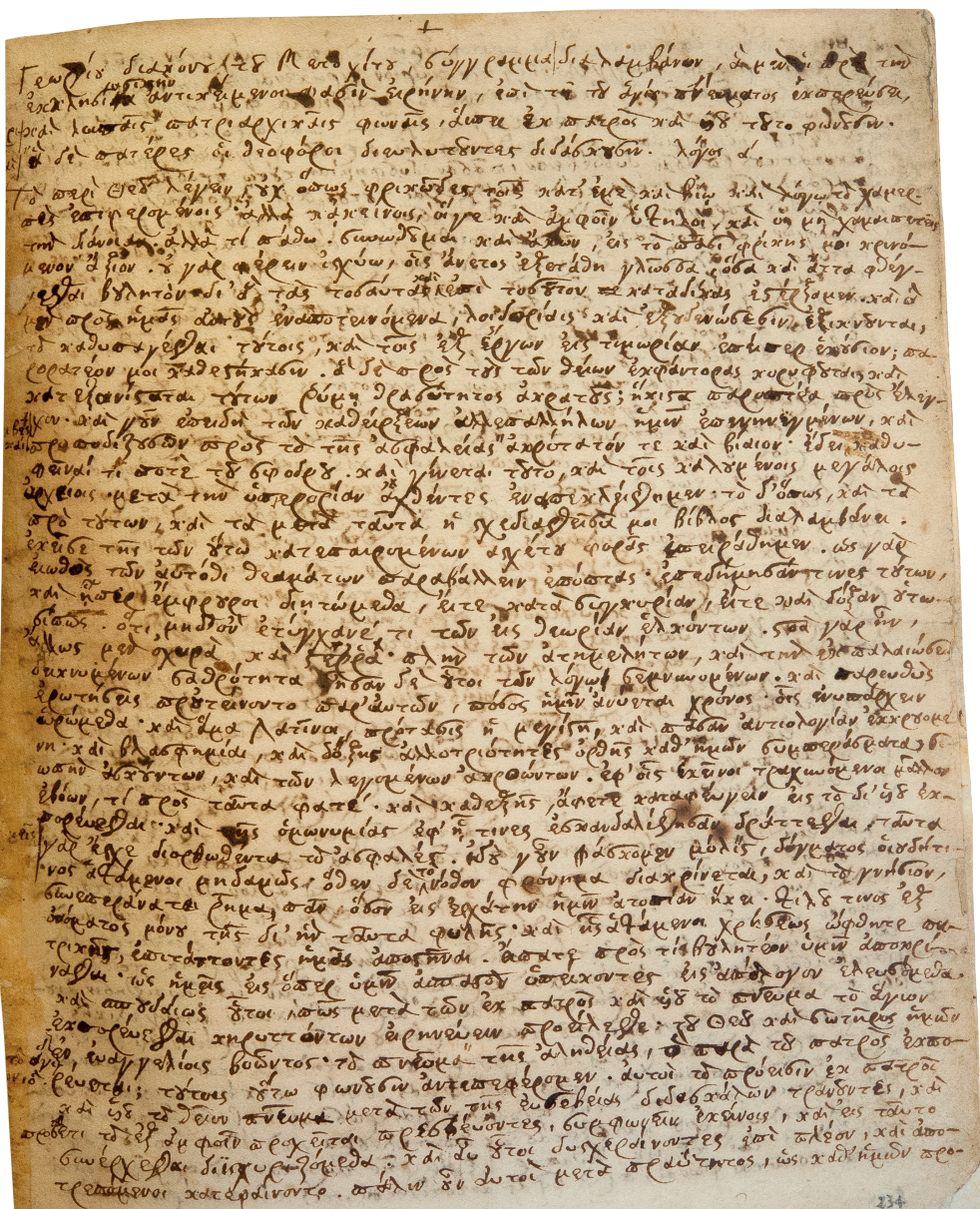


Fig. 9: *Vall. All.* CXLIII, f. 234 (Leone Allacci). Per concessione della Biblioteca Vallicelliana – Ministero della Cultura.



pensare che la copia dei ff. 234-276 dell'*All.* CXLIII fu condotta a Parigi, nella biblioteca reale.<sup>141</sup>

3. Il codice *Vall. All.* LXIX è stato trascritto da Leone Allacci insieme a un suo collaboratore. Il manoscritto contiene oggi tutto il libro I e parte del libro II dell'*Historia dogmatica*; tuttavia, grazie ad indizi forniti dalle annotazioni presenti sui primi fogli del codice, possiamo affermare con sicurezza che esso in origine doveva comprendere tutti e tre i libri completi.<sup>142</sup> Grazie alle annotazioni presenti al f. 2 del *Vall. All.* LXIX, è per noi possibile risalire all'antigrafo di questo testimone dell'*Historia dogmatica*. Qui Leone Allacci ha infatti annotato titolo, *incipit* e porzione di testo da lui copiata per ciascuno dei tre libri dell'*Historia*: si tratta, evidentemente, di indicazioni lasciate dall'erudito a beneficio del suo collaboratore, che ha proseguito e ultimato la copia dal punto dove lui si era interrotto.<sup>143</sup> In questo manoscritto, infatti, Allacci ha copiato solo le pagine iniziali del libro I e del libro II (non possediamo il libro III, ma da quanto risulta da queste annotazioni, la situazione doveva essere anche in questo caso la medesima).

Nell'annotazione in questione Allacci ha segnato scrupolosamente il numero delle facciate e addirittura delle righe già copiate dall'antigrafo, che corrispondono perfettamente alla situazione del manoscritto Allacci XCII. Con queste indicazioni, è semplice risalire al codice di partenza: esso è appunto il manoscritto Allacci XCII (ff. 3-95), di cui abbiamo già parlato.<sup>144</sup>

141. Allacci si recò più volte nella capitale francese, dove uscirono diverse *editiones principes* delle sue opere; egli non ebbe dunque alcuna difficoltà ad accedere alla biblioteca reale e consultare gli esemplari di Metochites.

142. Ai ff. 4-5 dell'Allacci LXIX l'erudito ha segnato le varianti da lui riscontrate su tutti e tre i libri. Inoltre, al f. 9 si legge: «Consta il primo (*scil.* libro del trattato) di fogli 62 ed una facciata, sei dei quali sono scritti a colonnette, gli altri interi; i fogli tutti hanno quattro facciate. Il secondo di trenta fogli e due facciate, tutti i fogli di quattro facciate. Il terzo di 39 fogli e mezzo e tre righe». Questa nota fu apposta dall'erudito quando ancora il manoscritto era integro; nel corso dei secoli sono quindi andati perduti i fogli contenenti la seconda parte del secondo libro e tutto il terzo.

143. Sul codice si legge: «Georgii Metochitae. 1. P(rincipium): Οὐκ οἶδα εἰ καὶ ἄλλοτε ποτε τοσοῦτον ἐξετάθη. Son copiate facciate tre, meno 8 righe. 2. P(rincipium): Ὁ μὲν δὲ διεξοδικώτερος τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἔχει. Son copiate facciate 7 e 7 righe. 3. P(rincipium): Ἦν ἡμῖν ἄρα προτεθειμένον τοῦ κατὰ σκοπὸν ὡς ἐνόν. Son copiate facciate due, meno undici righe e mezza».

144. A provare la discendenza di un codice dall'altro basteranno (oltre alla collazione) le seguenti considerazioni. Al f. 2 del manoscritto *All.* LXIX, l'erudito ha scritto di aver copiato dall'antigrafo «tre facciate, meno 8 righe» del libro I dell'*Historia*: alla r. 29 (cioè a otto righe dalla fine della pagina) del f. 4 del codice *All.* XCII (corrispondente alla terza facciata dall'inizio del testo), troviamo proprio le ultime parole copiate dalla mano di Allacci al f. 18<sup>v</sup> del codice *All.* LXIX. Allo stesso modo, Allacci dice di aver copiato «7 facciate e 7 righe» del libro II: alla r. 7 del f. 47<sup>v</sup> (l'ottava facciata dall'inizio del libro II) si leggono le ultime parole copiate da Allacci al f. 142<sup>v</sup> di *All.* LXIX, prima di passare la penna al suo collaboratore.

Partendo da questa identificazione, è possibile ricavare qualche informazione in più sui fogli perduti del codice Allacci LXIX, in particolare su quelli che contenevano l'inizio del terzo libro dell'*Historia dogmatica*. Al f. 2 di questo manoscritto, infatti, Allacci ha segnato anche il numero di pagine del libro III da lui copiate, corrispondenti a «facciate due meno undici righe»: stabilito che queste indicazioni sono da riferire al manoscritto *Vall. All. XCII*, possiamo concluderne che del libro III Leone Allacci aveva copiato fino alla r. 23 del f. 65<sup>v</sup> dell'antigrafo.<sup>145</sup>

Quando la copia dei tre libri dell'*Historia* nel *Vall. All. LXIX* fu completata, Allacci rilesse e collazionò il testo di questo manoscritto non con il suo antigrafo, ma direttamente con il *Vat. gr. 1583* (l'antigrafo del *Vall. All. XCII*). Questa informazione ci viene fornita, ancora una volta, dall'erudito stesso al f. 3. Perciò le poche varianti dell'*Historia dogmatica* registrate da Leone Allacci ai ff. 4-5 sono in realtà lezioni erranee corrette collazionando la sua copia con il *Vat. gr. 1583*.

4. Il codice *Vall. All. LXX*, come già detto, è apografo del *CXLIII* (ff. 234-276), a sua volta frutto della collazione fra i Parigini 1260 e 2751. Copiato il testo, Allacci ha poi collazionato l'*All. LXX* con il *Vat. gr. 1716* e ha compilato una lista di correzioni per ognuno dei cinque libri del trattato. In qualità di *scriptor graecus* e poi di primo custode della Biblioteca, l'Allacci non ebbe certo difficoltà a reperire l'autografo di Metochites, conservato nella Vaticana fin dal 1626.

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Questo studio relativo alla storia dei manoscritti di Giorgio Metochites permette di osservare in quali *milieux* culturali questi codici abbiano circolato. Il numero ristretto dei testimoni della tradizione rispecchia la ridotta quantità di lettori che nutrono un interesse specifico per queste opere di argomento unionista, dettato da precise necessità e precipe intenzioni. I protagonisti di questa tradizione, infatti, furono nella maggioranza dei casi coloro che nei secoli successivi a Metochites si interessarono a qualche titolo al problema dell'unione delle Chiese, facendosene spesso anche promotori.

Queste precise corrispondenze fra i due manoscritti non lasciano alcun dubbio sul fatto che il *XCII* sia antigrafo del *LXIX*.

145. La r. 23 del f. 65<sup>v</sup> del codice *Vall. All. XCII* contiene queste parole: *ἔχοντες ὅθεν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου προβλλομένων ὡσεὶ τινα τῶν νοτ' μηδὲλως δι(οικουμένων) [...]*. Cf. METOCHITES, *Historia*, III, 3, p. 320<sup>B13-15</sup>.

Questi testi circolarono, come abbiamo visto, all'interno di un ramo unionista della famiglia Metochites (come alcuni dei figli di Teodoro) fino alla metà circa del XIV secolo, poi nel contesto latino dei domenicani di Pera (Filippo Incontri) nella seconda metà del XIV secolo e in seguito fra i sostenitori greci dell'unione attivi in Occidente (Bessarione, Leone Allacci, Matteo Caryophyllis). Il caso di Giovanni Chametes è interessante da questo punto di vista: egli potrebbe aver collaborato con il patriarcato di Costantinopoli in un'epoca fra il XV e il XVI secolo, di nuovo in un contesto unionista (si tratta però di una pura ipotesi).

In secondo luogo, i dati raccolti in questo studio aprono la strada a nuove prospettive di lavoro sulle opere di Giorgio Metochites. In primo luogo, si rivela come assolutamente necessario l'allestimento di un'edizione critica dei quattro trattati di Metochites, basata su moderni criteri ecdotici e sullo studio complessivo di tutta la tradizione manoscritta.

L'edizione dell'*Historia dogmatica* dovrà fondarsi, quando possibile, sul testo del *Marc. gr.* II, 8 (che abbiamo visto essere la copia autografa più recente di quest'opera e la sola sottoscritta dall'autore). Per quelle porzioni di testo in cui il codice risulta lacunoso, mutilo o illeggibile, occorrerà ricorrere al *Laur. plut.* 7.31, suo diretto antografo. L'editore dell'*Historia dogmatica* sarà tenuto a registrare in apparato le varianti d'autore del *Vat. gr.* 1583 e del *Laur. plut.* 7.31: anche se minime, le differenze fra le tre redazioni di cui disponiamo meritano di essere messe in evidenza, come testimonianza del processo compositivo. A questa edizione attendo ora nell'ambito della mia tesi di dottorato.

L'edizione del *De processione Spiritus Sancti, In Maximum Planudem e In Manuelem Moschopulum*, invece, dovrà esclusivamente basarsi sull'unico autografo esistente, il *Vat. gr.* 1716. Nei casi in cui questo codice risulti di difficile lettura, un valido aiuto potrà essere dato dall'accordo fra i suoi due apografi indipendenti, il *Par. gr.* 1260 (ff. 1-72<sup>v</sup>) e il *Par. gr.* 2751 (ff. 162-287).

### Abbreviazioni

- P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci*: P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci 1487-1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Studi e Testi 284), Città del Vaticano 1979.
- E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite*: E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite. Une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987.
- C. GIANNELLI, Le récit: C. GIANNELLI, Le récit d'une mission diplomatique de Georges le Métochite (1275-1276) et le *Vat. gr.* 1716, in appendice a M.-H. LAURENT, *Le bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps* (Studi e Testi 129),

- Città del Vaticano 1947, p. 419-443 [= C. GIANNELLI, *Scripta minora* (Studi Bizantini e Neellenici 10), Roma 1963, p. 91-111].
- T. KAEPPPELI, Deux nouveaux ouvrages: T. KAEPPPELI, Deux nouveaux ouvrages de fr. Philippe Incontri de Péra, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23, 1953, p. 163-183.
- L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library*: L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories* (Sussidi eruditi 31), Roma 1979.
- V. LAURENT, La date de la mort: V. LAURENT, La date de la mort de Jean Beccos, *EO* 25, 1926, p. 316-319.
- S. LILLA, *I manoscritti*: S. LILLA, *I manoscritti Vaticani greci. Lineamenti di una storia del fondo* (Studi e Testi 415), Città del Vaticano 2004.
- R. J. LOENERTZ, Théodore le Métochite: R. J. LOENERTZ, Théodore le Métochite et son père, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23, 1953, p. 184-194 (in appendice a T. KAEPPPELI, Deux nouveaux ouvrages) [= R. J. LOENERTZ, *Byzantina et franco-graeca. Series altera* (Storia e letteratura 145), Roma 1978, p. 39-50].
- LSJ: H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. S. JONES et R. MCKENZIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1940<sup>9</sup>.
- E. MARTINI, *Catalogo*: E. MARTINI, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, II, Milano 1902 (rist. anast. Roma 1967).
- METOCHITES, *Historia: Georgii Metochitae diaconi Historiae dogmaticae librum I et II*, ed. G. COZZA-LUZI, in *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae ab Angelo card. Maio editae tomus octavus*, pars II, Roma 1871, p. 1-228, e *Georgii Metochitae diaconi Historiae dogmaticae librum III*, ed. G. COZZA-LUZI, in *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae ab Angelo card. Maio editae tomus decimus*, pars I, Roma 1905, p. 319-370.
- PACHYMERES, *Historia*, II: GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations historiques. II, Livres IV-VI*, ed. A. FAILLER, trad. V. LAURENT (CFHB 24.2), Parigi 1984.
- PACHYMERES, *Historia*, III: GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations historiques. III, Livres VII-IX*, ed. e trad. A. FAILLER (CFHB 24.3), Parigi 1999.
- I. ŠEVČENKO, *Études sur la polémique*: I. ŠEVČENKO, *La vie intellectuelle et politique à Byzance sous les premiers Paléologues. Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Bruxelles 1962.
- M. ZORZI, *La Libreria*: M. ZORZI, *La Libreria di San Marco*, Milano 1987.

### *Elenco dei codici citati*

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek

A.I.32

A.VI.15

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 3185

Vat. gr. 1583 (Diktyon 68214)

Vat. gr. 1599 (Diktyon 68230)

Vat. gr. 1604 (Diktyon 68235)

Vat. gr. 1716 (Diktyon 68345)

Vat. lat. 7762

Vat. lat. 9191

- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio  
Γ.IV.26 (Diktyon 14652)  
X.I.18 (Diktyon 14976)
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana  
Plut. 7.31 (Diktyon 16054)
- Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale  
Conv. soppr., C.7.419
- London, British Library  
Harley 5635 (Diktyon 39595)
- Mersburg, Bibliothek des Domskapitels  
47
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
Clm 807
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France  
Grec 1260 (Diktyon 50869)  
Grec 2003 (Diktyon 51630)  
Grec 2751 (Diktyon 52387)
- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana  
All. LXIX (Diktyon 56198)  
All. LXX (Diktyon 56199)  
All. XCII (Diktyon 56211)  
All. CXLIII (Diktyon 56247)
- Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana  
gr. Z. 212 (coll. 606; Diktyon 69683)  
gr. Z. 261 (coll. 725; Diktyon 69732)  
gr. Z. 529 (coll. 847; Diktyon 70000)  
gr. II, 8 (coll. 1357; Diktyon 70170)
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
phil. gr. 64 (Diktyon 71178)

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## CONTEXTUALIZING THEODORE METOCHITES AND HIS REFOUNDATION OF THE CHORA\*

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Leading intellectual, prime minister, tycoon and founder of the magnificent monastery of the Chora, Theodore Metochites dominated life in Byzantium during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The literature dedicated to Metochites and the Chora is extensive, reflecting the quantity of evidence available and its significance for topics ranging from philosophy and art to the society and government of Byzantium. Regarding Metochites, most attention has been on his scholarly aspect and less on his other two, more practical, sides, namely those of the imperial official and the magnate, which remain poorly understood. The image of Metochites as a vain and rapacious official who restored the Chora to expiate his sins, eloquently painted almost fifty years ago by Ihor Ševčenko, lingers on, in spite of the more nuanced interpretations proposed by other scholars.<sup>1</sup> We need a fuller and more balanced biography of Metochites and a more convincing explanation of his refoundation of the Chora. The case of Metochites is exceptionally well-documented and essential for the study of the Palaiologan ruling class. The latter is also true for the monastery he restored. The Chora is not simply a monument that is fundamental to the study of Palaiologan art and architecture.<sup>2</sup> It is also key

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1. I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, especially p. 31-33.

2. On the monument and its art, see P. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols., New York, NY 1966, and R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Washington, DC 1987.

for understanding the society that created it, especially the relations between the high aristocracy and the emperor.<sup>3</sup>

This paper proposes a new examination of Metochites and the Chora by reevaluating known material and by also drawing on more or less recently published sources regarding Metochites, namely a collection of seven letters written around 1301-1302, which is here attributed to him (App. I), and certain monastic documents that have remained largely unexploited; one of these documents allows us to push back Metochites's promotion to *megas logothetes* and the completion of the Chora to before 1317 (App. II.1-2), which are traditionally dated to 1321. In the first two parts of the paper I examine Metochites as an official and as a magnate by looking at both what we know about these two aspects of the man and what he himself thought about them. In the third and final part of the paper, concerning the refoundation of the Chora, I consider Metochites's motives for undertaking this project and place it within the wider context of monastic foundations in early Palaiologan Constantinople.

Apart from revising the chronology of the career of Metochites, this paper argues that much of the criticism against him as an official is unjustified. He appears to have been a loyal and rather successful administrator of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328). This article also proposes a fuller study of Metochites's wealth. Stressing the fact that being wealthy was a matter of vital importance for Metochites, it shows that beyond his gains from office, his enrichment was also owed to his entrepreneurship. The paper finally suggests a new understanding of the Chora, based, on the one hand, on the new chronology and analysis of Metochites and, on the other, on a reconsideration of the historical context. The refoundation of the Chora was part of the project to return Constantinople to its former glory, a prominent feature of which was the restoration of its monasteries. I argue that the responsibility for these restorations fell primarily onto the high dignitaries who acted as civic benefactors under the guidance of the emperor. While Metochites was expected to participate in this effort because of his position, the Chora was also his opportunity to establish himself at the top of the hierarchy.

# 1. – THEODORE METOCHITES THE IMPERIAL OFFICIAL

Besides Ihor Ševčenko, many other modern scholars hold a negative opinion of Theodore Metochites as an official, calling him corrupt and

3. Cf. R. NELSON, *Taxation*, p. 57.

indifferent to the suffering of the poor.<sup>4</sup> This view reproduces the claims advanced against the *megas logothetes* Metochites by Theodore Palaialogos, marquis of Montferrat, and certain unspecified critics quoted by the historian Nikephoros Gregoras.<sup>5</sup> The *megas logothetes* is said to have sold offices without considering the capacities of the prospective officials, while the latter tried to make a profit on their investment by oppressing the population; they could do this without fearing punishment thanks to Metochites's protection. His money therefore was "the blood and tears of the poor".<sup>6</sup> These allegations proved very influential with modern commentators because they came from two separate sources that seemed to corroborate each other, one of them being Gregoras, a protégé and friend of Metochites, who does not comment on the criticism against the *megas logothetes*. Moreover, corruption at the highest level of government also seemed to explain the declining political fortunes of Byzantium.<sup>7</sup> As has been pointed out by other scholars, this criticism is suspicious. It comes from enemies of Metochites, all of them likely high-ranking individuals unhappy with the power of the *megas logothetes* and his intense taxation. Klaus-Peter Matschke, in particular, has described Metochites as the champion of the strong centralized state against the privileged great landowners.<sup>8</sup>

Let us review what we know about Metochites as an official.<sup>9</sup> For the earlier part of his career we now have his seven letters, written around 1301-1302 (App. I), which we may combine with his later autobiographical

4. See for example N. OIKONOMIDES, *Αγροτικό περίσσειμα και ο ρόλος του κράτους γύρω στο 1300*, in *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του. Manuel Panselinos and His Age*, Athens 1999, p. 195-205 [= IDEM, *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. E. ZACHARIADOU, Aldershot 2005, no. XVII], here p. 195-196; J. M. FEATHERSTONE, Metochites's Poems and the Chora, in H. KLEIN, R. OUSTERHOUT and B. PITRAKIS (eds.), *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, Istanbul 2011, p. 213-237, here p. 216.

5. On Theodore of Montferrat and his claims regarding Metochites, see T. SHAWCROSS, "Do Thou Nothing without Counsel": Political Assemblies and the Ideal of Good Government in the Thought of Theodore Palaeologus and Theodore Metochites, *Al-Masaq* 20, 2008, p. 89-118, here p. 90-92, p. 99-101.

6. GREGORAS, I, p. 426; THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT, p. 108.

7. See N. OIKONOMIDES, *Αγροτικό περίσσειμα*, cited n. 4, p. 205.

8. K.-P. MATSCHKE, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1971, p. 43-45. See also H.-V. BEYER, Studien zum Begriff des Humanismus und zur Frage nach dessen Anwendbarkeit auf Byzanz und andere vergleichbare Kulturen, *Byzantinica* 15, 1989, p. 7-77, here p. 36-38; R. NELSON, Taxation, p. 63-67; K.-P. MATSCHKE and F. TINNEFELD, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2001, p. 51-52; P. MAGDALINO, Metochites, p. 180-181.

9. There exist various accounts of Metochites's career including: J. VERPEAUX, *Cursus honorum*; I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 25-30; A. KONTOGIANNPOULOU, *Η εσωτερική πολιτική του Ανδρονίκου Β' Παλαιολόγου (1282-1328)*, Thessaloniki 2004, p. 95-100.

writings, especially his first poem.<sup>10</sup> At the age of 20, around 1290, Metochites became a servant (*doulos*) of Emperor Andronikos II, who was impressed by the learning of the young man; within about a year at the palace, Metochites was given a dignity.<sup>11</sup> This was no doubt that of *logothetes ton agelon*.<sup>12</sup> At some point between 1295 and 1305, he apparently advanced to a higher dignity, likely that of *logothetes ton oikeiakon*.<sup>13</sup> Soon after 1305, he was promoted again, this time to the dignity of *logothetes tou genikou*.<sup>14</sup> Between 1313/14 and April 1317, he advanced to become *megas logothetes* (App. II.1), a title he kept until Andronikos II fell from power in May 1328. At some point after 1305, Metochites also started serving as the emperor's *mesazon*, a sort of prime minister (see below). After his disgrace in 1328, Metochites was exiled to Didymoteichon, returning in 1330 to Constantinople to live in the Chora where he died in 1332.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike the office of *mesazon*, the extent to which the aforementioned four dignities were associated with real functions is uncertain.<sup>16</sup> Most of Metochites's known official activities up to 1305 correspond to tasks entrusted to him by the emperor. He participated in two significant foreign embassies, to Cyprus and Cilicia in 1295, and to Serbia in 1298-1299, in order to arrange the marriages of Andronikos II's son and daughter, respectively.

10. The most recent edition of the 20 poems of Metochites is in *Carm.*; the poems are translated in I. POLEMIS, *Theodore Metochites, Poems*, Turnhout 2017. Earlier editions and translations of some of the poems include J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Theodore Metochites's Poems to Himself* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 23), Vienna 2000.

11. App. I.7; *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 18-20; *Astr.*, p. 429. The birth of Metochites, in 1270, is deduced from his claim that he was 25 years old when he went on the embassy to Cyprus and Cilicia, in 1295 according to I. ŠEVČENKO, *Metochites*, p. 25 n. 36; the date of 1294 for the embassy is accepted by A. Failler in PACHYMERES, III, p. 230 n. 38; see also *ibidem*, p. 232 n. 43.

12. This was Metochites's dignity when he was sent to Cyprus and Cilicia according to PACHYMERES, III, p. 231. According to GREGORAS, I, p. 193-194, Metochites was then *logothetes ton oikeiakon*, but this is probably a mistake; see J. VERPEAUX, *Cursus honorum*, p. 196, and PACHYMERES, III, p. 230 n. 38.

13. The only mention of Metochites as *logothetes ton oikeiakon* appears in the *History* of Gregoras, who, as noted, seems confused here. Metochites, nevertheless, speaks of career progress after his initial promotion (to *logothetes ton agelon*) and the mention of his embassy to Cyprus and Syria (in 1295): *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 22; cf. J. VERPEAUX, *Cursus honorum*, p. 196, where the promotion to *logothetes ton oikeiakon* is placed between 1295 and 1298/1299.

14. Metochites indicates that he was promoted upon his return from Thessalonike around 1305: *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 30-31; the new dignity was clearly that of *logothetes tou genikou*, see below n. 20.

15. I. ŠEVČENKO, *Metochites*, p. 33-37.

16. The *megas logothetes* is said to be in charge of drawing up ordinances and chrysobulls addressed to foreign rulers: R. MACRIDES, J. A. MUNITZ and D. ANGELOV, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, Aldershot 2013, p. 84; see also N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *La chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *REB* 43, 1985, p. 167-195, here p. 168-169. On the other dignities: A. KONTOGIANNOPOULOU, *Η εσωτερική πολιτική*, cited n. 9, p. 108-109.

In 1303, he accompanied Empress Eirene/Yolanda to Thessalonike where he served as her advisor until 1305.<sup>17</sup> Metochites speaks repeatedly of various tasks Andronikos II entrusted to him in the period 1290-1303, which he carried out successfully.<sup>18</sup> One of these was his mission to Nikomedeia, which was likely related to the treaty between Byzantium and the Turkish chieftain Solymampaxis and involved another diplomatic marriage (App. I.1-2). Metochites was also charged with carrying out an extraordinary tax collection (*koine syntelesia*) in Constantinople, likely around 1300 (App. I.4); it is unclear if this function had anything to do with the dignity of *logothetes ton oikeiakon* he probably held at the time. Metochites was no doubt also given tasks of lesser importance, including some which involved trips in the provinces.<sup>19</sup> In the meantime, he also partnered with other individuals to buy fiscal functions that involved leaving the capital (App. I.5). Metochites spent a considerable part of the period between 1290 and 1305 outside Constantinople. Barring his time in Thessalonike, however, his base was the imperial palace (see App. I.6) and he certainly had, throughout, frequent access to Andronikos II. Even though in 1301 he could still pretend to be a “nobody” (*ibidem*), at latest by the mid 1300s Metochites felt he had achieved a lot in life, and his ascent had caused the envy of others (App. I.7).

Nevertheless, Metochites’s great influence began after 1305. In 1305-1307, the imprisoned scholar Manuel Moschopoulos sent a letter to the *logothetes tou genikou* Theodore Metochites to request help and denounce the abuses of certain officials. In it, Moschopoulos describes Metochites as someone who holds the first place with the emperor (τὰ πρῶτα δικαίως παρὰ τοιούτῳ βασιλεῖ φέρων).<sup>20</sup> A turning point in the career of Metochites was the marriage of his daughter Eirene to *panhypersebastos* John, only son of *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, the deceased brother of Andronikos II. Both Metochites and Gregoras emphasize John’s eminence at court and the favor he enjoyed from the emperor; according to Metochites, John was

17. I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 26-27.

18. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 20, 22, 29.

19. See the case of Nikephoros Choumnos, who also rose to become *mesazon* of Andronikos II; in the earlier part of his career, as *koiaistor*, Choumnos was sent in 1286 by the emperor to surrender a piece of land in Macedonia to the monastery of Zographou: K. SMYRLIS, Ch. GIROS, D. KYRITSSES and G. BANEV, *Actes de Zographou* (Archives de l’Athos), forthcoming, no. 12 (= C. PAVLIKIANOV [ed.], *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou* [Universitetska biblioteka 512], Sofia 2014, no. 13).

20. I. ŠEVČENKO, The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the Year 1305 or 1306, *Speculum* 27, 1952, p. 133-157, here p. 140-143; for a different understanding of this passage: A. RIEHLE, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie. Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Choumnos (ca. 1260-1327)*, Doctoral dissertation Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich 2014, p. 16.



inferior in rank only to the sons of Andronikos II. The marriage made Metochites a close relative of the emperor, affirming his ascent to the highest ranks.<sup>21</sup> Poem 1 suggests that the marriage took place soon after his return to Constantinople from Thessalonike (in 1305) and his promotion (to *logothetes tou genikou*). It has been thus generally accepted that this marriage took place in 1305-1306.<sup>22</sup> Dating the marriage from around that time corresponds well to the image of Metochites as the close associate of Andronikos II seen in the letter of Moschopoulos (1305-1307). In a text written around 1313, namely the account of the trip to Constantinople of the Thessalonian scholar Thomas Magistros, the *logothetes tou genikou* (Theodore Metochites) is designated as the one who governs the common affairs (ὁ τὰ κοινὰ διοικῶν) and appears to have secured for the author an audience with the emperor. Magistros's superlative description of Metochites leaves no doubt regarding the latter's preeminence at the time.<sup>23</sup>

There are two additional sources on Metochites as *logothetes tou genikou*, although they are later and less reliable. The first is Gregoras's *History*. After mentioning the elevation of John Glykys to the patriarchate (1315), Gregoras indicates that he had frequented Glykys as a twenty-year-old (ca. 1313); he then introduces Theodore Metochites, saying that, at that time, the *logothetes tou genikou* was *paradynasteuon* of Andronikos II and his *mesazon* (*mesiteuon*) in all affairs; the emperor was very attached to Metochites and would do nothing without his assent.<sup>24</sup> The second testimony is that of Theodore of Montferrat in a text written around 1328. It is there claimed that the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites had complete authority over the court and the empire, and that he had held this position for twenty years or more (so, since ca. 1308).<sup>25</sup>

21. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 30-31; GREGORAS, I, p. 271. On the marriage alliances of Andronikos II with his high-ranking officials, see N. GAUL, All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews): *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290-1320, *DOP* 70, 2016, p. 245-270.

22. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 30-31. J. VERPEAUX, *Cursus honorum*, p. 197; I. ŠEVČENKO, *La vie intellectuelle et politique à Byzance sous les premiers Paléologues: études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Brussels 1962, p. 149-151.

23. M. TREU, Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Magistros, in *Festschrift C. F. W. Müller* (Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 27), Leipzig 1902, p. 6-30, here p. 10; on the date of this text, see N. GAUL, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik*, Wiesbaden 2011, p. 115-120.

24. GREGORAS, I, p. 270-271; on the period during which Gregoras frequented John Glykys: H.-V. BEYER, Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras, *JÖB* 27, 1978, p. 127-155, here p. 130.

25. THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT, p. 108; on the date of this text: T. SHAWCROSS, Political Assemblies, cited n. 5, p. 92.

All this information taken together suggests that Metochites was already very influential from about the time he returned to Constantinople in 1305 and that his power kept growing in the following years, reaching a high point by the mid 1310s. It is possible that he had already started acting as *mesazon* of Andronikos II soon after 1305, as proposed by Ihor Ševčenko.<sup>26</sup> The fact that Nikephoros Choumnos, known to have served as *mesazon* since before 1294, was still active in the 1310s has been taken to mean that Metochites could only have become *mesazon* sometime in that decade, after Choumnos's withdrawal.<sup>27</sup> It is conceivable, however, that Andronikos II used both Choumnos and Metochites as *mesazontes* at the same time:<sup>28</sup> (1) Choumnos had shared this function for a while with John Glykys in the early 1290s;<sup>29</sup> (2) two very similar and probably contemporary letters of the teacher Theodore Hyrtakenos, addressed respectively to Choumnos and to Metochites between 1315 and 1319, suggest that the men were of equal standing and could easily secure for the sender a *siteresion* from the imperial treasury;<sup>30</sup> (3) Gregoras speaks twice of the *paradynasteuontes* (plural) of Andronikos II who sold offices, *paradynasteuon* being a term the historian associates to *mesazon* (*mesiteuon*);<sup>31</sup> (4) there are several examples of two *mesazontes* being active simultaneously from the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341) and later.<sup>32</sup> Whether or not Metochites had served as *mesazon* since 1305, by around 1310, when he began his lavish refoundation of the Chora (App. II.2), he had reached a very high degree of wealth. Besides the construction and decoration work he commissioned, which likely cost tens of thousands of *hyperpyra*, Metochites also bought for the Chora large parcels of arable land in various locations as well as lands around Constantinople where he had vineyards planted.<sup>33</sup>

26. I. ŠEVČENKO, *La vie intellectuelle*, cited n. 22, p. 149-150.

27. J. VERPEAUX, Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων, *BS* 16, 1955, p. 270-296, here p. 276-277; A. RIEHLE, *Funktionen*, cited n. 20, p. 14, 25-26.

28. Cf. H.-V. BEYER, *Studien*, cited n. 8, p. 33.

29. PACHYMERES, III, p. 183, 215.

30. HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*, nos. 74 and 77 (on their date: App. II.3); the expression *dia sou* appears twice in the letter to Choumnos and is a possible allusion to the *dia tou* note he added on the imperial documents of which he was responsible (on the *dia tou* notes, see below n. 38). The letter Hyrtakenos addressed to the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* regarding the same matter (no. 63) is quite different from those sent to Metochites and Choumnos.

31. GREGORAS, I, p. 297-298, 302 (*paradynasteuontes*); p. 170, 271 (*paradynasteuon* and *mesiteuon*); cf. J. VERPEAUX, Ὁ μεσάζων, cited n. 27, p. 282.

32. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *La chancellerie*, cited n. 16, p. 170.

33. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 48. It is likely that the Chora cost considerably more than the monastery of the Anastasis, for the restoration of which George Akropolites reportedly spent 16,000 *hyperpyra* only in the first year of the project: H. DELEHAYE, *Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistolarum manipulus*, *An. Boll.* 51, 1933, p. 263-284, here p. 280. —

There is more information on the official activities of Metochites from the period when he held the dignity of *megas logothetes* (before April 1317-May 1328), during which he was also acting as *mesazon*.<sup>34</sup> Various petitions addressed to him show that he was close to the emperor and could ask him to grant various favors.<sup>35</sup> A letter of Hyrtakenos suggests that Metochites could arrange the concession of property.<sup>36</sup> Another letter indicates that he was responsible for the issuing of imperial acts and the same is reported by Theodore of Montferrat.<sup>37</sup> There survive, in fact, five chrysobulls issued to Athonite monasteries between 1324 and 1327 by Andronikos II, which bear the *dia tou* note of Metochites.<sup>38</sup> The extent of his authority in the 1320s is underlined by the fact that he exchanged letters with foreign rulers.<sup>39</sup> Finally, there is the testimony of his critics, Theodore of Montferrat and those mentioned by Gregoras, according to whom the *megas logothetes* was in charge of selling offices, in particular provincial governorships.<sup>40</sup> There is no reason to doubt that this was indeed the case.<sup>41</sup>

Metochites must have normally received money and gifts for the positions or contracts awarded, the favors or audiences arranged and the imperial charters issued.<sup>42</sup> In this he was not different from his predecessors in the

Lands suitable for vineyards in or near the capital were very expensive; the foundress of the monastery of Bebaia Elpis bought such a land for 400 *hyperpyra* in the early 14th c.: H. DELEHAYE, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales, 2<sup>e</sup> série, 13), Brussels 1921, p. 95.

34. Metochites is called *mesiteuon* in JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, *Historiarum libri IV*, I-II, ed. L. SCHOPEN (CSHB 20), Bonn 1828, I, p. 54-55. See also above n. 30.

35. HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*, especially nos. 20, 21, 22, 36, 74 (on Hyrtakenos's letters, see also App. II.3); S. KOUROUSES, Γρηγορίου επισκόπου Βουλγαρίας (γ'-ιδ' αἰ.) ἐπιστολαὶ μετὰ τινῶν βιογραφικῶν ἐξακριβώσεων, *EEBS* 45, 1981-1982, p. 516-558, no. 2.

36. HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*, no. 20; see p. 328. The μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς of this letter, also called ὁ τῆς ἱερῆς γεωδαισίας καθηγεμῶν, is not Theodore Metochites (as assumed in I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 28 n. 66) but a *megas logariastes*, in charge of examining and surrendering *oikonomiai*.

37. HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*, no. 17; THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT, p. 108.

38. J. BOMPAIRE, J. LEFORT, V. KRAVARI and Ch. GIROS, *Actes de Vatopédi*. I, *Des origines à 1329* (Archives de l'Athos 21), Paris 2001, no. 62; O. DELOUIS and M. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ, *Actes de Chilandar*. II, *De 1320 à 1335* (Archives de l'Athos), Paris, forthcoming, nos. 98, 99; *Actes de Zographou*, cited n. 19, nos. 27, 31 (= C. PAVLIKIANOV, *Zographou*, cited n. 19, nos. 26, 28). On the *dia tou* notes of *mesazon*tes, see N. OIKONOMIDÈS, La chancellerie, cited n. 16, p. 169-170, 177-179, and J. KARAYANNOPULOS, Zu den «diá-Vermerken» der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden, in G. DE GREGORIO and O. KRESTEN (eds.), *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi comparativi*, Spoleto 1998, p. 203-232.

39. I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 28 and n. 65.

40. THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT, p. 108; GREGORAS, I, p. 425-426.

41. See above the activities of the *paradynasteuontes* reported by Gregoras.

42. Theodore of Montferrat claims that Metochites did nothing for anybody without receiving a gift: THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT, p. 108. Gifts may have also included immovables, see below the case of the donation of a land in the region of Serres.

same position. The payments that high-ranking officials received for their services had been normal practice since at least the middle Byzantine period.<sup>43</sup> Officials made a living thanks to the fees they demanded and the other requests they could make on the population. In our period, Nikephoros Choumnos states that he expected a certain fee for a chrysobull he had had issued, noting that the other *mesazontes* (*mesiteuontes*) received gifts and favors.<sup>44</sup> The sale of offices, whereby the emperor and his associates sold the lucrative positions, in particular those of tax-collector, tax-assessor and governor, had been practiced for centuries. The practice was not only ancient, it also had nothing reproachable if done properly, that is, if it did not lead to misgovernment and if the treasury or the emperor were not deprived of their due.<sup>45</sup> Reliance on tax farming probably increased in periods of financial strain, as was the case for most of the reign of Andronikos II. The indiscriminate sale of offices often led to the appointment of unworthy individuals, about which contemporaries complained. The historian George Pachymeres places a large share of the blame for Byzantium's weakness in the late thirteenth century on the fact that the *mesazontes* (*mesiteuontes*) awarded dignities against money and gifts.<sup>46</sup> The people of which Pachymeres thinks here include Theodore Mouzalon and Nikephoros Choumnos. Metochites, too, was blamed for condoning misgovernment by his critics in the 1320s. It is noteworthy, however, that they did not accuse the *megas logothetes* of pocketing all the money.

How can we evaluate Metochites as an official? We cannot rely on his critics nor on those who present him as an excellent administrator, caring for the common good and the poor, in texts where flattery was necessary.<sup>47</sup> We can rely, however, on certain facts. First, it appears that the period between 1313 and 1320 was free of serious trouble for the Byzantines,

43. Especially for the 12th c., see: K. SMYRLIS, S'enrichir grâce à l'État: élites impériales et ressources publiques à Byzance au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, in O. DELOUIS and K. SMYRLIS (eds.), *Lire les Archives de l'Athos* (TM 23.2), Paris 2019, p. 389-404, here p. 394-395; on the profits from office in our period, see D. KYRITSES, *Aristocracy*, p. 193-205.

44. J. VERPEAUX, Ὁ μεσάζων, cited n. 27, p. 284. In 1320, the issuing of an ordinance cost the monks of Chilandar 36 *hyperpyra*: O. DELOUIS and M. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ (eds.), *Actes de Chilandar*, II, cited n. 38, no. 49<sup>56-57</sup>, and K. SMYRLIS, Wooing the Petty Elite: Privilege and Imperial Authority in Byzantium, Thirteenth-mid Fourteenth Century, in O. DELOUIS, S. MÉTIVIER and P. PAGES (eds.), *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, Paris 2016, p. 657-681, here p. 670.

45. According to the *Περὶ βασιλείας* of Thomas Magistros it was the emperor who sold the offices and who received gifts for the benefactions he awarded: PG 145, 453, 476-477; cf. 468.

46. PACHYMERES, III, p. 235.

47. As the oration to the *megas logothetes* by Thomas Magistros: PG 145, 381-388.

which cannot be attributed to pure luck.<sup>48</sup> Second, we have information that in 1321, just before the civil war broke out between Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III, fiscal revenues were such that the emperor was preparing an offensive in Asia Minor against the Turks.<sup>49</sup> It is important, finally, that to the end Andronikos II held Metochites in the highest esteem keeping him at the most powerful position of the empire. These facts can only mean that Metochites was a highly efficient administrator, if not necessarily a scrupulous one.<sup>50</sup>

It is useful in this context to look at what Metochites himself thought about government in general and about himself as an official. Of special note is his essay regarding the need of the emperor to secure money. Almost obsessively, Metochites stresses the importance of revenue, that money was indispensable for an emperor in order to keep his throne and ensure the country's defense. Every other consideration ought to come second to the need to secure money for the empire.<sup>51</sup> Regarding himself, Metochites seems to admit in another essay that he was defeated by the weakness of greed, lamenting the irresistibility of the temptation to accept gifts (*lemmata*).<sup>52</sup> In other texts, however, he underlines the importance of rewarding the talented who contribute greatly to the common good, like himself obviously. Metochites appears convinced he was an excellent servant of the empire and repeatedly notes his loyalty to Andronikos II.<sup>53</sup>

## 2. – THEODORE METOCHITES THE MAGNATE

Gregoras notes that Theodore Metochites was thought to be the wealthiest man after the emperor, and this may well have been true in the period when he was at the peak of his power.<sup>54</sup> Our main source on his fortune is

48. Angeliki Laiou, who cursorily condemns Metochites as an incapable administrator and a greedy opportunist, praises nevertheless the political maturity of the domestic and foreign policies of Andronikos II in the years 1311-1321: A. LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, Cambridge 1972, p. 7-8, 243-244, 351.

49. According to GREGORAS, I, p. 317. These facts have been noted by a number of scholars, see above n. 8. Cf. the thoroughly negative appraisal of Metochites in E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Théodore Métochite: une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 80-87.

50. Cf. the very positive image of Metochites as an administrator in JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, *Historiarum*, cited n. 34, I, p. 54-55.

51. *Misc.*, ch. 82.

52. *Ibidem*, ch. 86.

53. *Ibidem*, ch. 418, p. 631-633; *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 22-24, 30; no. 2, p. 56. See also R. NELSON, *Taxation*, p. 62-63, 76, regarding the apparent positive emphasis on taxation in the pictorial program of the Chora.

54. GREGORAS, I, p. 425.



Metochites's own Poem 19, written after 1328; its information is complemented by documentary evidence. What we see in these sources reflects Metochites's wealth in the 1310s and 1320s. His single most precious asset was probably his house, a palatial complex located near the monastery of the Chora.<sup>55</sup> Metochites says that he had built the house himself at great expense.<sup>56</sup> Beyond the luxurious constructions, his *oikos* also housed a collection of jewelry, precious vessels and utensils, and other valuable movables. One room of his palace was a treasury where he kept under lock furniture, precious stones and his cash.<sup>57</sup> Metochites also indicates that himself and his children owned many other houses, some of which he had erected himself while the others were "old" and "famous" houses he had purchased.<sup>58</sup> Metochites states that he also owned many vineyards planted by himself or bought, a multitude of animals in different locations (horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, camels) as well as pairs of oxen working the arable lands of his villages (*synoikismoï*), which were purchased by himself or donated to him by the emperor.<sup>59</sup>

Near contemporary descriptions of the properties of rich monasteries of the capital may help us get a better idea of the composition and location of the fortune of Metochites, if not of its size. The late-thirteenth-century *typikon* for the monastery of Lips lists 92 properties, including 9 villages or estates, 11 large parcels of land, 6 large vineyards and 6 large gardens, 20.5 mills and 37 mainly rental buildings (houses and workshops). The villages and lands were located around Constantinople and in Thrace, western Asia Minor and western Macedonia. Most of the vineyards and gardens were situated within the capital or in the vicinity; and most of the buildings were also located in Constantinople.<sup>60</sup> The evidence regarding Lips suggests that many of Metochites's houses were rental and that his vineyards were situated within Constantinople or in its suburbs.<sup>61</sup>

55. Described in *Carm.*, no. 19, p. 319-321. The information that the palace was situated near the Chora comes from GREGORAS, I, p. 458-459.

56. *Carm.*, no. 19<sup>156,210</sup>. It has been suggested that the property upon which it stood must have been an imperial donation and that it included older structures: P. MAGDALINO, *Metochites*, p. 177.

57. GREGORAS, I, p. 412.

58. Contrary to previous translators and commentators I do not think that the houses mentioned in *Carm.*, no. 19<sup>213-215</sup> refer to buildings within the *oikos* of Metochites but to other houses in Constantinople.

59. *Carm.*, no. 19<sup>216-227</sup>.

60. H. DELEHAYE, *Deux typika*, cited n. 33, p. 131-134; see also the case of Bebaia Elpis: *ibidem*, p. 84.

61. On the acquisition of urban properties by aristocrats, including Nikephoros Choumnos, see D. KYRITSES, *Aristocracy*, p. 192-193. — On the location of the vineyards of Metochites, see also the information regarding those he attached to the Chora: above n. 33.

A number of monastic documents published since 1998, which seem to have passed unnoticed, provide concrete information on the properties and business activities of Metochites in the provinces. Two documents kept in the monastery of Vatopedi show that Metochites had purchased a vast estate of 13,000 *modioi* called Stylation which was settled with peasants and was located on the coast of western Chalkidike. Metochites gave this estate as a wedding gift to one of his sons, Alexios, who later donated it to Vatopedi.<sup>62</sup> Several documents preserved by the cartulary of the Prodromos near Serres show that Metochites held a large estate near the village of Christos, to the north of that city. A large tract of 4,400 *modioi* was probably the core of the estate, which also included several separate parcels; the cartulary mentions three additional pieces of land (of 210, 150 and 55 *modioi*), one of which had been purchased by Metochites while another had been donated to him by a local landowner.<sup>63</sup> One of the documents copied in the Prodromos cartulary, an act of sale dating from April 1317, is particularly valuable because it is addressed to Metochites and shows that he already held the title of *megas logothetes*. The original document had probably belonged to the archives of the center of administration of Metochites's properties in the region of Serres. The landowner who issued the act sold to the *megas logothetes* a land (of 150 *modioi*) for 80 *hyperpyra*, which he received from a certain Konstantinos Galatoulas, likely the steward of Metochites in Serres.<sup>64</sup>

The estates known from the documentary record are probably a small part of Metochites's possessions in Macedonia, given that we only hear about them because they were situated in its two best documented areas, Chalkidike and the Serres-Strymon region, and because they were eventually acquired by monasteries whose archives have been preserved. Moreover, it is probable that a large part of his rural properties was located in the vicinity of Constantinople and in Thrace, as was the case of Lips. In conclusion, at the height of his power, in the 1310s and 1320s, Metochites probably held hundreds of thousands of *modioi* and dozens of villages inhabited by hundreds of peasants who paid taxes and rents.<sup>65</sup>

62. J. LEFORT, V. KRAVARI, Ch. GIROS and K. SMYRLIS, *Actes de Vatopédi*. II, *De 1330 à 1376* (Archives de l'Athos 22), Paris 2006, nos. 129, 130 (1369).

63. *Prodromos*, *Codex B*, nos. 34, 36, 37, 191, and the *praktikon* of John Batatzes of 1339: *ibidem*, no. 167<sup>36-41</sup> with no. 179<sup>35-36</sup>; on this *praktikon*, see K. SMYRLIS, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du x<sup>e</sup>-milieu du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2006, p. 88 n. 461.

64. *Prodromos*, *Codex B*, no. 34; the land, sold by Manuel Tzykandele and his family (see App. II.1), is clearly the same as the land of 150 *modioi* purchased by Metochites from Tzykandyles (*ibid.*, no. 37<sup>5-7</sup>, no. 167<sup>41</sup> with no. 179<sup>35-36</sup>).

65. Cf. the 14th-c. fortunes of the two wealthiest monasteries of Mt Athos, Lavra and Vatopedi: K. SMYRLIS, *La fortune*, cited n. 63, p. 54-55; *Vatopédi II*, cited n. 62, p. 17-19.

Metochites acquired his immense fortune in three principal ways: imperial concessions, his gains from office and his own enterprise.<sup>66</sup> The first and most significant source of wealth was the emperor, Andronikos II. Metochites repeatedly refers to imperial gifts and benefactions in Poem 1, while in Poem 19 he indicates that some of his villages had been donated to him by the emperor.<sup>67</sup> Andronikos II's gifts must have mostly regarded immovables rather than cash, a commodity he generally lacked.<sup>68</sup> Although Metochites does not distinguish the villages he purchased from those given to him by Andronikos II, it is uncertain if the latter awarded him the properties in full ownership or in *pronoia*. Metochites must have also obtained extensive tax exemptions from the emperor for his estates.

As already noted, Metochites gained from the functions entrusted to him and the fact that he had influence over the emperor. We may distinguish two periods, 1290 to ca. 1305 and ca. 1305 to 1328. In the first period, Metochites was close to the emperor but not very influential. His gains from office must have consisted primarily in the fees or percentages he received, which might have been significant on occasion, as was likely the case with the collection of the *koine syntelesia*. His position in the palace also gave him access to fiscal contracts of which he apparently took advantage (see below). After about ten years in office he appears to have become a wealthy man.<sup>69</sup> By around 1305, Metochites had the means to provide a rich dowry to his daughter. In the second period (ca. 1305 to 1328), the increased power of Metochites must have dramatically boosted his profits. As noted above, cash and gifts flowed from those for whom he secured jobs, contracts and imperial favors. This must have translated into a substantial annual income, much of it in cash.

Metochites was also a businessman. From a relatively early date, he apparently farmed fiscal functions in partnership with other entrepreneurs, an activity which had the potential for high returns (App. I.5). Metochites may have continued investing in tax farming contracts even later. It is also

66. Ivan Djurić proposes that much of Metochites's wealth came from the aristocratic clans to which he was allied: I. DJURIĆ, La fortune de Théodore Métochite, *Cahiers archéologiques* 44, 1996, p. 149-168; this seems unlikely: see below regarding the endowment of Metochites's offspring.

67. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 23, 30-31, 34, 37; no. 19, p. 321. See also *Astr.*, p. 430.

68. The land of 4,400 *modioi* Metochites held near Serres may have been an imperial concession as suggested by the vocabulary used; *Prodromos, Codex B*, no. 191<sup>33-34</sup> (1329): ἦντινα δὴ γῆν ἀνεδέξατο καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐκεῖσε ὁ Μετοχίτης κύρ Θεόδωρος.

69. App. I.6 indicates that Metochites possessed many horses and mules both at his home and in his estate(s); in App. I.7, Metochites claims that he had become wealthy (l. 51-52: ἐξ εὐτελῶν συντελείς, ἐξ ἰδιώτου πολιτικοί, ἐκ μετρίων πλεῖστα ἐπικτησάμενοι).

possible that he lent money for interest and invested in commercial enterprises, activities which could be highly profitable. Nevertheless, most visible in our sources is Metochites the landowner. He aggressively pursued the expansion of his properties and oversaw their exploitation. He mentions the vineyards he planted or purchased and the houses he likewise built or purchased. He also notes that he bought some, perhaps the majority, of his villages, and indeed the documentary evidence suggests that he was systematically buying land.<sup>70</sup> Metochites obviously employed stewards to administer his properties in Constantinople and the provinces. His interest in the exploitation of his estates is underlined by his insistence on the matter in the letter he addressed to the monks of Chora, when he was in exile (1328-1330).<sup>71</sup> The villages, lands, vineyards, gardens and houses, produced substantial revenues in cash and kind, the latter no doubt largely sold.

What was he doing with all this cash? A lot of his net profits were spent on a lavish lifestyle, especially the acquisition of beautiful things. His palace was luxuriously decorated, full of precious objects including a sizeable collection of expensive books. The Chora may also be seen as one of his beautiful objects. A large share of his cash surplus was invested into the purchase and amelioration of villages or lands and the acquisition of houses. At the same time, Metochites must have devoted a substantial part of his wealth to wedding gifts for his children, at least three of whom were married in his lifetime.<sup>72</sup> Securing prestigious marriages for his offspring was a matter of the highest importance for Metochites (see below). Although the spouses of his children were given dowries from their own parents, Metochites must have also given rich gifts upon each marriage, as suggested by the evidence regarding one such gift, the vast estate of Stylarion donated to his son Alexios.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, it is hard to imagine that the marriage of his daughter Eirene to John Palaiologos, favored nephew of Andronikos II, probably soon after 1305, did not cost Metochites a fortune.<sup>74</sup> We are told that the princely dowry the other *mesazon* of the period, Nikephoros Choumnos, had prepared for his daughter helped convince Andronikos II to have his son marry her.<sup>75</sup> Finally, Metochites kept a substantial treasure of cash

70. See above n. 59, 62-63.

71. *Orat.*, p. 626-629.

72. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 30-31.

73. Metochites refers to the great dowries of his sons' brides (*Carm.*, no. 1<sup>753</sup>); elsewhere he speaks of the practices of "selling" one's offspring against dowries and the "purchase" of prestigious marriage alliances; *Misc.*, ch. 86, p. 567: προικώοις πολυταλάντοις ἀπεμπολοῦσι τὰ φίλτατα καὶ ἐξωνοῦνται κήδη σεμνά τε καὶ τίμια.

74. Cf. D. KYRITSES, *Aristocracy*, p. 265.

75. PACHYMERES, IV, p. 317-319.

at home. In 1328, when he was afraid it might be looted, he entrusted most of it to certain friends.<sup>76</sup> The cash treasures of high-ranking Byzantines could be great indeed. With regard to George Akropolites, an earlier *megas logothetes* (1255-1282), it is said that the cash that was earmarked for one of his sons amounted to 7,000 *hyperpyra*.<sup>77</sup> A hoard dating from the later reign of Andronikos II found in the district of Cerrahpaşa in Istanbul probably contained tens of thousands of *hyperpyra*.<sup>78</sup>

It is also important to consider what Metochites himself thought about wealth, a matter that clearly concerned him greatly. He wrote essays on the need for money as well as on greed, and his wealth is repeatedly mentioned in his writings.<sup>79</sup> How is one to explain this intense interest in wealth and his determination to acquire more and more of it? I can detect four drives, all of which are more or less related to his desire to acquire glory and secular immortality. His wealth was first of all the proof of his success. He was a self-made man who began life poorly, as he says, and made it to the top. In his autobiographical texts he refers to his wealth next to his power; power and wealth were the main sources of his glory.<sup>80</sup> A second drive was his materialism. Metochites enjoyed the comfort wealth could offer him and obtained a sensual pleasure from owning and displaying beautiful objects, from buildings to books. The terms “pleasurable” (τερπνός, ἡδύς), “enjoy” (τέρπομαι), “display” (ἐπιδειξις) appear frequently in reference to objects.<sup>81</sup> Another important drive for Metochites were his children, the care of whom is a recurring theme in his writings. He was especially concerned with the need to secure prestigious marriages and bequeath sufficient properties to them.<sup>82</sup> Without questioning his sense of paternal duty, it is clear that Metochites also saw the marriages and prosperity of his offspring as essential for the recognition of his status by other people, both while he lived and after his death. His children, through whom he would achieve immortality, were

76. GREGORAS, I, p. 412, 425; Metochites refers to his treasure of coins in *Carm.*, no. 19<sup>100</sup>.

77. H. DELEHAYE, *Epistolarum manipulus*, cited n. 33, p. 281.

78. The *amphora* that contained the treasure, most of which was looted by those who found it in 1953, could hold up to 82,000 *hyperpyra*: T. GÖKYILDIRIM, *Le trésor d’hyperpères des Paléologues d’Istanbul-Cerrahpaşa (1953): les sigles et leur interprétation, Revue numismatique* 155, 2000, p. 221-236, here p. 222.

79. *Misc.*, especially chs. 82-86.

80. E.g. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 22; no. 19, p. 317; *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 191.

81. E.g. *Carm.*, no. 2<sup>198,335</sup>; no. 19<sup>101,190-192</sup>; *Misc.*, ch. 84, p. 553-554.

82. The importance of prestigious marriages: *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 30-31; no. 2, p. 65; *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 191; ch. 86, p. 567. — The importance of inheritance: *ibidem*, ch. 76, p. 505-506; ch. 84, p. 556; ch. 86, p. 567; *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 48; on the last passage, see P. MAGDALINO, *Metochites*, p. 178.



a way for Metochites to prove his wealth and power to future generations.<sup>83</sup> Metochites provides a fourth reason that justified his quest for wealth: euergetism, something already noted by Paul Magdalino.<sup>84</sup> Metochites wanted his books kept in the library of the Chora to be available to all.<sup>85</sup> He develops this reason in his essay on why wealth is important. While also mentioning personal glory and the need to provide for one's children, Metochites insists on the fact that private wealth allows one to prove himself useful to "the common affairs" (τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα), distinguishing three activities: (1) the construction of public buildings, either necessary or for the sake of display, (2) the erection of splendid private buildings that will be an ornament and a glory for himself and for his fatherland (*patris*), (3) the patronage of monks whose pious work is beneficial to the soul.<sup>86</sup> It is difficult to say if Metochites felt he had a duty to be his country's benefactor or if he was only thinking about his own glory. In any case, the line separating philanthropy and personal pursuits is a very thin one.

### 3. – THE REFOUNDATION OF THE CHORA BY THEODORE METOCHITES

Before examining what moved Theodore Metochites to refound the Chora it is useful to consider the time he took this decision against the backdrop of his professional and personal history. As it is proposed below (App. II.2), the project probably begun around 1310, not around 1316 as is usually accepted.<sup>87</sup> Around 1310, Metochites was about forty years old and a truly powerful and wealthy man. After two decades of a distinguished career, he was one of the closest associates of Andronikos II and allied to him through marriage. Moreover, as noted above, he must have been quite rich at the time, given the immense expenses the refoundation of the Chora implied. Nevertheless, Metochites's great influence and prosperity were relatively recent achievements, and he was still some way from reaching his peak in

83. *Misc.*, ch. 76, p. 506; cf. *Carm.*, no. 15, p. 272.

84. P. MAGDALINO, Metochites, p. 175.

85. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 44-45; *Orat.*, p. 631.

86. *Misc.*, ch. 84, p. 550, 553-554; the idea that the wealthy who desire glory are not content to enjoy their fortune alone but want to be the benefactors of many people also appears in the *Byzantios*: *Orat.*, p. 498 § 78. See also below regarding the notion that the (rich) subjects of the emperor ought to endeavor to surpass one another in good deeds.

87. Most scholars follow the date proposed in I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 91 (likely about 1316, in any case not before 1312). A notable exception is S. Kourouses who thinks that 1312 is a more likely date for the start of the restoration of the Chora: S. KOUROUSES, Γρηγορίου Βουλγαρίας ἐπιστολαί, cited n. 35, p. 527 n. 1.

these domains.<sup>88</sup> Around 1310, Nikephoros Choumnos was still acting as *mesazon* of Andronikos II and he was more senior than Metochites. Moreover, with regard to the cost of refounding the Chora, it is certain that the *logothetes tou genikou* sacrificed much of his cash at a time when he had every reason to keep it. He was relatively young and some, if not all, of his sons were still unmarried. In conclusion, the refoundation of the Chora was a mid-career project that was extremely costly for Metochites.

Why did Theodore Metochites spend a fortune to refound the Chora? The answer lies both in what Metochites desired and in external factors. We may begin with Metochites's own motives. When thinking about the motives of monastic founders, one should bear in mind that Byzantine monasteries fulfilled multiple purposes and that their founders pursued several aims at the same time. However, certain pursuits were decisive while others were secondary. In the case of Metochites, some of the motives that are usually attributed to lay founders appear to have been either secondary or absent. In Poem 2, regarding the Chora, Metochites repeatedly refers to his monastery as a place of refuge in case of troubles. We also have the sumptuous funerary chapel he attached to the church, obviously intended for himself and his family.<sup>89</sup> While in Byzantium one was never too powerful or too young to think about troubles and death, it seems unlikely that retirement and burial in a monastery concerned Metochites much around 1310. He certainly did not intend to have his sons join the Chora, given how often he speaks about their brilliant marriages and the fortunes they stood to inherit. In Poem 2, Metochites also stresses his desire to atone for his sins thanks to his foundation. Even though he seems to be thinking of expiation as a kind of contract, there is no reason to doubt that he was concerned about the salvation of his soul and that he saw the Chora as a way to obtain it.<sup>90</sup> However, the fact that Metochites stresses the pursuit of glory as much as he stresses expiation as a reason for founding the Chora casts serious doubts about the importance of the latter as a motive.

There can be little doubt that the quest to affirm his status and enhance his image was a major motive for Metochites, who emphatically connects

88. A point already made in N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora*, in J.-M. SPIESER and E. YOTA (eds.), *Donations et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, Paris 2012, p. 189-205, here p. 201.

89. *Carm.*, no. 2, p. 54-55, 72. On the funerary chapel, see in particular, R. OUSTERHOUT, *Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion*, *Gesta* 34, 1995, p. 63-76.

90. Metochites apparently thought that the money and effort he devoted to the Chora could buy his salvation: *Carm.*, no. 2, p. 54, 60; he also expected the monks of the Chora to pray for him because he built them a monastery: *ibidem*, p. 70.

glory and memory by future generations to his refoundation of the Chora.<sup>91</sup> Other than being open about this rather un-Christian motive, Metochites was not exceptional among his peers. The commonly invoked aim of founders, especially in Palaiologan Constantinople, to repay God for all his benefactions, was often a way of underlining their success and the fact that they enjoyed divine favor. Metochites, too, presented the Chora as an offering to Christ and the Virgin in Poems 1 and 2 and the donor portrait in the narthex of the church.<sup>92</sup> Metochites suggests another motive, namely the desire to be the benefactor of his country and his city. As noted above, he identified euergetism as a major reason why one should be wealthy. Through the Chora, Metochites was working for the salvation of the Christians and he was also offering to his city the display of a beautiful building and the use of a rich library.<sup>93</sup> The Chora, situated near the walls and dedicated to the Virgin, the protector of Constantinople, was clearly also meant as a contribution to the supernatural defense of the city.<sup>94</sup> There is no reason to doubt that these were truly the intentions of Metochites, even though his benefactions were neither free of calculation nor entirely voluntary, as will be discussed below.

Metochites was of course not alone in making benefactions to Constantinople. Many other high-ranking contemporaries were offering beautifully rebuilt monasteries to the city. In order to fully understand Metochites's motives we need to look at the wider context of early Palaiologan Constantinople and the movement of restoration or reconstruction of public and religious buildings. The city's infrastructure, which had suffered greatly from destruction and neglect during the Latin conquest and rule (1203-1261), probably continued to deteriorate overall under the Palaiologoi because the population was much reduced and the state and aristocracy poorer than during

91. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 39; no. 2, p. 59-60. The decoration of the Chora has been interpreted as evidence of Metochites's imperial pretentions: R. OUSTERHOUT, *Finding a Place in History: The Chora Monastery and Its Patrons*, 26<sup>th</sup> annual Leventis Foundation lecture, Nicosia 2017, p. 51, 53.

92. On this depiction and the statements of other Palaiologan founders, see N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Portrait*, cited n. 88; on gifts as a way to affirm one's social position: R. NELSON, *Taxation*, p. 67.

93. See above n. 85-86 and *Carm.*, no. 2, p. 61, 62-63; no. 19, p. 326-327. Providing for the poor and the sick does not seem to have been among the publicized purposes of the Chora; Metochites hardly speaks of them apart from a brief mention in his letter to the monks of the Chora: *Orat.*, p. 625.

94. *Carm.*, no. 2, p. 61-62; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts*, in R. OUSTERHOUT and L. BRUBAKER (eds.), *The Sacred Image East and West*, Urbana 1995, p. 91-109; IDEM, *Contextualizing the Later Churches of Constantinople: Suggested Methodologies and a Few Examples*, *DOP* 54, 2000, p. 241-250, here p. 244. See also below regarding the symbolic significance of monasteries for the protection of the city.

the twelfth century. In spite of their limited means, both Michael VIII (1259-1282) and Andronikos II strove to restore the buildings of Constantinople, those that were necessary or had symbolic value. They repaired the walls, the imperial palaces and major churches. The emperors and their immediate family also restored monasteries. However, it was mostly certain top-ranking officials and a few patriarchs who undertook this task.<sup>95</sup> In fact, if one excludes the emperors and their wives and offspring, almost all documented restorations were carried out by such people. The Table lists the known restorations of monasteries in this period by members of the upper ranks of the court hierarchy or by their wives or widows, who are responsible for almost half of the projects.

Court hierarchy and restorations of monasteries in  
Constantinople, 1261-1328

Dignity*	Monastery
1. <i>despot</i>	
2. <i>sebastokrator</i>	
3. <i>caesar</i>	
4. <i>panhypersebastos</i>	
5. <i>protovestiarios</i>	St Andrew en te Krisei [3]
6. <i>megas doux</i>	Megales doukaines [23]
7. <i>megas domestikos</i>	Megales domestikisses [22]
8. <i>protostrator</i>	Christ Soter [13] — Bebaia Elpis [33] — tes Glabaines [16]
9. <i>megas logothetes</i>	(Anastasis) [2]
10. <i>megas stratopedarches</i>	Bebaia Elpis [33]
11. <i>megas primmikerios</i>	
12. <i>megas konostaulos</i>	Atheniotissa [31] — Pammakaristos [37]
13. <i>epi tou kanikleiou</i>	Gorgoepekoos [34] — Christ Philanthropos [12]
14. <i>protosebastos</i>	
15. <i>pinkernes</i>	

95. For a list of the documented restorations or constructions of monasteries in this period: V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328*, Wiesbaden 1994, ch. 1.1; on the restoration of the city under the first Palaiologoi see most recently R. OUSTERHOUT, *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands*, Oxford 2019, p. 595-613.

16. <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>	St Stephen [29]
17. <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	
18. <i>megas baioulos</i>	
19. <i>kouropalates</i>	
20. <i>protovestiarites</i>	
21. <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>	tou Maroule [30]
22. <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	
23. <i>logothetes tou genikou</i>	Chora [8]
24. <i>megas papias</i>	Pammakaristos [37]

\* Court hierarchy: *Pseudo-Kodinos*, cited n. 16, app., table IV.II. –

In brackets: monastery numbers in V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten*, cited n. 95, ch. 1.1. –

In parentheses: project under Michael VIII.

The fact that few projects are known from Michael VIII's rule in Constantinople (1261-1282) compared to those known from Andronikos II's reign (1282-1328) may be attributed to a large extent to the length of the latter reign and its being much better documented.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, private restorations also seem to have proliferated under Andronikos II. It was likely a combination of factors that led to this phenomenon, in particular the different priorities of the two emperors and the growth of the wealth of the top-ranking individuals compared to that of all other private parties.<sup>97</sup>

The image of the Table is not surprising. The high dignitaries were the people who had money to spend on such projects, and their restorations were more likely to attract attention and be recorded. This image remains nevertheless striking. The sheer number of the projects is remarkable given that what we see is certainly not the full picture. One has the impression that all top aristocrats must have restored one important monastery. The revival of the monasteries of Constantinople thus appears like a collaborative project involving the imperial family and the top-ranking officials.<sup>98</sup> One is

96. A large part of the restorations under Andronikos II are known from contemporary poems or epigrams of Manuel Philes or from the *Histories* of Pachymeres and Gregoras, which cover his reign in more detail than that of Michael VIII.

97. A.-M. TALBOT, The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII, *DOP* 47, 1993, p. 243-261, here p. 257, 261; K. SMYRLIS, Financial Crisis and the Limits of Taxation under Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1321), in D. ANGELOV and M. SAXBY (eds.), *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, Farnham-Burlington 2013, p. 71-82, here p. 76-82.

98. Cf. P. MAGDALINO, Metochites, p. 180; E. DEMIRTIKEN, Changing Profiles of Monastic Founders in Constantinople, From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: The Case of the Theotokos Pammakaristos Monastery in Context, in M. KINLOCH and A. MACFARLANE (eds.),



reminded of the movement of foundations of mosques in early Ottoman Istanbul, predominantly by the military and religious elite of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.<sup>99</sup> To some extent, the Palaiologan effort to restore Constantinople to its Roman glory and the Ottoman project to create a Muslim capital are comparable. With regard to Metochites, his case looks at first sight somewhat anomalous in this picture, given the relatively low rank of *logothetes tou genikou* he held when he refounded the Chora. How could number 23 of the hierarchy be responsible for what was probably the most brilliant foundation of his time? Metochites, however, was already a close relative of the emperor and perhaps acting as his *mesazon*. His case is comparable to that of the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos who probably founded the Gorgoepekoos about twenty years into his career and sometime after he started serving as *mesazon* of Andronikos II.<sup>100</sup>

How should one explain the early Palaiologan trend of aristocratic refoundations? No doubt, many of these founders were concerned about their souls and, especially widowed foundresses, about the future of themselves and of their families.<sup>101</sup> All aristocrats must have also wanted to affirm their status and acquire fame through their foundations. The evidence regarding the restorations of monasteries under Andronikos II underlines this pursuit. The surviving monastic churches of Lips, the Pammakaristos, Vefa Kilise and the Chora, show that in their case, and no doubt in several others, “restoration” does not properly describe what the founders did, if by this term one means the reparation of dilapidated buildings.<sup>102</sup> In these cases we are dealing with a thorough remodeling of the old establishment, involving demolitions and extensive new construction. The money spent on each of these projects would have been enough to restore several monasteries in disrepair. The refoundations created something new which preserved, nevertheless, the most important building, the church, and the old name of the foundation.<sup>103</sup> These projects then look like a compromise between, on the

*Trends and Turning Points: Constructing the Late Antique and Byzantine World*, Leiden-Boston, MA 2019, p. 266-285, here p. 284.

99. Ç. KAFESCIOĞLU, *Constantinople/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, University Park, PA 2009, p. 188-189.

100. Choumnos probably started his career in the early 1280s (A. RIEHLE, *Funktionen*, cited n. 20, p. 7-13); his daughter was married to the son of Andronikos II in 1303 (*PLP*, no. 30936); work on the Gorgoepekoos most likely begun at some point after 1294 and had been completed by 1307: V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten*, cited n. 95, p. 75-76.

101. A.-M. TALBOT, *Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries*, in N. NECİPOĞLU (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople*, Leiden-Boston, MA-Cologne 2001, p. 329-343.

102. Cf. R. OUSTERHOUT, *Eastern Medieval Architecture*, cited n. 95, p. 600-613.

103. Cf. IDEM, *Contextualizing*, cited n. 94, p. 245-247.

one hand, the need to maintain the city's old monasteries and the memory of their original founders, as was the wish of Andronikos II (see below), and, on the other, the desire of the new founders to acquire glory thanks to their magnificent new constructions.

The founders' pursuit of renown, their concerns about their sins and their families were powerful motives. Do they adequately explain the regularity we see on the Table and why these people spent enormous amounts of cash on monastic foundations, diminishing their fortune and that of their offspring? I would like to suggest that next to the founders' private pursuits there also existed another important driving force, namely a public obligation to undertake such projects. This moral obligation is alluded to in a text regarding the monastery of the Anastasis in Constantinople, written between 1294 and 1324. The author of this text, Constantine Akropolites, *megas logothetes* from 1305/6, reports that, during the reign of Michael VIII, his father, *megas logothetes* George Akropolites, was moved to restore the Anastasis because others who were of the same or superior dignity and wealth were not doing anything about it.<sup>104</sup> The high dignitaries and the rich were expected to restore dilapidated monasteries.

Andronikos II clearly favored restorations. Gregoras reports that the emperor preferred to restore churches; he condemned the practice of other emperors who sought to acquire glory and secure their memory by building new churches, while letting old ones collapse and their founder's name disappear.<sup>105</sup> The message of this statement would have been clear to all prospective founders. Most interesting is the declaration of Metochites in Poem 1 that it was Andronikos II who encouraged him to restore the Chora, which he accepted gladly since he had the same wish; he thus resolved to present the brilliantly reconstructed monastery as a gift to Christ and to the

104. H. DELEHAYE, *Epistolarum manipulus*, cited n. 33, p. 279-280: *πλείστων ἄλλων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἀξίαν τέ φημι καὶ τὸν ὄλβον, χεῖρα μὴ τολμησάντων ὅλως ἐπιβαλεῖν τῇ τοῦδε ἀνακαινίσει ἢ ἀνοικοδομήσει μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν*. On the date of this text: J. THOMAS and A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols., Washington, DC 2000, IV, p. 1374 n. 1.

105. GREGORAS, I, p. 274. The remarkable respect shown towards the older church of the Chora by the fourteenth-century restructuring and redecoration and the prominence of the *deesis* mosaic in the south bay of the inner narthex, depicting the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, a twelfth-century refounder of the Chora, and nun Melane, an earlier benefactress of the monastery, have been read, respectively, as Metochites's attempt to initiate a visual dialogue with the past and as an expression of his imperial pretensions (R. OUSTERHOUT, *Finding a Place*, cited n. 91, p. 21-29, 39-41, 49-55). It seems to me that they may be both seen as responses to Andronikos II's sensitivities. While Metochites advertised profusely his refoundation by filling the building with inscriptions that named him, he also took care not to obscure the older church and to pay homage to the earlier founder and benefactress of the Chora.

emperor.<sup>106</sup> At first sight, the enthusiastic acceptance of Metochites looks suspicious. The emperor's suggestion could hardly be ignored, especially by a loyal and ambitious official like Metochites.<sup>107</sup> I think, nevertheless, that the statement of Metochites renders quite accurately the complexity of the situation. Andronikos II indeed wanted the Chora to be renovated by some wealthy high-ranking individual as part of his wider plan to restore Constantinople. At the same time, however, the emperor was awarding a privilege to Metochites by allowing him to undertake a project befitting a top aristocrat and capable of giving him enormous glory. The moment Andronikos II entrusted the Chora to Metochites was a turning point in his career, and this is why it is celebrated in Poem 1. Indeed, it is likely that his promotion to *megas logothetes* came soon after the completion of the project (see App. II.2).

The elements we see at work in the refoundation of the Chora, the imperial assignment, part burden, part privilege, and the expectation of reward, were likely present in many of the other projects of the time. It seems that we are dealing here with a system whereby high dignitaries were encouraged to compete with each other in order to obtain imperial approval and promotion. Metochites expresses this idea more generally in his essay on monarchical government (*basileia*), a large part of which regards the importance of rewarding those who are most useful to the polity. According to Metochites, the ruler ought to stimulate his subjects to pursue the benefit of the common affairs (*ta koina*) and to endeavor to surpass one another in good deeds (*agathoergiai*).<sup>108</sup> The case of widows of high dignitaries, who were responsible for many of the projects, requires a special note. Founding and joining monasteries was certainly a way for them to ensure that they would continue enjoying the dignified and comfortable life of a high aristocrat. The basis of their wealth, patrimonial immovables and *pronoiai*, came under threat of confiscation the moment their husband died because they no longer served the purpose of providing to him the means to fulfill his imperial functions. Nevertheless, for these ladies, the refoundation of a monastery was much more than a technique that allowed them to maintain their lifestyle. It was at least as much about social status. Restoring a monastery was the socially approved way for the wealthy to spend their money

106. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 38-39; beyond his encouragement, Andronikos II also contributed a number of estates to the monastery's endowment: *ibidem*, p. 49.

107. If Metochites' palace, said to have been near the Chora, was already in existence at that moment, then the contrast between his lavish complex and the nearby dilapidated monastery would have been glaring and the emperor's suggestion all the harder to resist.

108. *Misc.*, ch. 418, especially p. 630-631.

and gave them the opportunity to consolidate and enhance their own position and that of their offspring for years to come.

The restoration of the monasteries of Constantinople was a key element of the project of the first Palaiologan emperors to return the capital to its former glory. The monasteries' importance was both symbolic and practical. Monasteries were a defining aspect of Constantinople, an essential part of what made it a great Christian city, as can be seen in pilgrims' accounts and fifteenth-century maps. The symbolism of the magnificent and ancient monasteries was similar to that of Hagia Sophia, the imperial palaces and the walls as they underlined the holiness of the city, the continuity of the Roman empire and the wealth and power of the emperor. Metochites himself notes in his writings the significance of the churches and monasteries for Constantinople. Interspersed throughout the city, the places of worship, especially those dedicated to the Virgin, sanctified and embellished Constantinople and were like guardians protecting it from its enemies.<sup>109</sup>

The practical aspect of the refoundation of monasteries must have also been clear to the emperors. Establishing a great monastery implied years of construction work, which meant jobs for craftsmen and others. It also implied the installation of numerous monks or nuns, whose needs had to be covered through the importation of provisions from the monastery's estates and purchases at the market of Constantinople.<sup>110</sup> The wealthy monasteries also employed lay personnel, including some well-paid professionals like property managers and doctors.<sup>111</sup> Monasteries finally made regular distributions of food and provided healthcare to the poor. A new large monastery revitalized the neighborhood in which it stood and, in the aggregate, the refoundations must have had a significant impact on the demography and the distribution of wealth in the city.

Refounding a monastery was, in fact, a way for the elite to distribute some of its wealth, largely obtained thanks to office holding and imperial concessions. High-ranking aristocrats dispensed large sums of cash from their treasuries to build and endow monasteries. Those who profited most from the Byzantine system, which was characterized by a high degree of inequality, thus gave back some of their gains to their fellow countrymen. This is the essence of euergetism, which Metochites apparently espoused. As was the case with ancient euergetism, however, Palaiologan euergetism

109. *Orat.*, p. 502, 505-506 (*Byzantios*); *Carm.*, no. 2, p. 61-62.

110. The provisions great monasteries held in storage could also be used by the state in times of emergency: PACHYMERES, IV, p. 647.

111. See the salaries paid by Lips to the *oikonomos* of the monastery and the hospital staff: H. DELEHAYE, *Deux typika*, cited n. 33, p. 119, 134.

was not truly voluntary but was also morally prescribed; it was something expected from the wealthy by society and by the emperor.<sup>112</sup> We should not forget that refounding a monastery was much more than spending money. These projects implied a substantial amount of effort on the part of the founders. The refoundation of monasteries was an ideal vehicle to make aristocrats spend and work for society, because these establishments were capable of giving much back to their founders, fulfilling many of their spiritual and material needs.

## CONCLUSIONS

As an official Theodore Metochites was a representative of the Byzantine system of government, the essential features of which had remained unchanged for centuries. He profited from his position, receiving fees or gifts for his services and for the positions he sold. He remained nevertheless proud of his work for the emperor and his country. There was no contradiction there. Metochites was not different in this from the previous *mesazontes* of Andronikos II, Theodore Mouzalon and Nikephoros Choumnos, but he was arguably more successful than them. His contribution to the stability of the 1310s is undeniable. Metochites was not only a full-time official and a full-time scholar, as is usually said. He was also a businessman. He was intensely preoccupied with wealth and devoted time and energy to becoming rich. Imperial favor, profits from office and personal enterprise made him truly wealthy. This was also the case for other high officials, in particular Choumnos, but in the case of Metochites we can actually see the magnate investing in land and trying to increase his prosperity. For Metochites, wealth was the proof of his success and the glory of someone who became rich from poor and powerful from unknown. It also allowed him to be a good father and a good citizen.

The refoundation of the Chora by Metochites was first and foremost part of an imperial project in which the ambitious *logothetes* had to participate by virtue of his position and wealth. Metochites undertook the task wholeheartedly, spending his cash freely despite his greediness and his concerns for his children. He did much more than was necessary in an effort to impress his contemporaries. The Chora probably surpassed in magnificence all other monasteries at the time. As someone who had recently reached a

112. On the complex nature of ancient Greek and Roman euergetism, see P. VEYNE, *Bread and Circuses*, trans. B. PEARCE, London 1990, especially p. 10-11, 103-104.



high point of wealth and power, Metochites wanted to affirm this status in the Byzantine establishment and acquire eternal glory. His splendid foundation, however, was also a way for him to claim the highest position of power in the empire, that of the undisputed closest associate of the emperor. This was a monastery that was fitting for the most eminent official of the time. Indeed, while the restoration of monasteries was something expected from high-ranking officials, it also came with the promise of imperial reward. Andronikos II no doubt promoted this practice by entrusting projects to high officials, as he did with Metochites, and by cultivating competition among the aristocracy. The revival of the monasteries of Constantinople thus fell largely on the shoulders of the emperor's top-ranking officials. This was in effect a delegation of civic responsibilities to the high aristocracy, which was the counterpart of the concession of fiscal rights in the provinces. The great lords collected taxes in the villages and built monasteries in Constantinople. Like the concession of taxes, however, the distribution of foundation projects was done under the watchful eye of the emperor.

## Appendix I

## SEVEN LETTERS OF THEODORE METOCHITES, CA. 1301-1302

An untitled collection of seven letters recently published by Ilias Taxidis from Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1020 (Diktyon 67651) may be attributed to Theodore Metochites and dated to the years around 1301-1302.<sup>113</sup> Even though the letters bear no headings, the fact that they were copied together and the unity of their style suggest that they were all penned by the same individual. In addition, the content of all seven letters fits the profile of Metochites, the man to whom they are attributed here. The writer of the letters was an individual of exceptional erudition as indicated by the highly sophisticated style of the texts. He also appears quite self-assured and not afraid to distinguish himself from others. Most notable in this respect is Letter 7, where he disparages the majority (l. 32: οἱ πλεῖστοι) of social climbers for hiding their humble past; he, by contrast, considered it a badge of honor that he rose through personal effort and not distinguished family origins. The author was a high imperial servant, as indicated or implied by practically all letters, who worked in the palace (Letter 6) and was close to the ruler (Letter 7). He was sent on a mission to Nikomedeia and was apparently involved in a diplomatic marriage (Letters 1-2). Three of the letters may be dated more or less securely in the years 1301-1303 (Letters 1-2, 6).

The editor of the letter collection has already named Theodore Metochites as a possible author on the basis of the autobiographical information given in Letter 7 as well as remarks regarding the letters' style and vocabulary. He concludes, however, that it is impossible to identify the author of the collection.<sup>114</sup> Taxidis notes a number of rare or unique expressions found in the letters, which also appear in known texts of Metochites. Most notable is τοῦνμέσῳ or τοῦν μέσῳ (Letter 7<sup>45</sup>), which, in the medieval period, only appears in works of Metochites: three times in the *Presbeutikos* and another three times in other texts of his.<sup>115</sup> In fact, the linguistic argument in favor of an attribution to Metochites can be strengthened further. Several additional expressions or terms used in the letters are found in no other medieval Byzantine author or are quite rare outside Metochites.

113. I. TAXIDIS, À la recherche de l'auteur de sept lettres inconnues : la collection épistolographique du codex Vat. gr. 1020, *BZ* 112, 2019, p. 171-192.

114. I. TAXIDIS, À la recherche, cited n. 113, p. 175-176.

115. This and all subsequent results are based on *TLG* searches made in November 2021. *Orat.*, p. 307 § 13<sup>21</sup>; p. 312 § 18<sup>36</sup>; p. 315 § 23<sup>9</sup> (*Presbeutikos*); *Orat.*, p. 130, § 17<sup>2</sup> (*Oration on Saint Demetrios*); *Orat.*, p. 442, § 15<sup>32</sup> (*Byzantios*); *Astr.*, p. 464<sup>100</sup>.

Καθάπαξ ἱλαρός (Letter 1<sup>12-13</sup>) only appears in Metochites's philosophical essay 17.<sup>116</sup> — Μεταβολή ἡδίστη (Letters 1<sup>56</sup>, 7<sup>69</sup>), a phrase which is a conscious variation on Euripides Orestes 234, is, in the way that Metochites uses it, only to be found in the *Presbeutikos*.<sup>117</sup> — Also notable is the expression διαβολῶν στρατόπεδον (Letter 3<sup>39</sup>); although found in no other text, this expression closely parallels κακίας στρατόπεδον, which only appears in Metochites's oration on Gregory the Theologian.<sup>118</sup> — Several other expressions found in the letters only appear in Metochites or are rather rare otherwise.<sup>119</sup>

The linguistic evidence is significant and the apparent proximity to the *Presbeutikos*, written soon after 1299, fits the dating of the letter collection well. The key, however, for its attribution to Metochites is Letter 7, which, as noted, includes an autobiographical section.<sup>120</sup> The author states that he was a scholar of humble origins and that he was singled out, made imperial servant and entrusted with governmental functions by the emperor (Andronikos II Palaiologos), who appreciated his learning. Although at first sight this story appears too common to allow for an attribution, it in fact contains a wealth of details that are more than sufficient to identify its author as Metochites. Metochites was keen on recounting his life, leaving us three additional autobiographies, included in his astronomical treatise, his philosophical essay 28 and his Poem 1.<sup>121</sup>

Let us see concretely how the story told in Letter 7 corresponds to the other three self-accounts of Metochites and some other texts of his. In comparing the letter's information to the other three autobiographies, it is important to remember that the former most probably dates from the early 1300s (see below) while the latter were written ten or more years later. Below, I follow the logical order of events, which is not always that in which they appear in Letter 7.

116. THEODORE METOCHITES, *On Ancient Authors and Philosophy*: Semeioseis Gnomikai 1-26 et 71, ed. K. HULT (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 65), Göteborg 2002, ch. 17<sup>24</sup>.

117. *Orat.*, p. 291-92, § 1<sup>26-28</sup>.

118. *Orat.*, p. 220, § 36<sup>23</sup>.

119. Καὶ τί δεῖ μὴκύνειν (Letter 1<sup>12-13</sup>): *Orat.*, p. 321 § 29<sup>2</sup> (*Presbeutikos*). — Συμβάντες in the sense “come to terms” (Letter 1<sup>62</sup>): *Orat.*, p. 313 § 20<sup>9</sup> (*Presbeutikos*). Κἄγώ γε or κἀγώ γε (Letter 3<sup>11</sup>) appears seven times after the ninth century, six of which are in texts of Metochites: *Orat.*, p. 298 § 6<sup>31</sup>; p. 304 § 11<sup>2</sup>; p. 317 § 25<sup>16</sup>; p. 318 § 26<sup>11</sup> (*Presbeutikos*); *Orat.*, p. 459 § 35<sup>1</sup> (*Byzantios*); *Astr.*, p. 441<sup>736</sup>. — Κλέειν ἀνάγκη (Letter 5<sup>39</sup>) only appears in Metochites's funerary oration for Theodora Palaiologina: *Orat.*, p. 329 § 1<sup>2</sup>. — Ἀρχεῖα for “imperial palace” (Letter 6<sup>22</sup>): *Orat.*, p. 489 § 67<sup>42</sup> (*Byzantios*); *Carm.*, no. 7<sup>301</sup>. — Σεμνο-προσωπέω (Letter 7<sup>4</sup>): *Orat.*, p. 357 § 14<sup>24</sup> (*Ethikos*).

120. The final part of the letter is missing.

121. *Astr.*, p. 417-430; *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 188-191; *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 16-38.

i. The author was first poor and devoted to his studies, which were something he did willingly (Letter 7<sup>62-63</sup>).<sup>122</sup> — In essay 28, Metochites states that his life started badly, and he worked hard in his studies, partly because he wanted to, pushed by his own desire, and partly despite his will, as he could not do otherwise.<sup>123</sup>

ii. The author did not have any source of revenue neither did he hope he would ever acquire one (Letter 7<sup>63-65</sup>). — In essay 28, Metochites indicates that he hardly had any hopes regarding material goods.<sup>124</sup>

iii. As a prelude to his change of fortune, the author declares that nothing remains stable in human affairs (Letter 7<sup>65-66</sup>: οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βᾶλλον ἐπὶ ταῦτοῦ καὶ ἐσαεὶ διαμένον). — Essay 28, devoted to the instability of human affairs, which is a recurring theme in the works of Metochites, includes a similar passage (*Misc.*, p. 187: οὐδὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐστὼς [...] ἀλλὰ πάντα μεταπίπτει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις). Regarding the change of his own fortune for the better specifically, Metochites states in the same essay that reversal of fortune, from good to bad and vice versa, is a common thing for humans (*Misc.*, p. 189).

iv. The author was invited by the emperor to take over governmental responsibilities (Letter 7<sup>73-74</sup>: εἰς μέσον τὲ προσκληθέντες καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ φροντίδων ἀξιοθέντες καὶ διοικήσεων) and was placed in the ranks of his closest servants (Letter 7<sup>83-84</sup>: φθάνομεν γε προσκληθέντες τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἔγγιστα δούλοις συνοικειούμεθά τε καὶ συνταττόμεθα). — The same ideas and terms are used to describe the same developments in the life of Metochites in his other autobiographies. He was invited or admitted by the emperor to the palace (*Astr.*, p. 423<sup>173</sup>: ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις καλέσας; p. 429<sup>373</sup>: προσλαμβάνεται με τοῖς ἀρχαίοις; *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 190: προσλαμβάνομαι γε αὐτῷ; *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>402</sup>: καλεῖται μ' ἐς ἐωυτοῦ) and was placed in the ranks of his closest servants (*Astr.*, p. 429<sup>376-377</sup>: ἦν ξυντεταγμένος ἔγγιστα

122. Letter 7<sup>62-65</sup> (*Vat. gr.* 1020, f. 8<sup>26-28</sup>-8<sup>v1-2</sup>): ἦν ποτε, ὅτε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦν καὶ γωνίας ἀπελαύομεν καὶ σχολῆς, πλὴν ἢ θελόντων παρούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὅσα γε ἐς πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς γὰρ ἐν λόγοις σχολῆς — ὦ, πῶς ἐνέγκω τὸ πάθος ἀδακρυτὶ; — οὐτέ τινα ἔσχομεν, οὐδ' οὐ μήποτε σχῆσειν ἐδοκοῦμεν. This passage is clearly corrupt. Stratis Papaioannou has proposed to me the following correction, which I accept: ἦν ποτε, ὅτε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦν, καὶ γωνίας ἀπελαύομεν καὶ σχολῆς πλὴν ἢ θελόντων, παρούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς γὰρ ἐν λόγοις σχολῆς — ὦ, πῶς ἐνέγκω τὸ πάθος ἀδακρυτὶ (cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 7, 6); Ὅσα γε ἐς πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐτέ τινα ἔσχομεν, οὐδ' οὐ μήποτε σχῆσειν ἐδοκοῦμεν.

123. *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 188: πονηρῶς μὲν ἔσχον ἐκ προοιμίων ὅμως ἄρα καὶ τεταλαιπώρηκα τῇ παιδείᾳ τὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ [...] καὶ πρὸς τὰ μὲν ἐκόν, καὶ ὁ πόθος ἦγε εὖ μάλα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκων, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ, τι καὶ χρῆμην ἄλλως. See also *Astr.*, p. 417-418; *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>313-314</sup>.

124. *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 188: δύσσελπις περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον. See also *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>390</sup>: Metochites's thoughts about his future were painful.

τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς τῇ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα συμμορίᾳ; *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>409-410</sup>: εἰν σφετέροισι παρ' αὐτῷ προσπούλοισι δέκτο).

v. To explain why Andronikos II decided to make him an official, the author states that the emperor thought of him, the scholar, being worthy of something (Letter 7<sup>71-72</sup>: οἱ ἐν λόγοις ἡμεῖς [...] εἶναι τι [...] δόξαντες). — Metochites uses basically the same expression to describe the same development in his life in Poem 1 (*Carm.*, no. 1<sup>408</sup>: ἡμέτερον λόγον [...] ἐδόκει δ' εἶναι τι) and very similar ones in essay 28 and in his astronomical treatise (*Misc.*, p. 190: δόξας ὅ τι πότε ἡνυκέναι περὶ τοὺς λόγους; *Astr.*, p. 429<sup>372</sup>: ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὅτι οὖν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀνύτειν).

vi. The author stresses the fact that he rose to prominence not on account of his family but thanks to his own merit.<sup>125</sup> — Metochites says essentially the same thing regarding the benefactions and honors he received from Andronikos II in Poem 1: they were given to him on account of his merit and not because he had some previous family or friendly relation to the emperor.<sup>126</sup>

vii. The author describes his becoming an imperial servant as a transformation: he left his life as scholar to become a man of state affairs and worldly business; this change was the sweetest change of all (Letter 7<sup>66-69</sup>: λόγων ἐκείνων καὶ διατριβῶν ἡδίστων τὲ καὶ ἀρίστων ἀφόμενοι [...] τῶν πραγμάτων τὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου γιγνόμεθα καὶ μεταβάλλομεν [...] ἡδίστην πάντων μεταβολήν). — The same notions regarding the same developments in Metochites's life are found in his other autobiographies. The emperor's invitation transformed his life (*Carm.*, no. 1<sup>384-385</sup>: ἀθρόον [...] βίοτον ἀλλάξαμενος) and he left his studies (*Astr.*, p. 422<sup>171</sup>: μετατίθεμαι τῆς σχολῆς). Metochites also alludes to the change of his fortune in essay 28 using the same verb as in Letter 7 (*Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 189: μεταβάλλω τὰ τοῦ βίου δυσχερῆ).

viii. The author, however, continued being attached to scholarship and felt nostalgia for the days when he was fully devoted to his studies.<sup>127</sup> — The love of Metochites for knowledge, which remained undiminished in spite of him being busy with government and other worldly preoccupations, is a recurring theme in his writings, notably in Poem 12.<sup>128</sup>

125. Letter 7<sup>59-61</sup>: αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοσμοῖτο καὶ τιμὴν τῷ γένει προσάγων ὁρῶτο, οὐ τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἐκ γένους δεχόμενος.

126. *Carm.*, no. 1, p. 22-23, esp. p. 23<sup>503-510</sup>: ἡ ἐ γένους πρὶν φθάσασα κοινωνία τιμὰς κινέουσ' ἀνάγκη [...] ἔσκεν ἂν ἴσως αἰτία καὶ πλὴ τόδ' ἄρ' ἔμοιγε πὰρ βασιλῆος ἑάων παντοίων τε τόσων τε ἄτὰρ ὅτ' οὐκ ἔνι μὴ πρότερόν τι τούτων μοι φθάν.

127. Letter 7<sup>86-93</sup> and <sup>62-65</sup>: ἦν ποτε ὅτε [...] γωνίας ἀπελαύομεν καὶ σχολῆς [...] ὦ, πῶς ἐνέγκω τὸ πάθος ἀδακρυτὶ; (on this passage see above n. 122).

128. *Carm.*, no. 12<sup>103-105, 127-128</sup>, see also *Astr.*, p. 429<sup>386</sup>.



ix. Luckily the emperor, who understood the need of scholars to continue their studies, gave the author functions that allowed him not only to continue exercising his literary skills (ἡ τοῦ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ἔξις) but also to develop them and increase them (προσεπιδιδόναι καὶ προσεπαύξειν; Letter 7<sup>86-94</sup>). — The great love of Andronikos II for the beauty of wisdom and discourse (*philokalia*), and for scholars, is noted in all other autobiographies of Metochites.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, Metochites declares that his learning kept growing while being an imperial official, crediting the emperor with encouraging him to continue progress in his studies and increase his learning (ἡ τῆς σοφίας ἔξις).<sup>130</sup>

x. The last part of what survives of Letter 7 (l. 86-125) is a tribute to the emperor's wisdom, intelligence and learning. — These features of Andronikos II are frequently underlined in Metochites's texts, especially in his astronomical treatise (*Astr.*, p. 423-427).

xi. The author is particularly appreciative of the fact that the emperor deemed him worthy to audit his lectures along with the other scholars who were close to the emperor; the chosen listeners were such that would not simply listen but could in fact comprehend (συνιέναι) the emperor's words and thus benefit from them.<sup>131</sup> — Remarkably similar ideas are expressed in Metochites's astronomical treatise: those erudite men who were close to the emperor and had scholarly exchanges with him paid close attention to the intended meaning of his words and benefited greatly from this intercourse.<sup>132</sup>

The elements of the story told in Letter 7 that perfectly match the details of the other autobiographies of Metochites are simply too many to be attributed to coincidence. Not only are many elements of the autobiography identical, the same events are often described with the same or synonymous terms. Clearly, Metochites had established relatively early the account of his life that he kept repeating in his writings.

129. *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>399-404</sup>; *Misc.*, ch. 28, p. 190, 191; *Astr.*, p. 423<sup>173</sup>.

130. *Carm.*, no. 1<sup>485-486, 563-567</sup>; *Astr.*, p. 429<sup>386ff</sup>, 430<sup>415-418</sup>. See also the very similar expression Metochites uses for scholarly progress in *Astr.*, p. 427<sup>312</sup>: προστίθεται καὶ προσεπαύξει.

131. Letter 7<sup>94-95</sup>: τῶν ὁμιλιῶν αὐτοῦ συνάμα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν αὐτοῦ σοφοῖς λειτουργοῖς ἀξιού; Letter 7<sup>122</sup> (*Vat. gr.* 1020, f. 9<sup>v21-22</sup>): οἷς τῷ ἀκούειν σὺν τῷ λυσιτελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεῖναι συντρέχει, ὡς ὄντα τὸν μακαρισμὸν ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν λόγον; lege: οἷς τῷ ἀκούειν, σὺν τῷ λυσιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ συνιέναι συντρέχει, ὡς ὄντα τὸν μακαρισμὸν ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν λόγον (cf. Matthew 13:9 and 13-14 with Luke 11:28 and Metochites's *Oration on Saint John the Younger*; *Orat.*, p. 700, § 3<sup>4-8</sup>: προσέχων μάλα τοι τὸν νοῦν [...] καὶ μὴ τηνάλλως μόνον ἀκούειν· ἢ μὴ δ' ὥτα ἔχων αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀκούειν· οὐδὲ συνιέναι τὸ πάλαι πρότερον ἐν κατάρῃ κείμενον); I thank Stratis Papaioannou for suggesting this correction to me.

132. *Astr.*, p. 427<sup>304-312</sup>: τοῖς περὶ λόγους ἡμῖν ἔχουσιν, ὅσοις δὴ κατὰ θεῖον γέγονεν ἐγγίξειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ λόγων ἀμηγέπη κοινῶν, καὶ προσέχοντας εὖ μάλα τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐκάστοτε λεγομένων ἀρύτεσθαι, μέγιστον ἀπαντᾷ τὸ κέρδος τῆς ζυνουσίας αὐτῆς.

As noted, the information contained in all seven letters regarding their author is consistent with what we know or may assume about Metochites.

1. In the first letter, addressed to a relative of his (l. 47: συγγενής), Metochites recounts his mission to Nikomedeia where he was sent by Andronikos II to deliver an ordinance and an oral communication to the *strategos* stationed there. — It is likely that the *strategos* is Paxes (or Koutzimpaxis) of Letter 2, a Tatar chieftain sent to control Nikomedeia by Andronikos II in 1302. This is suggested by the letter's emphasis on the *strategos*'s fierce appearance and rough manners and the mention of his preference for "Scythian" servants as well as by the fact that Metochites was involved with Koutzimpaxis as implied by Letter 2.

2. Letter 2 is short and sometimes unclear. It begins by mentioning the marriage of the child of the "Scythian" Paxes, apparently called Choumnos by the Byzantines, with a foreigner from a foreign land. The marriage was not a successful one and Metochites regrets the fact that they (= the Byzantines) promoted this project without examining carefully the trustworthiness of the parties involved. Finally, Metochites informs his addressee that Koutzimpaxis had been arrested and was now in prison, under suspicion of having colluded with the "Scythians" (= the Turks). — This is clearly the affair of the marriage of Koutzimpaxis's daughter to the Turk Solymampaxis reported by Pachymeres, which took place concurrently with the posting of the former at Nikomedeia in 1302. The marriage, which was accompanied by a treaty, was meant as a way to bring peace to the region.<sup>133</sup> It is likely that Metochites, already experienced in diplomatic missions, was involved in this peace plan, which would explain his interest in the matter (Letter 2) and his trip to Nikomedeia (Letter 1). Pachymeres also mentions the ultimate failure of this diplomatic project and the ensuing accusation of treason against Koutzimpaxis. An undated letter of patriarch Athanasios I refers to the imprisonment of Koutzimpaxis and his escape.<sup>134</sup> Koutzimpaxis, however, appears in the service of the emperor in Thrace in 1305, after the events of Nikomedeia. It is difficult to accept the suggestion that Koutzimpaxis was only arrested late in 1305 (*PLP*, no. 13622) given that in both Pachymeres and Letter 2 the accusations for treason or imprisonment are mentioned right after the account of the marriage and the subsequent failure of the peace project. This suggests an early date for the arrest of Koutzimpaxis

133. PACHYMERES, IV, p. 379. On the identification of Paxes to Koutzimpaxis, see I. TAXIDIS, *À la recherche*, cited n. 113, p. 173; *PLP*, no. 13622.

134. A.-M. MAFFRY TALBOT, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (CFHB 7), Washington, DC 1975, no. 51.

(not long after 1302), given that the situation in the area of Nikomedeia seems to have deteriorated quickly. Barring the possibility of two distinct imprisonments, we must admit that Koutzimpaxis's relations with Andronikos II were restored after his escape. In any case, Letter 2 probably dates from around 1302-1303.

3. Little can be said about Letter 3. Metochites used to consider the addressee a very close friend of his; however, the fact that the addressee espoused certain false accusations leveled against him made Metochites deeply disappointed with him. — Perhaps the accusations in question are related to those mentioned in Letter 7.

4. The short Letter 4, addressed to a certain Tzyros, is particularly sharp and full of puns upon the name of the addressee, which meant dried mackerel. The “fattest” Tzyros is told that his trick to escape the common contribution (*koinē synteleia*) was stupid and that he has been caught in the net by Metochites, who is an experienced fisherman. Tzyros must cough up 100 gold coins without much discussion or else face torture. — Whether or not this letter was meant to be sent to Tzyros is uncertain; Metochites, nevertheless, appears to have been in charge of the collection of the *koinē synteleia*. Given its name and the sum involved this was probably one of the exceptional contributions (*koinai synkroteseis* and *syndosiai*) frequently requested under Andronikos II; such contributions are mentioned, in particular, in relation to events of 1295 and 1301, the latter concerning the gathering of provisions for the Alan mercenaries (also discussed in Letter 6).<sup>135</sup> The tax evader of the letter is likely the same person as the Tzyros who gave a dowry worth 18 pounds of gold to his daughter, Maria Kalothetina, probably many years before 1324.<sup>136</sup> It is impossible to date the letter with any precision but ca. 1300 seems to fit best the financial context.

5. Letter 5 is addressed to a partner of Metochites with whom he held jointly a public function (*koinai dioikeseis, demosia praxis*). The partner had joined Metochites when he went out of Constantinople (συνεξώρμησας) to execute the function, although he did not have to; when Metochites assigned him a portion of the task, the partner claimed that he could not

135. K. SMYRLIS, *Financial Crisis*, cited n. 97, p. 75.

136. H. HUNGER and O. KRESTEN, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, I (CFHB 19/1), Vienna 1981, no. 74. Certain undated notes written on f. 298<sup>r</sup> of Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 284 (Diktyon 65527) regarding the charging of grain on boats refer to the vessel of a certain Tzyros (P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* [Studi e testi 344], Vatican 1991, no. 32); he might be the same person as the father of Maria Kalothetina even though the charging of his boat likely took place in Crete as suggested by the name of one of the grain owners, Mazezanes (Mazezaines Schreiner): see *PLP*, no. 16127.

handle it alone and had Metochites sent him an assistant; now, however, the partner no longer needs any help and even finds his task too small, while also accusing his assistant in letters sent to Metochites. Metochites warns his partner to accuse his assistant only if he has something concrete and true against him, for if he expels him he risks arousing suspicions about his own exercise of the public function. — The functions undertaken jointly by two or more people involving travel to the provinces were typically fiscal, in particular tax assessment, and were no doubt purchased from the treasury. The letter contains no element that might permit a close dating. It certainly dates from after 1290, when Metochites became an imperial servant. It is probably earlier than 1303: it is unlikely that Metochites could engage in such ventures in the two years he served as adviser to the empress in Thessalonike (1303-1305) while after 1305 he probably had increased responsibilities at the palace and little opportunity or reason to leave the capital.

6. Metochites wrote Letter 6 at a point when he had left the palace for several days in order to inform a cleric (l. 2-3: *ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ*) of the confiscation of his horses. Nobody had escaped the request (*zetesis*), or rather seizing of the horses, and it was of no avail to stay at home as even “pits, recesses and houses were searched”. Metochites himself was not spared; the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* asked him, on behalf of the emperor, to surrender his horses, both those he used at home and those of his estates (*agroï*). Claiming to be surprised that the emperor asked something from him who was a nobody (*οὐδεὶς*), Metochites promptly left the palace (*archeia*) sending to the *parakoimomenos* his house horses and mules the same day and his country animals the next. — The requisition of horses described by Metochites is without a doubt the one ordered by Andronikos II in 1301 in order to equip the Alan mercenaries who came to Byzantium; this event is described by Gregoras in terms bearing a striking resemblance to those of Letter 6.<sup>137</sup>

7. Letter 7, already discussed above, is addressed to an erudite high-ranking official. The addressee, called the best and most wise (*πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, σοφίας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐνδιαίτημα*), and responsible for the administration of the common affairs (*ἡ διοίκησις τῶν κοινῶν*), may well be Nikephoros Choumnos, who had acted as *mesazon* since before 1294.<sup>138</sup>

137. Letter 6<sup>10</sup>: *βάραθρα ἤρουνῶντο, μυχοί, μέλαθρα*; cf. GREGORAS, I, p. 205: *ἤρουνῶντο κῶμαι, πόλεις, οἰκίαι τῶν μεγιστάνων, οἰκίαι τῶν ἐν στρατείαις κατευλεγμένων, ἀσκητήρια, δῆμοι, θέατρα, ἀγοραί*. Gregoras's account is much more detailed here than that of PACHYMERES, IV, p. 339.

138. In a later letter, Metochites addressed Choumnos as *σοφώτατος ἀνδρῶν*: J.-F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota nova*, Paris 1844, no. 38.

Metochites is writing to defend himself against the accusation of having shown ingratitude to his great benefactor, obviously Andronikos II (l. 26-27). Metochites does this by relating his earlier life and how he rose to become an official. Unlike most people, Metochites openly acknowledges his humble origins, especially because this shows that his becoming wealthy and an imperial official was owed to his merit rather than to his family. There was a time when Metochites was poor and devoted to study, but then his life was transformed because the emperor appreciated him and invited him to participate in government. It was the emperor who brought the unknown Metochites forth, placing him among his close servants. The surviving final part of the letter is a praise of Andronikos II's wisdom and learning, in particular his knowing by heart entire treatises and poems. — The surviving part of the letter, with its autobiographical account, stresses that it was the emperor who elevated Metochites to his current position. The letter was written many years after 1290, given that the time of Metochites's modest existence was distant (see l. 62: ἦν ποτε ὄτε), and he appears to have already progressed in the hierarchy and to have “acquired very much” (l. 51-52). Metochites also says that he had been entrusted with the government of the common affairs, the meaning of which is not entirely clear.<sup>139</sup> At the same time, the letter suggests that his ascendancy was relatively recent and it could still be questioned; in addition, the deference with which Metochites speaks to the addressee shows that he had not yet reached the highest levels of power; the absence of any reference to the marriage of Metochites's daughter to the nephew of Andronikos II (soon after 1305) probably means that this event was yet to take place; finally, all other letters of the collection that can be dated, including the immediately preceding Letter 6, come from the early 1300s. These elements all but exclude a date after 1310. Given that it is unlikely that the letter was composed during the stay of Metochites in Thessalonike (1303-1305), about which there is no hint, Letter 7 was likely written around 1300-1303 or soon after his promotion to *logothetes tou genikou* (1305-1307).

139. L. 73-74: εἰς μέσον τὲ προσκληθέντες καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ φροντίδων ἀξιοθέντες καὶ διοικήσεων. This does not seem to be an allusion to the function of *mesazon*; ἐν μέσῳ φροντίδες καὶ διοικήσεις means the care and government of the common affairs.



## Appendix II

1. THEODORE METOCHITES'S PROMOTION TO *MEGAS LOGOTHETES* –
2. THE REFOUNDATION OF THE CHORA –
3. CERTAIN LETTERS OF THEODORE HYRTAKENOS

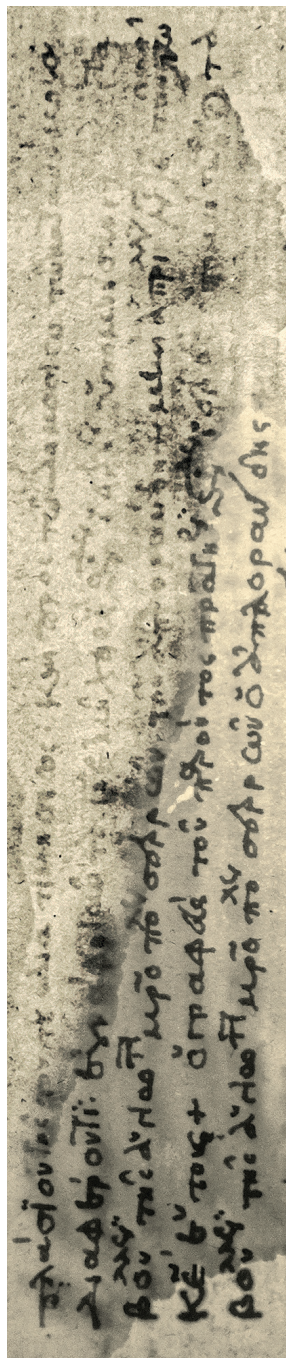
1. *The date of Theodore Metochites's promotion to megas logothetes*

On the basis of certain passages in the *History* of Nikephoros Gregoras, it has been assumed until now that Metochites became *megas logothetes* in the spring of 1321. In fact, he had been awarded this dignity before April 1317, the date of a document included in the cartulary of the monastery of Prodromos near Serres, which is addressed to “the *megas logothetes kyr Theodore Metochites*”.<sup>140</sup> This is an act of sale by which a certain Manuel Tzykandyles and his family sell a land of theirs to Metochites. The most significant passages of this document are the following. F. 48<sup>v7-11</sup>: πεπράκαμεν [...] πρὸς σὲ τὸν αὐθ(έν)την(ην) (καὶ) κύριον μοι, τὸν περιπύθητον συμπέθερον τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως) μέγαν λογοθέτην κ(ῦρ) Θεόδ(ω)ρ(ον) τὸν Μετοχίτην; f. 49<sup>r2-4</sup> (see Pl. 1): Ἐγράφη ταῦτα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Θε(ο)δ(ώ)ρ(ου) ἱερέ(ως), ὑπομνήσκοντος [καὶ] ταβουλλ(αρίου) τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) Σερρών τοῦ Ἀπλοραύδη, μηνὶ Ἀπριλλ(ίω), (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ἐξ' τοῦ ρωκε' ἔτους.<sup>141</sup> The fact that the indiction (15) corresponds to the month and year of creation given (April 6825) confirms that the scribe copied the digits of the year correctly.

Pushing the promotion of Metochites at least four years earlier resolves certain difficulties: (1) we do not have to puzzle why the man who became one of the emperor's closest associates at latest in the early 1310s kept the relatively low rank of *logothetes tou genikou* until 1321; (2) there is now no problem with the letter of Theodore Hyrtakenos indicating that Metochites was *megas logothetes* before 1319 (see below); (3) given that the Chora was completed while Metochites was *logothetes tou genikou* (see below),

140. *Prodromos, Codex B*, no. 34 = Sofia, Centăr za slavjano-vizantijski proučvanija «Ivan Dujčev», D. gr. 80 (Diktyon 62334), ff. 48<sup>v1</sup>-49<sup>r7</sup>.

141. The passage including the date is damaged by humidity and was only partly read by the editor. On pictures taken using ultraviolet light with equipment provided by the consortium Inframat the date can be read despite the damage (I am grateful to Guentcho Banev, Alexander Vaton and the Centre Dujčev for these pictures). The scribe of the act, priest Theodore Aploraudes, *hypomneskon* and *taboullarios* of the metropolis of Serres, is probably the *primerios* (of the *taboullarioi*) Aploraudes mentioned in a document of May 1323 (O. DELOUIS and M. ŽIVOJNOVIĆ, *Actes de Chilandar*, II, cited n. 38, no. 87<sup>14</sup>). The surname of the vendor is found in another damaged passage at the beginning of the document (f. 48<sup>v1</sup>) and may be read on UV pictures: Τζυκαγδ(ύ)λ(ης).



Pl. 1: *Prodromos*, Codex B, no. 34 = Sofia, Centър за slavjano-vizantijski proučvanija «Ivan Dučev», D. gr. 80 (Diktyon 62334), f. 48<sup>v</sup>

the new dating also resolves the difficulty of the statement of Gregoras that he had joined the Chora as a “child” while Metochites was restoring it, which, if we accepted that the work only finished in 1321, would imply that the restoration lasted ten years at least.

The Prodomos document seems to contradict the information provided by Gregoras’s *History*: (1) in Book VII, in the part covering the years 1310-1318, there is no mention of the restoration of the Chora while Metochites appears as *logothetes tou genikou* in an excursus placed between events of the years 1313-1315 and 1317 (GREGORAS, I, p. 271-273); (2) in Book VIII, Metochites reappears as *logothetes tou genikou* in passages referring to March 1321 (p. 303-304, 306). Then in a passage following events of June 1321, Gregoras calls Metochites *meas logothetes*, explaining that he had already obtained this dignity (p. 322: τετίμητο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιώματι); (3) at Metochites’s first mention in Book VIII, related to an event of early March 1321, Gregoras refers to the restoration of the Chora, stating that “the *logothetes tou genikou* had finished renovating the monastery of the Chora, its internal decoration” (p. 303: ὁ μέντοι λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ ἄρτι τοῦ νεουργεῖν ἐπέπαυτο τὴν τῆς Χώρας μονήν, ὅσος ὁ ἔνδον ἐτύγγανεν κόσμος). This passage has been taken to mean that Metochites had just completed the Chora, which, as noted, he did while being *logothetes tou genikou*.

At present I can suggest the following solutions regarding the three points noted above:

(1) The absence of any mention of the Chora or of Metochites’s promotion in Book VII may be explained by the nature of the first part of Gregoras’s *History*, going up to 1318 (Books I-VII), which is very brief compared to the rest of his work; especially the nine years 1310-1318 (Book VII.9-13) occupy in Bonn’s edition approximately 25 pages whereas the three years 1319-1321 (Book VIII.1-11) take up about 70 pages. Gregoras’s account of the 1310s is not simply brief; it is also very selective: less than a dozen separate stories are recounted from Niphon’s accession to the patriarchate in 1310 to the end of Book VII. Even though Gregoras devotes a long passage to describe Metochites, focusing on his power and scholarship, in the context of Book VII the absence of any mention of the restoration of the Chora or the promotion of Metochites is unsurprising.

(2) The title Gregoras gives Metochites in passages referring to the spring of 1321 may be ascribed to the historian’s carelessness. Gregoras has been often caught committing inaccuracies; for example: a) the dignities he attributes to Theodore Metochites and John Glykys during their embassy to Cyprus and Cilicia are no doubt wrong; b) in relation to an event of 1321,

Gregoras states that he was 27 years old (i.e. born ca. 1294) while with regard to events of 1351 he gives the age of 60 years old (i.e. born ca. 1291).<sup>142</sup> There are also inconsistencies regarding the title Metochites held in 1321 in one manuscript of the *History* of Gregoras, which may be owed to the author or to a copyist.<sup>143</sup>

(3) The expression ἄρτι τοῦ νεουργεῖν ἐπέπαυτο may be translated as “he had recently finished renovating” or “he had finished renovating”, depending on how one understands ἄρτι. Gregoras often uses this word in its classical meaning to say “recently” or “now” but he also uses it as a connective or intensive particle, which does not have to be translated, frequently in constructions with circumstantial participles and at least once with pluperfect.<sup>144</sup>

The last mention of Theodore Metochites as *logothetes tou genikou*, which may be dated approximately, appears to be in a text of Thomas Magistros.<sup>145</sup> Metochites still held that title when Magistros wrote the account of his trip from Thessalonike to Constantinople, most likely in the last months of 1313 or early in 1314.<sup>146</sup> In conclusion, Metochites was promoted to *megas logothetes* between 1313/14 and April 1317.

## 2. The date of the refoundation of the Chora

The project of refounding the Chora cannot have started earlier than 1305 given that before that year the rank of Metochites and probably his wealth

142. See above n. 12 and H.-V. BEYER, *Chronologie*, cited n. 24, p. 127-128. On Gregoras as historian, see A. LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins*, cited n. 48, p. 349-350; D. KYRITSSES, *Aristocracy*, p. 333-334.

143. One of the oldest manuscripts of the *History* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 405 [coll. 783; Diktyon 69876]), based on the second lost original of Gregoras according to J.-L. Van Dieten, calls Metochites both *logothetes tou genikou* and *megas logothetes* in March 1321: J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*, 5 vols., Stuttgart 1973-2003, II, p. 8, 140; cf. *ibidem*, p. 2-3.

144. E.g. GREGORAS, I, p. 57<sup>8-9</sup>: ἄρτι τοῦ ἡλίου περὶ τροπᾶς τυγχάνοντος φθινοπωρινᾶς; p. 100<sup>7</sup>: ἐπιδόξω κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι ἐξιέναι τυγχάνοντι; p. 214<sup>9-10</sup>: ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν πολέμων ἄρτι αἰχμὴν ἐγεγόνεισαν; see the translations of these passages by L. Schopen. On the use of ἄρτι as a connective or intensive particle in vernacular medieval Greek, see J. M. EGGE, *Les particules en grec médiéval*, in N. M. PANAYOTAKIS (ed.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, 2 vols., Venice 1993, I, p. 109-117, here p. 115-116; see also the translation of ἄρτι as πρὸ πολλοῦ in E. KRIARAS and I. N. KAZAZES, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικῆς ἐλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669*, 21 vols. published, Thessaloniki 1969-2019, s.v., 3.

145. It has been suggested that letters 37-40, 133, 134 of Nikephoros Choumnos's letter collection, in which Theodore Metochites appears as *logothetes tou genikou*, date from 1317-1321 (A. RIEHLE, *Funktionen*, cited n. 20, p. 14, 26-36). However, the arguments regarding the date of these letters are not conclusive; they must be dated from before April 1317, when Metochites was already *megas logothetes*.

146. See above n. 23.

could hardly justify a project of this size.<sup>147</sup> The buildings and decoration of the refounded Chora were completed before April 1317: Metochites, who was already *megas logothetes* at that date, appears as *logothetes (tou genikou)* on inscriptions in various parts of the building; outside, on the base of the belfry; inside, on the dome cornice, on the naos capitals and next to his portrait above the entrance to the naos (+ Ὁ κτήτωρ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μετοχίτης).<sup>148</sup> Gregoras, who was born around 1293, states that (1) he settled in the Chora at the instigation of Metochites, (2) he was then very young, a child (ἔκ πανυ νέας καὶ παιδικῆς ἡλικίας), and (3) he contributed to Metochites's refoundation of the monastery from the very beginning.<sup>149</sup> If we accept these statements, the project must have started sometime between 1308 and 1312 (or ca. 1310), at a time when Gregoras was very young (15-19 years old) but capable of offering help. In fact, ca. 1310 is the most plausible date for the start of the project independently of Gregoras. It allows some time, after the return of Metochites from Thessalonike to Constantinople in 1305, which was followed by a promotion, for him to become sufficiently wealthy and established in the hierarchy to undertake the task; and it gives enough space for the completion of the refoundation before 1317.<sup>150</sup>

### 3. The letters of Theodore Hyrtakenos

It is also necessary to discuss the dates of certain letters of Theodore Hyrtakenos, many of which (21 out of a total of 93) are addressed to Theodore Metochites.<sup>151</sup> Metochites is only referred to as *megas logothetes* in

147. For earlier datings of the start of the project, see above n. 87.

148. Belfry base: R. OUSTERHOUT, *Architecture*, cited n. 2, fig. 127; dome cornice: I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites, p. 39; naos capitals: R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Chora Monastery and Its Patrons*, cited n. 91, fig. 14.

149. GREGORAS, I, p. 308-309; II, p. 1045-1046. On Gregoras's date of birth: H.-V. BEYER, *Chronologie*, cited n. 24, p. 129-130.

150. According to R. Ousterhout the work at the Chora by Metochites would have required several years to be completed (oral communication). — R. OUSTERHOUT, *Architecture*, cited n. 2, p. 119-120 had proposed a close relationship between the Chora additions and the *parekklesion* of the Pammakaristos (ca. 1310), arguing that they were probably built by the same workshop. — Certain Byzantine frescoes in the Genoese cathedral of San Lorenzo executed around 1312 are very close to paintings and mosaics in the Chora: R. S. NELSON, A Byzantine Painter in Trecento Genoa, *The Art Bulletin* 67, 1985, p. 548-566; IDEM, Byzantine icons in Genoa before the "Mandylion", in A. R. CALDERONI MASETTI, C. DUFOR BOZZO and G. WOLF (eds.), *Intorno al Sacro Volto: Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI-XIV)*, Venice 2007, p. 79-81; C. DI FABIO, Gli affreschi di Manfredino e altri documenti genovesi di cultura figurativa "assiate", *Bollettino d'Arte* 12, 2011, p. 85 (I thank Robert Nelson for bringing this to my attention).

151. HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*. On this collection see also A. KARPOZIOLOS, The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *JÖB* 40, 1990, p. 275-294; G. FATOUROS, Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *JÖB* 43, 1993, p. 221-231.

Hyrtakenos' letters; in most cases this dignity appears only in the headings of the letters and in two cases also in the text. Georgios Fatouros has suggested that the headings of some of the letters addressed to Metochites reflect not the dignity he bore when they were composed but the title he had at the time the collection was compiled. Fatouros assumes that the various letters regarding the education of a son of Metochites by Hyrtakenos (nos. 19, 35, 74) concern Demetrios Metochites, who was an adult in the 1320s; he thus concludes that these letters must be earlier than 1321, when Metochites became *meγas logothetes* according to the traditional chronology, hence the conclusion that the dignity of Metochites in the headings is sometimes inaccurate.<sup>152</sup> Leaving aside the fact that this date is no longer valid, it should be noted that there is no reason to identify the son of the letters with Demetrios; he might as well be Nikephoros Metochites, who appears as a student of Gregoras in a letter addressed to the *meγas logothetes*, or Alexios Metochites, who was likely significantly younger than the other three known sons.<sup>153</sup> As for the suggestion that in some headings the title *meγas logothetes* of Metochites is in fact a later updating, nothing obliges us to think so.

Hyrtakenos wrote letters, mostly to the emperor and high officials, to make various requests. Two of these requests, each known from several letters including some to Metochites, may be roughly dated. In the first case (nos. 33, 34, 36), Hyrtakenos stated that he was lacking food and requested the emperor to be furnished with wheat and barley (*sitodosia, episitismos*) since this was the summer and the yield was rich; the emperor accepted but was slow to fulfill his promise, so Metochites was asked to help. One of these letters (no. 34) wishes the emperor a long life together with his co-emperor (ζῳῆς μὲν σὺ βασιλεῦ, συζῳῆ δὲ βασιλεύς). Fatouros is probably right to note that such a wish could have been enunciated only at a time when there were two emperors, so before the crowning of Andronikos III (before February 1313) or after the death of Michael IX (October 1320), as in the meantime there existed three *basileis*.<sup>154</sup> He concludes that it must be the

152. *Ibidem*, p. 221-224.

153. The sons of Theodore Metochites: *PLP*, nos. 17977, 17980, 17985, 17986. — Nikephoros Metochites, apparently an adult in 1321 (JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, *Historiarum*, cited n. 34, I, p. 63), is the subject of P. A. M. LEONE, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistolae*, 2 vols., Matino 1982, II, no. 25; see A. SKLAVENITI, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη των επιστολών του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά*, Athens 2019, p. 114-115. — Alexios Metochites, who died between 1369 and 1375, first appears in our documentation in 1349. Metochites also had a fifth son whose name is unknown.

154. Andronikos III is called *basileus* like Andronikos II and Michael IX in a document of February 1313 but unlike his grandfather and father he is not called αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων: P. LEMERLE, *Actes de Kutlumus* (Archives de l'Athos 2<sup>e</sup>), Paris 1988<sup>2</sup>, no. 8<sup>3-5</sup>.



former period on the basis of two assumptions: a) situated between the three letters (nos. 33, 34, 36) is letter no. 35 regarding a totally different matter, the education of Metochites's son; because of its position, letter no. 35 must be contemporary to nos. 33, 34, 36; b) no. 35 cannot date from the 1320s because of the age of Metochites's son. While the first assumption seems plausible the second is problematic (see above). The date we ascribe to nos. 33, 34, 36, is of little consequence for the career of Metochites if we accept that his title in the headings has been updated in some cases. If not, then these letters should be dated from after October 1320 given that Metochites was apparently still *logothetes tou genikou* until late in 1313 (see above).

The other request of Hyrtakenos regarded the award of a salary (*siteresion*; cf. *apositizomai*, *sitizein*) in kind and perhaps also in cash to be provided to him as teacher by the treasury (*basilika prytaneia*).<sup>155</sup> In spite of similarities in the vocabulary, involving terms deriving from *sitos*, this second request is clearly distinct from the one mentioned above. At least six letters relate to this request (nos. 63, 64, 74, 77, 81, 93). Hyrtakenos declares (in nos. 63, 64, 93) having spent many years teaching without deriving any profit from it; he thus requested from the emperor as well as from the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou*, the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites and the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos that a salary be awarded to him. The emperor accepted but was again slow to fulfill his promise, prompting Hyrtakenos to ask Basil Glykys to ask his father, patriarch John Glykys (1315-1319), to remind this to the emperor (no. 93). This last letter permits us to date the letters that clearly relate to the *siteresion* request including the one to the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites to the period of the patriarchate of John Glykys.

### Abbreviations

Astr.: B. BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 66), Göteborg 2003.

Carm.: *Theodori Metochitae Carmina*, ed. I. POLEMIS (CCSG 83), Turnhout 2015.  
Greg. Naz., Or. 7: M.-A. CALVET-SÉBASTI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6-12* (SC 405), Paris 1995.

GREGORAS: NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. SCHOPEN, I-II (CSHB 19), Bonn 1829-1830.

155. On *siteresia* to teachers, see A. KARPOZILOS, *Correspondence*, cited n. 151, p. 288-289.

- HYRTAKENOS, *Letters*: A. KARPOZILOS and G. FATOUROS, *The Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos*, Athens 2017.
- D. KYRITSES, *Aristocracy*: D. KYRITSES, *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the 13th and Early 14th Centuries*, Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University 1997.
- P. MAGDALINO, Metochites: P. MAGDALINO, Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and Constantinople, in H. KLEIN, R. OUSTERHOUT and B. PITARAKIS (eds.), *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, Istanbul 2011, p. 169-187.
- Misc.: *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. G. MÜLLER and T. KIESSLING, Leipzig 1821; repr. Amsterdam 1966.
- R. NELSON, Taxation: R. NELSON, Taxation with Representation: Visual Narrative and the Political Field at the Kariye Camii, *Art History* 22, 1999, p. 56-82.
- Orat.: THEODORE METOCHITES, *Orationes*, ed. I. POLEMIS and E. KALTSOGIANNI (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana 2031), Berlin-Boston, MA 2019.
- PACHYMERES: GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations Historiques*, ed. and trans. A. FAILLER, III-IV (CFHB 24/3-4), Paris 1999.
- Prodromos, Codex B: Le Codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome (Serrès) (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. L. BÉNOU (Textes. Documents. Études sur le monde byzantin, néohellénique et balkanique 2), Paris 1998.
- I. ŠEVČENKO, Metochites: I. ŠEVČENKO, Theodore Metochites, The Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Times, in P. UNDERWOOD (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, IV, Princeton 1975, p. 17-92.
- THEODORE OF MONTFERRAT: C. KNOWLES, *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, London 1983.
- J. VERPEAUX, *Cursus honorum*: J. VERPEAUX, *Le cursus honorum de Théodore Métochite*, *REB* 18, 1960, p. 195-198.

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## THE OFFICE OF THE BYZANTINE *KENSOR*/ΚΕΝΣΩΡ AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES\*

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As is well known, the Roman *census* was the general and systematic recording and assessment of people and their property for the concomitant purposes of taxation and their integration into the corresponding social class or rank.<sup>1</sup> This was carried out by the *censores*, officers of one of the highest authorities in the Roman state, who in addition to their primary function of maintaining the tax lists were also responsible for the leasing and safeguarding of Roman public property, the conclusion of contracts for the execution of public works, the collection of taxes and the preservation of public morals, including supervising citizens' observance of the rules of conduct.<sup>2</sup> The censorship ceased to exist in the imperial period, although of course the registration and valuation of citizens' property continued. Probably under Augustus, or possibly a little later, the office of *a censibus* appears; this was based in Rome and collected all the *census* carried out in the provinces and the capital.<sup>3</sup> Later, during the reign of Constantine the Great or perhaps even

\* We would like to express our special thanks to the anonymous reviewer for his valuable remarks. — See the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.

1. G. HUMBERT, *Census*, in Ch. DAREMBERG and E. SAGLIO (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, I.2, Graz 1887, p. 1003-1010; W. SCHULLER and P. LEISCHING, *Census*, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II.8, 1983, p. 1616-1617; R. FLEMMING, *Census*, in O. NICHOLSON (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*. I, A-I, Oxford 2018, p. 307.

2. J. W. KUBITSCHKE, *Censor*, in A. F. PAULY, G. WISSOWA *et alii*, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III.2, Stuttgart 1896, col. 1902-1908; Ch. GIZEWSKI, *Census*, in H. CANKI and H. SCHNEIDER (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*, II, Stuttgart-Weimar 1997, col. 1059-1060; P. SIDNEY DEROW, *Censor*, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.1463>).

3. S. DEMOUGIN, *Le bureau palatin a censibus*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 113, 2001, p. 621-631.

earlier, the *magister census* was introduced. The office was charged with keeping the list of senators and the inventory of their assets (*census*).<sup>4</sup>

The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists the *magister census* among the officials subject to the *prefect of Rome* (*praefectus urbis*), specifically after the *comes portus* and before the *rationalis vinorum*, while it mentions his subordinates, the *censuales*, as serving in the office (*officium*) of the prefect.<sup>5</sup> The *Notitia Dignitatum*, however, contains no corresponding chapter for the *prefect of Constantinople*, which explains why there is no mention of the *magister census* in the new capital, although logically the office should have existed.

In Constantinople, then, the *magister census* is attested for the first time in 472.<sup>6</sup> The office was the ἀρχων τῶν ἀρχετύπων συμβολαίων according to Ioannes Lydos,<sup>7</sup> to whose service the documents of contracts, transactions and donations were submitted for validation. Later, in the middle Byzantine period, the responsibility for *census* and taxation<sup>8</sup> of the *magister census* in Constantinople was taken over by the *genikos*, that is, the *logothetes of the genikon*.<sup>9</sup>

The office of the Byzantine *kensor* (κένσωρ) appears for the first time in the *Escorial Taktikon* (971-973), after the ὑπατος and before the ἐπὶ τοῦ βεστιάριου.<sup>10</sup> This is clearly a revival of the name of the old Roman authority, explained probably by the fact that Roman terms, as also in the cases of

4. See A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *H απονομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 196, with bibliography and sources.

5. *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. C. NEIRA FALEIRO, *La Notitia Dignitatum* (Nueva Roma 25), Madrid 2004, OC IV, 31 (*Officium Viri Illustris Praefecti Urbis*).

6. G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine 7), Paris 1984<sup>2</sup>, p. 265. The *censuales* (for whom see also Ch. GIZEWSKI, *Censuales*, in H. CANKI and H. SCHNEIDER [eds.], *Der Neue Pauly*, II, cited n. 2, p. 1059), however, are mentioned earlier than the *magister census*. See on this matter G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*, cited above, p. 269.

7. IOANNES LYDOS, *De magistratibus populi romani*, II, 30, 4, ed. M. DUBUISSON and J. SCHAMP, *Jean Le Lydien, Des Magistratures de l'État romain* (Collection des Universités de France, série grecque), II, Paris 2006, p. 37.

8. The terms κῆνσος and κηνσεύειν are still attested in the Byzantine sources in relation to the ἀναγραφή or ἀπογραφή, that is, the registration of the land and assets of the citizens for the purpose of taxation. See A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *H απονομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 195 and n. 883.

9. See *ibidem*, p. 197 n. 889.

10. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Le Monde byzantin), Paris 1972, p. 271<sup>9</sup>. Cf. LBG, s.v. κήνσωρ. The fact that the *Uspenskij Taktikon* (842-843) is recorded in a single, poorly preserved manuscript makes the entry οἱ κένσορες at the end of the edition of that document quite doubtful and unreliable. See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance*, cited above, p. 62 n. 48, p. 325 n. 226, who assumes an error on the part of the copyist ("faute du copiste").

*exaktor* and *praitor*, came again to the fore after the codification of Roman law by the Macedonians and served to denote the connection with the Roman past. The new position was created in the context of the administrative changes that took place under the emperors Nikephoros Phokas and Ioannes Tzimiskes. However, according to Nicolas Oikonomidès, there is nothing to connect the name of the office of *kensor* in Byzantium with the *κῆνσος*.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it remains to be seen whether the function of the office is related to the *census* or not.

At this point it should be noted that all the evidence for the *kensor* after the *Escorial Taktikon* dates to the 11th century and, with only four exceptions, comes solely from seals, while modern scholars differ in their views on the responsibilities of the *kensor*. Some speak of an activity specific to a jurist<sup>12</sup> or a judicial officer,<sup>13</sup> while another opinion holds that the *kensor* was not a judicial official.<sup>14</sup> It has recently been argued again, albeit with some reservation, that an overall survey of the evidence of seals shows that the *kensor* probably belonged to the ranks of the judicial officials at a level equivalent to that of the *krites of the velum* and the *krites of the hippodrome*.<sup>15</sup> This assumption drove us to carry out a more thorough examination of the sources, and in particular of the seals, with the aim on the one hand of investigating the judicial activity of the *kensor* and on the other of

11. *Ibidem*, p. 325: “Il n’y a rien qui permette de rapprocher le nom de la charge avec *κῆνσος*, *κῆνσεύειν* (recensement), institution périmée déjà sous Léon VI.” See also J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*, p. 93: “the *kensor* had nothing in common with the ancient censor”.

12. See, for example, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance*, cited n. 10, p. 325: “activité et titularité de juriste”; IDEM, L’évolution de l’organisation administrative de l’Empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1025-1118), *TM* 6, 1976, p. 125-152, here p. 134 n. 54 (= N. OIKONOMIDES, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade. Studies, Texts, Monuments* [Variorum Collected Studies Series], Aldershot 1992, no. X); J.-C. CHEYNET, T. GÖKYILDIRIM and V. BULGURLU, *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d’Istanbul*, Istanbul 2012, p. 146 (activité de juriste).

13. J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*, p. 68, no. 55 (“la fonction a un caractère judiciaire mal défini”).

14. A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Η απονομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 194, 198; IDEM, Seals of Byzantine Officials connected with the Administration of Justice, *JÖB* 62, 2012, p. 9-18, here p. 11-13; IDEM, Administrative Structures of Byzantium during the 11th Century: Officials of the Imperial Secretariat and Administration of Justice, in B. FLUSIN and J.-C. CHEYNET (eds.), *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle* (TM 21.2), Paris 2017, p. 561-580, here p. 575.

15. See J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*, p. 117 and 219 n. 405: “Thus, I find myself in the enviable position of agreeing with N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance* [cited n. 10], p. 325, who considered the *kensor* to be a judicial official, and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux byzantins des musées d’Antioche et de Tarse*, *TM* 12, 1994, [p. 391-478, here] p. 414-[4]15, who concluded that the *kensores* were judges of the same level as those of the hippodrome and of the velum”.

compiling a systematic and revised prosopographical list for the holders of the office, something that has only existed in the online database of *The Prosopography of the Byzantine World (PBW)*,<sup>16</sup> which, however, needs to be completed and in some cases corrected. In addition, we will attempt to date certain seals more accurately than in their relevant editions.

There are only three testimonies connecting the *kensor* with the examination of judicial cases. According to the chronologically earliest of these, a synodal document of 1030,<sup>17</sup> the eunuch Romanos, πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου κοιτῶνος καὶ κένσωρ,<sup>18</sup> was a member of the synodal court which, together with high priests and secular officials, tried the Monophysites in the city of Melitene. The secular lords, however, were not exclusively judicial officials but on the one hand senators of the rank of *patrikios*, including for example the *noumerarios* Nikolaos and the *orphanotrophos* Melias, who had no judicial position, and on the other senators of the rank of *protospatharios*, such as the *epi tou koitonos* and *mystikos* Avramios, who also held no judicial position but sat on the synodal court together with other senators and civil judges who are not mentioned by name.<sup>19</sup>

In the second instance, the *kensor*, or to be precise the “old [*scil.* former] *kensor*” (παλαιὸς κένσωρ),<sup>20</sup> appears in the *Peira* as hearing a case concerning a certain *protokarabos* in which he distinguished the crime of abduction of a virgin (ἄρπαγὴ παρθένου) from that of deflowering a virgin (παρθενοφθορία).<sup>21</sup> As is customary in the *Peira*, however, the record does not show how the case came to be examined by the court, apparently because what the author of the source was primarily interested in here was the distinction between the two crimes, as is also indicated by the inclusion of this legal

16. *PBW*, <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk>.

17. G. FICKER, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites. Festschrift der Universität Kiel zur Feier des Geburtstages des Kaisers, Wilhelm II.*, Kiel 1911, p. 8-21. See V. GRUMEL and J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I, Les actes des patriarches. 2-3, Les Regestes de 715 à 1206*, Paris 1947, no. 839. Neither this testimony nor that of Michael Psellos mentioned below was used or commented on by J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*. See also *PBW*, Romanos 109 (<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Romanos/109/>).

18. G. FICKER, *Erlasse*, cited n. 17, p. 20<sup>28-29</sup>.

19. *Ibidem*, p. 11<sup>31</sup>-12<sup>1</sup> and 20<sup>21</sup>-21<sup>9</sup>.

20. See also *PBW*, Anonymus 12251 (<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Anonymus/12251/>).

21. EUSTATHIOS ROMAIOI, *Peira*, 63, 5, ed. ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, in J. and P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, IV, Athens 1931, p. 236-237: [ε'] “Ὅτι ὅτε μετὰ πλήθους ἀφίκεται τις εἰς οἰκίαν τινός, καὶ εἴτε ἤκουσαν εἴτε ἐκούσαν ἄρπάσει γυναῖκα, ἄρπαγὴν πλημμελεῖ καὶ τιμωρεῖται ὅτε δὲ μόνος ἀπέλθῃ, μὴ τινος ἔχων τοὺς συνυπουργηκότας, καὶ ἀφανῶς τὴν γυναῖκα ἑαυτὴν προδεδωκυῖαν ἀφελέσθαι θαρρήσει, οὐχ ἄρπαγὴν ἀλλὰ φθορὰν παρθένου ἀμαρτάνει. καὶ οὕτως ἐκρίθη παρὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ κένσωρος εἰς τὴν δίκην τοῦ πρωτοκαράβου.



matter under the 63th title of the *Peira*, Περὶ ἀρπαγῆς. It cannot be excluded that this case, like so many others mentioned in the *Peira*, was referred to the judge, here the *kensor*, by the emperor. Nor of course is it the only instance of a dispute being referred for examination to an official who is not a judicial officer, such as for example the *epi tou kanikleiou*, the *logothetes of the dromos* or the *mystikos*, as attested by the *Peira*.<sup>22</sup> This testimony, therefore, although it reveals judicial activity, cannot substantiate the view that the *kensor* was a judicial officer charged with hearing criminal cases and to whom litigants had direct access.

According to the third testimony, a letter of Michael Psellos to Konstantinos,<sup>23</sup> nephew of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios, dated around 1066-1067,<sup>24</sup> towards the end of the reign of Constantine X Doukas, an accusation was brought against the *proedros* Konstantinos, nephew of Patriarch Michael, “but the tribunal was merciful and fair with him, and the judge was even ready to transgress the law because of philanthropy”. We do not know exactly what happened or why he fell into disfavour and was, apparently, removed from his position,<sup>25</sup> but his name may have been implicated in a conspiracy.<sup>26</sup> Psellos goes on to say that Konstantinos can look forward to the mercy of the emperor, the kindness of the Empress Eudokia, the support of the Patriarch, the endeavours of his brother to help by revealing the slander, and the assistance of Psellos himself.<sup>27</sup> This means that the last

22. A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *H απονομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 184, 186-187. For the *mystikos* and his judicial activity see also IDEM, *To αξίωμα του μυστικού. Προσωπογραφικά και θεσμικά προβλήματα*, Thessaloniki 2011, p. 133-137.

23. MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Epistulae*, ed. S. PAPAIOANNOU, *Michael Psellus, Epistulae*, I-II (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Berlin-Boston 2019, no. 117<sup>30-31</sup>, p. 272: ἀλλὰ σοι τὸ δικαστήριον φιλανθρωπότατόν τε ἦμα καὶ δικαιοτάτον· ὃ τε γὰρ δικάζων ἔτοιμος καὶ τὸ δίκαιον παραθραῦσαι φιλανθρωπίας γε ἔνεκα. *Ibidem*, no. 117<sup>68-69</sup>, p. 273: ἀνέξανε δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα, ἅλλα ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ὁ κένσωρ ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ διηγούμενος. See also M. JEFFREYS, Constantine, Nephew of the patriarch Keroularios, and His Good Friend Michael Psellos, in M. D. LAUXTERMANN and M. JEFFREYS (eds.), *The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford Studies in Byzantium), Oxford 2017, p. 59-88, here p. 72-73; IDEM, Summaries, in *ibidem*, p. 143-445, here p. 182.

24. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Die Neffen des Patriarchen Michael I. Kerullarios (1043-1058) und ihre Siegel. Ikonographie als Ausdrucksmittel der Verwandtschaft, *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2, 2012, p. 107-120, here p. 109; EADEM, Nochmals zum *cursus honorum* des Konstantinos, des Neffen des Patriarchen Michael I. (Kerullarios), *ZRVI* 55, 2018, p. 65-80, here p. 67 and 69. See MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Epistulae*, cited n. 23, p. 265 (ca. 1065-ca. 1067?). On the contrary, according to M. JEFFREYS, Summaries, cited n. 23, p. 182, the letter is dated in 1062.

25. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Die Neffen, cited n. 24, p. 109.

26. See M. JEFFREYS, Constantine, cited n. 23, p. 71-72.

27. MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Epistulae*, cited n. 23, no. 117<sup>76-86</sup>: Εἰ μὲν οὖν προχωροίη τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ τρόπος, ἔχομεν ὁμαλῶς τὸ ζήτούμενον. Εἰ δ’ οὖν, ἀκούετω ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεύς·

word remained, as always, with the emperor and those who could influence him. The matter in which Konstantinos was involved was, therefore, a serious one. If it was indeed a conspiracy and the judge was the *kensor*, who in our view appears in the text rather as a prosecutor or investigator,<sup>28</sup> recalling the Roman *censor* who also acted as inspector of conduct and public morals, then the judge conducting the examination was obviously commissioned by the emperor, who was solely responsible for hearing cases of *crimen majestatis*. Therefore, even here it cannot be argued that the *kensor* was a regular judicial officer, because the case in which Konstantinos was involved was probably referred to him by the emperor in the customary manner, regardless of whether the designated judge was or was not a judicial officer.

Finally, a Stephanos κίνσωρ (instead of κένσωρ) is mentioned as a former leaseholder of the property (*metochion*) τῶν Πιττακίων in the capital, which belonged to the monastery of Xerochoraphiou (in Miletus). He lived probably in the late 11th century.<sup>29</sup>

In the next step it remains to be seen if the evidence of the seals can reveal whether the *kensor* was in fact a judicial officer, and of a degree similar to the *kritai of the velum* and the *kritai of the hippodrome*, who belonged to the ranks of the lower judicial clerks, to the μικροὶ δικασταί.<sup>30</sup> First of all, we must look at two lead seals that are unique of their kind and furnish additional information about the position of the *kensor*, for they mention, respectively, a *protokensor* (πρωτοκένσωρ) (ca. 1050-1080) and a *tagma of kensores* (τάγμα τῶν κενσώρων) (last third of the 11th century).

ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ φιλόανθρωπος, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐλάττων εἰς παρρησίαν τινός. Τὰ δὲ γε τῆς βασιλίδος, ὁποῖα· τὰ τῆς κρείττονος ἀγαθότητος (ἵνα βραχεῖ λόγῳ δηλώσω τὸ πᾶν). Τὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου· θερμότερος οὗτος πυρὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ. Ὁ καῖσαρ; ἐκκέκασται, ὥς μηδὲ δακρύειν δύνασθαι τῷ πυρί. Ὁ βασιλεὺς διωμάλίσται, ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ νεύματι ταλαντεύει τὴν σωτηρίαν. Ὁ ἀδελφὸς περιτρύζει τὴν καλιάν, ὅφρα τινος λαθόντος καὶ παρερπύσαντος. Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὕτω φιλίας ἔργον ἄξιον πέπρακται· πεπράζεται δὲ καὶ γλώσση καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδί, καὶ θρήνοις, καὶ δάκρυσι.

28. See our n. 23. Cf. M. JEFFREYS, *Summaries*, cited n. 23, p. 182; IDEM, *Constantine*, cited n. 23, p. 71. Cf. *PBW*, Anonymus 2350 (<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Anonymus/2350/>). See also MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Epistulae*, cited n. 23, no. 117<sup>68-69</sup>, p. 273, with the text cited.

29. N. WILSON and J. DARROUZÈS, *Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion*, *REB* 26, 1968, p. 5-47, here p. 25, no. 7<sup>65-66</sup> (the charter is dated to 1167).

30. For the *mikroi dikastai* see A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Η αποκτομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 152 n. 656, with sources and the earlier bibliography. The view, expressed by J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*, p. 101-102, that what is said of the *mikroi* and *megaloι dikastai* in *Ecloga Basilicorum* (ca. 1142) does not hold for the 10th and 11th centuries is based on specific arguments which need to be revised, since there are misinterpretations regarding the functioning of the judicial system that will be discussed in a separate article.

The first case concerns the seal of Nikolaos Chrysoberges, who was *πρωτοκένσωρ καὶ μέγας οἰκονόμος τῶν δυτικῶν ἐπισκέψεων*,<sup>31</sup> which suggests that there must have been a group of *kensores* headed by the *protokensor*.<sup>32</sup> The same person is also referred to as *kensor* and *ek prosopou Antiocheias* on a seal of the same time period.<sup>33</sup> At this point it should be noted that the use of the prefix *proto-* is known for offices that functioned within the imperial secretariat or in other services: examples include the *asekretis* (a secretis) and the *protoasekretis*, the *notarioi* and the *protonotarios*, the *kouratores* and the *protokourator*, the *kankellarii* and the *protokankellarios*, etc.<sup>34</sup> The second testimony comes from the lead seal of the *kensor* Ioannes Pentailas, which bears the following metrical inscription: Σφραγίς τυποῦσα τὰς γραφὰς Ἰωάννου / τοῦ Πενταίλα τὰ γμάτος τῶν κενσῶρων (last third of the 11th c.).<sup>35</sup> These words imply that, at least during the period to which this seal belongs, i.e. the last quarter of the 11th century, there were more than one *kensores* at the same time. Since both the above seals belong almost to the same period, we can assume with sufficient certainty that a *protokensor* was in charge of a group of *kensores*.

The question that arises, then, since all scholars agree on the meaning of *protokensor*, is how its titular differed from the other *kensores*. The possibility that the *protokensor* presided over a court of justice whose members were *kensores* should probably be ruled out, since a multi-member court of *kensores* is attested nowhere in the sources. Another possible hypothesis, namely that they could also serve as *symponoi* (assessors) of the *protokensor*, is equally invalid, there being no other case where the *symponoi* and the president of the court, by whom they were normally chosen, bear the same name. Moreover, neither the *kritai of the velum* nor the *kritai of the hippodrome*, assuming that the *kensores* functioned in the same way as those officials, constituted a permanent court in the sense of composition, nor is there any textual or sigillary evidence of anyone being appointed as the head of such a body in the framework of a regular court of justice.<sup>36</sup>

31. J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, I, no. 1.30. Cf. *PBW*, Nikolaos 20105 (<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Nikolaos/20105/>).

32. J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, I, p. 68; A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Seals*, cited n. 14, p. 13.

33. J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*, no. 55.

34. See also A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Seals*, cited n. 14, p. 13.

35. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, II, no. 2942. Cf. *Sale Catalogue*: Spink 135, no. 257 (11th c.); *PBW*, Ioannes 20537 (<http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Ioannes/20537/>) (dated to 1050).

36. For the courts in the covered hippodrome and the *kritai of the velum* and the *kritai of the hippodrome*, see A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Η απονομή δικαιοσύνης*, p. 124-181.

Consequently, the existence of a group of *kensores* under the direction of a *protokensor* in a court of justice cannot be easily explained in the light of the facts and the functioning of the judiciary, a picture which is probably more compatible with that of a group of similar officials serving in the imperial secretariat, palace or other offices, such as those mentioned above, rather than with the operation of a court.

It is a fact that on most of the seals known to us, the office is associated with a judicial position. Specifically, of the 29/30 *kensores* we know of from the sigillary material,<sup>37</sup> eleven are connected with the judicial positions of *krites* (one also had the office of *skribas*, a subordinate of the *koiaistor*),<sup>38</sup> or *krites of the hippodrome* or *krites of the velum* or thematic judge, three are mentioned together with judicial and financial positions, five with financial posts, namely *protonotarios of the thema*, *anagrapheus of the thema*, *protonotarios of the sakelle*, *megas kourator of the Eleutheriou* and *megas oikonomos of the Western episkepseis*, and one with the office of the *parathalassites*, who controlled maritime traffic and the transport of goods in the ports of Constantinople and who also had judicial authority.<sup>39</sup> Only six persons have no other office apart from that of *kensor*; of these, one is accompanied by the short-lived honorary title of *illoustrios*, one by the compound title of *patrikios anthypatos* and one by the title of *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*. Of the four *kensores* mentioned in the narrative sources, an additional office, that of *epi tou koitonos*, is recorded in only one case.<sup>40</sup>

However, the fact that on seals the *kensor* is for the most part associated with a judicial position does not necessarily imply that he was a judicial officer, as witness the similar cases of the *mystographos* and the *mystolektes*.<sup>41</sup> What the seals do show is that several *kensores* must have had legal training. This is certainly the case for those *kensores* who are associated

37. We do not include the *kensor* (?) Konstantinos (no. 30 of our catalogue below), since the reading of his office in his seal seems to be completely hypothetical. According to J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*, p. 117: “only thirty-six seals belonging to twenty-four men survive dated ca. 966-ca. 1133”. Unfortunately, there is no list of *kensores* in this study, but only numerical data and specific examples, many of which are insufficiently dated.

38. See A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Ο θεσμός του κοιαιστωρα του ιερού παλατίου. Η γένεση, οι αρμοδιότητες και η εξέλιξή του* (Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 18), Thessaloniki 2001, p. 127-128; IDEM, *Administrative Structures*, cited n. 14, p. 571 and 575.

39. *Ibidem*, p. 572.

40. For the above information and numbers, see the detailed Appendix at the end of the article.

41. See A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Some Remarks on Mystographos and Mystolektes*, in Ch. STAVRAKOS and B. PAPADOPOULOU (eds.), *Ἡπειρόνδε. Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography, Ioannina, 1-3 October 2009*, Wiesbaden-Ioannina 2011, p. 191-219.

with the positions of *krites of the velum* and *krites of the hippodrome* or simply that of *krites*, and may be true for at least some of the four thematic judges who had previously held no office other than that of *kensor*. On the other hand, there are *kensores* for whose training nothing can be deduced and who continued their careers in financial services. It is, therefore, impossible to draw any conclusion about the exact responsibilities of the office based on the testimonies of the seals, which indicate only that some *kensores* had legal experience. In any case, it seems that we are not dealing with a judicial officer. The etymology of the name of the office, since as in other cases its choice was apparently not accidental, shows that there was probably some connection with the κῆνσον, but its relationship with the *logothesion of the genikon*, which was in charge of the κῆνσον,<sup>42</sup> is impossible to determine. In addition, the function of the *kensor* in the capital and the existence of several *kensores* simultaneously under one *protokensor* as attested by two 11th century lead seals, mentioned above, lead to the conclusion that the office probably had something to do with the keeping, revising or checking of tax lists. Perhaps the *kensores* were a kind of auditors of the fiscal land registers, who could control or revise certain acts or decisions of the *anagrapheis* (ἀναγραφεῖς).

With regard to the sigillary material, which is presented revised and partially supplemented and corrected in the following Appendix, we conclude with certainty that the office of the *kensor* had a rather short-lived presence, of less than one and a half centuries, since to date no evidence later than the 11th/12th century has been found.

## APPENDIX

A detailed list is given, in alphabetical order, of all the hitherto known officials who held the office of *kensor* (29/30 persons).<sup>43</sup> Those with a family name are listed first, followed by those whose family name has not been preserved or is not mentioned. At the end, reference is made to the *kensor* (?) Konstantinos, since the reading of his office in the related seal seems to be completely hypothetical.

42. See also A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Administrative Structures*, cited n. 14, p. 575.

43. Twenty-two *kensores* are listed by PBW, cited n. 16, while J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*, p. 117, speaks of twenty-four people attested on seals dated ca. 966-ca. 1133, but without quoting a prosopographical list.

1. Ἀκάπνης Νικόλαος, κένσωρ, κριτῆς Ταρσοῦ καὶ Σελευκείας (ca. middle of the 11th c.).<sup>44</sup>

The same person also served as a scribe and supreme judicial officer (*krites* or *praitor*) in the *Hellas theme*, according to a sealing type (third quarter of the 11th c.) with a metric inscription as well.<sup>45</sup>

2. Ἀκροπολίτης Μιχαήλ, κένσωρ καὶ παραθαλασσίτης (11th/12th c.).<sup>46</sup>

3. Ἀργυρὸς Ῥωμανὸς (?), πρωτοσπαθάριος, μέγας χαρτουλάριος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, κένσωρ καὶ οἰκονόμος τῆς Δύσεως (1000/1020 or first quarter of the 11th c.).<sup>47</sup>

4. Ἀρτάβ(ασδος?) Ἐπιφάνιος, κένσωρ, βασιλικὸς νοτάριος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν (ca. middle of the 11th c.).<sup>48</sup>

5. Ἐξαμιλίτης Μιχαήλ, κένσωρ καὶ κριτῆς Παφλαγονίας (middle of the 11th c.).<sup>49</sup>

6. Εὐγενιανὸς Βασίλειος κένσωρ (third quarter of the 11th c.).<sup>50</sup>

44. J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*, no. 1: Ταρσοῦ δικαστὴν καὶ Σελευκείας Λόγε / κένσωρα Νικόλαον Ἀκάπνην σκέποις (dated to the middle of the 11th c.). See S. ŠANDROVSKAJA and W. SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Staatlichen Eremitage mit Familiennamen. I, Sammlung Lichačev: Namen von A bis I* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 10.1), Vienna 2005, p. 30 n. 36.

45. Τὸν σὸν δικαστὴν Ἑλλάδος, μάκαρ, σκέποις | τὸν μυστολέκτην Νικόλαον Ἀκάπνην. *Ibidem*, no. 11, who mention two parallels in the former George Zacos collection. For the *mystolektes* Nikolaos see also A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, Some Remarks on *Mystographos* and *Mystolektes*, cited n. 41, p. 218, no. 29.

46. V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*. II, *L'administration centrale*, Paris 1981, no. 1133, who dates the seal in the first half of the 12th century; S. ŠANDROVSKAJA and W. SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel*, cited n. 44, p. 33 n. 62.

47. J.-C. CHEYNET, *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux*, II (Bilans de recherche 3), Paris 2008, p. 539, with corrections to J.-C. CHEYNET, C. MORRISON and W. SEIBT, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig*, Paris 1991, no. 81; see S. ŠANDROVSKAJA and W. SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel*, cited n. 44, p. 50 n. 172. We agree with J.-C. Cheynet concerning the suggestion of Romanos as the first name of the seal's owner, his connection with Romanos Argyros, who later became emperor, and the interpretation of μέγας χαρτουλάριος as μέγας χαρτουλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ.

48. E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, IV, no. 22.32, who date the seal generally in the 11th century. The holder's surname is not written in full and the last letter can be either R or K, as noted by the editors of the seal. For that reason Ἀρτακηγὸς has been proposed as an alternative reading of the family name.

49. *Ibidem*, no. 11.13; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Die Familie Hexamilites. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Prosopographie, *Ἑλληνικά* 52, 2002, p. 243-258, here p. 250-251, no. 11 (former collection Zacos); M. CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Georges Zacos au musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève*, Milan 2016, no. 150.

50. DO 58.106.2988; IFEB 571 (both specimens mentioned by J.-C. CHEYNET, *La société byzantine*, cited n. 47, p. 508 n. 1, but with a different reading of the family name, Phokeianos



7. Ματζούκης Νικόλαος, κένσωρ, κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ μέγας οἰκονόμος τῶν εὐαγῶν (οἴκων) (1070-1080).<sup>51</sup>

The same person had previously served as *exaktor* and *basilikos notarios ton euagon oikon*,<sup>52</sup> holding the – in this era – low-ranking honorary title of *patrikios*, as a relevant document informs us.<sup>53</sup>

8. Οὐρανὸς Συμεών, βεστάρχης, κένσωρ καὶ κριτής Καππαδοκίας (1070-1080).<sup>54</sup>

9. Πενταῖλας Ἰωάννης, κένσωρ (last third of the 11th c.).<sup>55</sup>

10. Πηγονίτης Γεώργιος, ἰλλούστριος, κένσωρ (third quarter of the 11th c.).<sup>56</sup>

instead of Eugenianos. The specimen from Dumbarton Oaks makes clear that the second name is the correct one). See <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.2988/view>.

51. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT and W. SEIBT, *Ein Blick in die byzantinische Gesellschaft. Die Bleisiegel im Museum August Kestner*, Hannover 2015, no. 82 (collection Zarnitz. The piece was acquired from the auction Münz Zentrum 100, lot 818, no. 121). A parallel specimen is now in the collection of the Hermitage Museum, M 8418, ed. G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1884 [repr. Turin 1963], p. 395, no. 2 and 460, no. 2 (partly imprecise).

52. M. CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Georges Zacos*, cited n. 49, no. 66 (former Zacos collection). Another metrical seal from the IFEB 685 collection has been incorrectly attributed to the same person due to incorrect reading of the family name. For the correct reading of the family name (Κατζίκης instead of Ματζούκης) see A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, II, no. 1797.

53. *Βυζαντινὰ ἐγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτριον*. II, *Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν: διπλωματικὴ ἔκδοσις*, ed. E. BRANOUSE (Εθνικὸ Τῆρυμα Ερευνῶν. Κέντρο Βυζαντινῶν Ερευνῶν), Athens 1980, p. 7, no. 50<sup>68</sup>. See *ibidem*, p. 25.

54. E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, IV, no. 43.4 (where the seal is dated generally in the 11th c.); A.-K. WASSILIOU, Προσωπογραφία καὶ Σφραγιστική: Κριταὶ Καππαδοκίας (10ος-11ος αἰ.). Σκέψεις σχετικά με τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴ προσέγγιση τοῦ σφραγιστικοῦ υλικού, in *Πρακτικά του Στ' Συνεδρίου για τον Ἑλληνισμό της Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας*, Thessaloniki 2002, p. 41-54, here p. 50-51, no. 12. A seal with the same inscription, but with a different obverse figure (St Nicholas standing in a kind of *deesis*) was offered in the Auction Leu Numismatic 15, 28.02.2021, lot 2731.

55. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, II, no. 2942; M. CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Georges Zacos*, cited n. 49, no. 55. Cf. also above, n. 35.

56. Ὁμωνυμοῦντι σὴν χάριν, μάρτυς, νέμοις ἰλλουστρίω τε κένσωρι τῷ Πηγονίτῃ (3rd quarter of the 11th c.). See the review for C. SODE, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin*, II (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 14), Bonn 1997, by W. SEIBT, *JÖB* 48, 1998, p. 316-317; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Der Familienname Pegonites auf byzantinischen Siegeln und in anderen schriftlichen Quellen, in S. KOTZABASSI and G. MAVROMATIS (eds.), *Realia Byzantina* (Byzantisches Archiv 22), Berlin-New York 2009, p. 303-320, here p. 316-317, Appendix, no. I; J.-C. CHEYNET, T. GÖKYILDIRIM and V. BULGURLU, *Les sceaux byzantins*, cited n. 12, no. 2.99; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, II, no. 1674a-b.

11. Σεργιλίας Νικόλαος, κένσωρ, κριτής και μέγας κουράτωρ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Σελευκείας (probably after 1062).<sup>57</sup>

We also know the rest of this official's career: a) κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ τοῦ βήλου (1060-1070)<sup>58</sup> and b) ὑπατος, κριτής τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, τοῦ βήλου, Βολεροῦ, Στρυμῶνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (August 1062).<sup>59</sup>

12. Σκριβας Βασίλειος, κένσωρ, σκριβας, κριτής (third quarter of the 11th c.).<sup>60</sup>

13. Φωκᾶς Νικηφόρος, ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος, κριτής καὶ κένσωρ (1030-1060).<sup>61</sup>

14. Χαλκούτζης Βασίλειος κένσωρ καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης (last third of the 11th c.).<sup>62</sup>

15. Χρυσοβέργης Νικόλαος, κένσωρ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Ἀντιοχείας (ca. 1050-1080).<sup>63</sup>

57. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Der Familienname Serblias und seine Träger in Byzanz. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 11, 2012, p. 35-55, here p. 44, no. 9. See J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 2001, no. 44 (who dates the seal to the middle of the 11th c.); J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*, no. 187 (1060-1070).

58. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Der Familienname Serblias, cited n. 57, p. 44, no. 8.

59. J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS and D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes d'Iviron*, II (Archives de l'Athos 16), Paris 1990, no. 34<sup>33</sup>, no. 35<sup>39-40,51</sup>; see also A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, Judges of Velum and Judges of the Hippodrome, *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 20, 2010, p. 67-84, here p. 75 and 80; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Der Familienname Serblias, cited n. 57, p. 45, no. 10.

60. K. KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Βυζαντιακά Μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου*, Athens 1917, no. 371b; V. LAURENT, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*, Athens 1932, no. 198; Ch. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen* (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 4), Wiesbaden 2000, no. 239; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, I, no. 1098: Κένσωρα Βασίλειον ἢ σφραγὶς γράφει / σκριβαν κριτὴν τε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ γένους Σκριβαν.

61. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4947> (11th c.).

62. V. LAURENT, *Le corpus*, cited n. 46, no. 808, who dates the seal to the second half of the 11th century; A.-K. WASSILIOU and W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. II, Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik II/2), Vienna 2004, no. 73, who propose the above more accurate dating.

63. J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*, no. 55, who date the seal to the first half of the 11th century. It may have belonged to the same official as an additional seal that mentions a Nikolaos, *protospatharios*, *mystolektes* and *protonotarios of the oikeiakon*. See *ibidem*, p. 68. If this identification is true, then this is the earliest known stage of his career.

In this case the ἐκ προσώπου Ἀντιοχείας is not the deputy of the *doux* of *Antiocheia*, but probably a civil functionary with special duties.

15a. Χρυσοβέργης Νικόλαος, πρωτοκένσωρ καὶ μέγας οἰκονόμος τῶν δυσικῶν ἐπισκέψεων (ca. 1050-1080).<sup>64</sup>

16. Εὐστάθιος, ἰλλούστριος, κένσωρ καὶ δικασπόλος (metonymy for judge/*krites*) (middle of 11th c.).<sup>65</sup>

17. Ἰωάννης πρωτοσπαθάριος, κένσωρ καὶ κριτῆς τῶν Θρακησίων (1020/1060).<sup>66</sup>

18. Ἰωάννης, πρωτοσπαθάριος, κένσωρ καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Θρακησίων (1030-1060).<sup>67</sup>

19. Κωνσταντῖνος, πρωτοσπαθάριος, κένσωρ, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου Χαλδίας καὶ Κολωνείας (first half of the 11th c.).<sup>68</sup>

20. Μιχαήλ, κένσωρ, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας (1060-1090).<sup>69</sup>

21. Μιχαήλ, πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ κένσωρ (1040-1080).<sup>70</sup>

22. Νικηφόρος, κένσωρ καὶ κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου (1040-1080).<sup>71</sup>

23. Νικόλαος, κένσωρ καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ τῶν Ἐλευθερίου (second half of the 11th c.).<sup>72</sup>

64. J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, I, no. 1<sup>30</sup> (two specimens, dated by the editors generally in the 11th c.); J.-C. CHEYNET, *La société byzantine*, cited n. 47, I, p. 267 (BnF, Zacos 62) (dating generally in the 11th c.).

65. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, I, no. 818.

66. Auction Lydia 2, 22.08.2020, lot 366 (without reading and dating).

67. K. KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Βυζαντιὰ καὶ Μολυβδόβουλλα*, cited n. 60, no. 130; W. SEIBT and M. L. ZARNITZ, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Vienna 1997, no. 2.2.10; C. SODE, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel*, cited n. 56, no. 368; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatış*, Izmir 2019, no. 3.52.

68. E. McGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, IV, no. 48.2, who date the seal to the 10th/11th century.

69. G. ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, ed. J. W. NESBITT (Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης 3), Berne 1984, no. 580 (10th c.-1204).

70. J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de plomb du musée d'Hatay (Antioche)*, *REB* 54, 1996, p. 249-270, no. 18 (11th-12th c.).

71. G. ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, cited n. 69, no. 633 (10th c.-1204).

72. *Ibidem*, no. 1019; A.-K. WASSILIOU and W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*, II, cited n. 62, p. 64 n. 248.

24. Πανάρετος, κένσωρ καὶ δικαστῆς Ἀρμενικῶν θεμάτων (third quarter of the 11th c.).<sup>73</sup>

25. Ρωμανός, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου κοιτῶνος καὶ κένσωρ (1030).<sup>74</sup>

26. Στέφανος (probably late 11th c.).<sup>75</sup>

27. Anonymous κένσωρ (before the middle of the 11th c.).<sup>76</sup>

28. Anonymous κένσωρ (1066-1067).<sup>77</sup>

29. Anonymous κένσωρ (1070-1110).<sup>78</sup>

30. Ν. Κωνσταντῖνος, πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, τοῦ βήλου καὶ κένσωρ (?) (1030-1080).

It should be noted that the second half of the reverse is poorly preserved, with the result that the last name of its owner has been lost and the office of *kensor* is, therefore, a hypothetical reading. An alternative would be Χερσῶνος, as has been already proposed by Cheynet.<sup>79</sup>

### Abbreviations

J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux patronymiques*: J.-C. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis. Les sceaux patronymiques* (Monographies 33), Paris 2010.

A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Η απονομή δικαιοσύνης*: A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Η απονομή δικαιοσύνης στο Βυζάντιο (9ος-12ος αι.). Τα κοσμικά δικαιοδοτικά όργανα και δικαστήρια της πρωτεύουσας* (Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέται 37), Thessaloniki 2006.

E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, IV: E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. IV, The East*, Washington, DC 2001.

J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, I: J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. I*, Washington, DC 1991.

73. W. SEIBT, Ἀρμενικά θέματα als terminus technicus der byzantinischen Verwaltungsgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts, *BS* 54, 1993, p. 134-141, no. 15; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos*, cited n. 57, no. 19; E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue*, IV, no. 56<sup>9</sup>; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, II, no. 2491: Σφραγὶς κένσωρος καὶ δικαστοῦ θεμάτων / τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν ἦδε τοῦ Παναρέτου.

74. See above, n. 18.

75. N. WILSON and J. DARROUZÈS, Restes du cartulaire, cited n. 29, p. 25, no. 7<sup>65-66</sup>.

76. EUSTATHIOS ROMAÏOS, *Peira*, cited n. 21, 63, 5.

77. See above, n. 23.

78. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, I, no. 1099: Κένσωρι δόθι τὴν χάριν, Θεοῦ Λόγε.

79. J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche*, cited n. 15, p. 414-415, no. 41 (11th c.).

- J. SHEA, *Politics and Government*: J. SHEA, *Politics and Government in Byzantium. The Rise and the Fall of the Bureaucrats*, New York 2020.
- A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*: A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*. I, *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 28/1), Vienna 2011; II, *Legenden von Ny bis inklusive Sphragis* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 28/2), Vienna 2016.

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# THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SOLDIERS AND THE “MILITARY LANDS”: AN INTERPRETATION (6th-10th CENTURIES)

Efi RAGIA

## INTRODUCTION

The soldiers formed a large social group that made up for the majority of state employees of the Byzantine empire. The maintenance of a large armed force dictated much of the politics of the period from the 6th to the 11th centuries. The necessity to provide for the army and to preserve its coherence and effectiveness explains why much of Byzantium’s administrative machine was developed for catering to its needs, and why so much diverse information is found in the sources. Evidence about the financial standing of the soldiers, the legal status of their service, and their social position has been often analyzed. However, the subject is inevitably entangled with one of the most difficult and obscure problems of Byzantine history, namely the creation of the themes, while the complexity of the 10th-century Novels on the “military lands” dominates any discussion of the soldiers’ social position. For these reasons, it has proven challenging to focus on the “social” rather than the institutionalized aspect of the army. Important studies such as those of Ioannes Karayannopoulos, John Haldon and Michel Kaplan,<sup>1</sup> provide insight on various developments, but a sketch of the soldiers’ social position in middle Byzantium is still missing. Part of the problem is that the creation of the themes was until recently seen as part of a broader development that also involved the “retreat” of the army regiments to Asia Minor, the

See the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.

1. M. KAPLAN, *La place des soldats*; IDEM, *Les hommes*; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Die Entstehung*; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*; IDEM, *Military Lands*; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 256-280.



investing of the *strategos* with political and military authority over a vast territory, and the settlement of soldiers in the countryside as well as their subsequent recruitment from among the landowners of each thematic region. The emergence of Byzantium's most important institution was seen as a single, inclusive and multifaceted reform. The fact that the themes came into being during a time for which little information is available allowed space for theory and speculation. In this process several questions of great interest arose, which do not simply concern the timing of the changes made, but also the soldiers' social position *per se*.<sup>2</sup>

With a view to the soldiers' social position from the seventh to the tenth centuries, this study attempts a re-examination of the source material.

2. See J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 71-73, 85-88; R. J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 190-192. Karayannopoulos saw continuity from late Roman institutions, in particular between the lands of the *limitanei* and those allotted to the "prisoners of war" that settled in the empire in the 7th-8th centuries. The possibility of the settlement of prisoners and foreign ethnic groups was seen favorably by many researchers: M. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 637-640; J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 247-249; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 11, 18-20; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine*, p. 134-138; M. WHITBY, *Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius* (ca. 565-615), in A. CAMERON (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. III, States, Resources and Armies*, Princeton, NJ 1995, p. 61-124, here p. 114-116. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford 1980, p. 95-98, 133-134, thought of the creation of a "native army" composed of farmer-soldiers; he also considered the possibility of distribution of landholdings to the soldiers from the imperial estates. See to this effect primarily H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 10-15; R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 37-38, 192-193; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 233-235. The latter theory was developed by W. TREADGOLD, *The Military Lands*; IDEM, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, CA 1997, p. 315-318; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 172-173. See also, regarding this aspect: J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 17-18; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 244-246, 248; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 151-152. Haldon suggested a mixed system: some soldiers "returned" to their homes while others remained at the locations where they were billeted, while such land distribution as may have taken place was mostly to the benefit of foreign ethnic groups. However, J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 21, 24, 27-28, esp. 33-35, denies the connection between households and military service before the 10th century, even though he supports the maintenance of the soldiers by, and their contribution to, the "household", at least "to a degree", until the 10th century. This view is slightly modified in L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 746: "there is no implication, however, that the military service, the *strateia*, was formally and officially attached to, and seen as an obligation on, the family's property on land. All it suggests is that there existed by 800, if not much earlier (740/1, the time of composition of the two *Ekloge* texts referred to above) a category of soldier recruited on a hereditary basis, responsible for providing some of his equipment, whose household enjoyed military status, but in return for which the household owed certain obligations to the state. In addition to this, there must have continued to be voluntary recruitment". N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 136, based on the legislation of the *Ecloga*, first suggested that the soldiers were maintained by their "house". Lastly, M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 39-41, 53-54, 81, 90, largely followed and modified Karayannopoulos' view. According to her opinion, the "military lands" developed from the military *peculium*, and in particular from those lands they "acquired with their wages and other benefits"; she sees the military service as burdening the soldier personally, and not the land, even in the 10th century. Her suggestions are very similar to the conclusions of the present study.

The reason for this endeavor is the contradictory information in the sources, and the main purpose is to provide an explanation for these perplexing discrepancies. Most of the sources seem to indicate that soldiers were, generally, poor. Yet this image is challenged by evidence that despite its relative scarcity is not random. The *Life of St. Luke the Stylite*, for example, suggests that there may have been wealthy or even rich soldiers, while emperor Leo VI advised that soldiers should have “others” to tend to their land while they were on campaign.<sup>3</sup> The Novels of the 10th century defined the fiscal value of the cavalry and maritime *strateiai* at four and two litres of gold respectively, corresponding to an acreage that could hardly belong to “poor” farmers. On the other hand, the same laws expound precisely on the poverty of the soldiers and offered them protection from being forced to sell their land to the powerful.<sup>4</sup> Given its importance for explaining these contradictions, and because the question of the social position of the soldiers is interwoven with institutional aspects of military service, the issue of the so-called “military lands” is the main focus of a large part of this study. In order to explain their emergence, the investigation by necessity reaches back in time and deals with the legislative corpus of the Isaurian dynasty, and specifically the chapter 16 of the *Ecloga*.<sup>5</sup> This is where, however, the researcher encounters one of the most difficult, still unsolved problems in Byzantine history, namely the degree of continuity in administrative, economic and social structures between early and middle Byzantium. In the absence of explicit information from narrative sources after the 6th century, the only source that can elucidate this transition is the legislation. For this reason, the following analysis is inevitably very technical and ridden with legal terminology. A scrutiny of the legal material leads to the conclusion that the answer to the riddle is found in the military *peculium* (i.e., private properties of the soldiers), but then another difficulty appears: why no law stipulating the transfer of the fiscal exemptions of early Byzantine soldiers to land in middle Byzantium is extant. Indeed, claiming that this absence is merely fortuitous is unsatisfying. Instead, the present research proposes a different angle by exploring the significance of the *strateia* as a privileged

3. *Vie de saint Luc le stylite*, p. 201-202; *Tactica*, p. 46<sup>5-14</sup>. Also see below.

4. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>9-18</sup>. The translation of the laws was made by E. McGEER, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 38), Toronto 2000. Further analysis is found below with reference to the fiscal values.

5. *Ecloga*, ed. L. BURGMANN, *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.* (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10), Frankfurt 1983. A translation of the laws is found in M. HUMPHREYS, *The Laws of the Isaurian Era: the Ecloga and its Appendices*, Liverpool 2017, p. 66-68.

condition which, in theoretical models of the Byzantines but also in practical terms, created a separate “social class”, that of the servants of the empire, which is particularly visible from the 6th century until its dissolution in the 10th and 11th centuries through its fiscalization. As the *strateia* survived into middle Byzantium as a principle generating social and financial distinction, it provides the bridge between the 6th century and the middle Byzantine times. Consequently, the *strateia* forms the starting point of this investigation. In what follows, the institutionalization of the themes does not come into consideration, but it has to be noted that their emergence, observed, according to the latest research results, in the 8th century, coincides with the return of the soldiers to their paternal homes and their maintenance from their patrimonies.<sup>6</sup>

## 1. – THE *STRATEIA*

Service to the state is indicated in Byzantine sources with the term *strateia*, a direct translation of the Latin equivalent *militia*. The *strateia* in middle Byzantium is a general notion comprising a large variety of services or duties: from serving at the highest commands of the empire to the humblest *strateiai*, such as providing care for state mounts, while its most common form is armed service.<sup>7</sup> In middle Byzantine sources, it is clear that the *strateia*, irrespective of its content, is a service linked to the fiscal functions of the state and always comes with fiscal, or other, exemptions, which

6. See on the proposed dating for the establishment of the themes as territorial units: J.-C. CHEYNET, La mise en place des thèmes d’après les sceaux: les stratèges, *SBS* 10, 2010, p. 1-14, here p. 13; C. ZUCKERMAN, Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in “Dark Centuries” Byzantium, *Millennium* 2, 2005, p. 79-136, here p. 130-132; E. RAGIA, The Geography of the Provincial Administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca. 600-1200). I.3, *Apothekai of Africa and Sicily*, Final Notes and Conclusions, *Ἐῶνα καὶ ἑσπέτια* 8, 2012, p. 113-144, esp. p. 129-132; S. COSENTINO, Atto pugliese, p. 63-65; L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 744-745, 748-749. Somewhat different is the approach of V. PRIGENT, Retour sur l’origine et la nature des thèmes byzantins, *TM* 24/2, 2020, p. 105-135.

7. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des ix<sup>e</sup> et x<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 312, 314. The *δρομικὴ στρατεία* is known from Ioannes Zonaras. See IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum Libri XIII-XVIII* (CSHB), Bonn 1897, p. 506<sup>3-4</sup>. Providing horses to the state as duty of a *strateia* is known from late antique sources as well. See LIBANIUS, *Epistulae*, ed. R. FÖRSTER, *Libanii Opera*, X, *Epistulae 1-839*, Leipzig 1921 (repr. Hildesheim 1963), no. 230. This view about the *strateia* is influenced by the importance of the late Roman *militia*. Civil servants ranked as soldiers and enjoyed privileges awarded to soldiers; at the end of their tenure they received special privileges and promotions. See A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 563-566.

are called *exkoussēia*. This aspect has been studied by Oikonomides.<sup>8</sup> There are many types of *exkoussēia*, but its beneficiaries are as a rule called *exkoussatoi*, not *stratiotai* or *strateuomenoi*.<sup>9</sup> However, the state of our information does not allow to answer the opposite question, whether all the *exkoussatoi* mentioned in the sources were also performing an obligation that fell under the category of *strateia*.<sup>10</sup>

In this respect, a law of Constantine I dated to 319, included in the *Code* of Justinian and translated in the *Basilica* is relevant: *maior dignitatis nulli debet circa prioris dignitatis seu militiae privilegia praeiudicium facere* (CJ XII, 1, 3). It is translated word by word in the *Basilica* (VI, 1, 20): “[The attainment of] a greater official position of rank must not vitiate the privileges obtained by reason of a lesser official position of rank or military or civil office” (Ἡ μείζων ἀξία οὐδενὶ ὥφειλε πρόκριμα ποιεῖν περὶ τὰ τῆς ἡττονος ἀξίας ἥτοι στρατείας προνόμια).<sup>11</sup> While the spirit of the law remains the same, namely that the privileges of any promotion normally exceed those one may have had during his service in the ranks, there is one critical change in respect of the Latin original: the legislator interpreted *prioris*, which is temporal (but may contain qualitative value depending on its context and the phrasing), as the qualitative “lesser office”. He thus created a divide between “greater office” (μείζων ἀξία) and “inferior office” (ἡττων ἀξία). Of these, only the latter is equated with *strateia/militia*.

This may indicate a narrowing down of the *strateia* in Byzantium to the ranks below the highest offices of the empire, but this explanation is insufficient.<sup>12</sup> This is exactly the time when the *Taktikon* of Philotheos, dated to 899, ideally included the soldiers in the palace hierarchy, thus connecting

8. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 37-40, 117-121, 156-179. See J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 54-55; D. M. GÓRECKI, *Strateia*, p. 158-159, 161-162.

9. See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 157-160, 177-179. Oikonomides thought of the *limitanei* as a group of *exkoussatoi* and the *exkoussēia* as a “donation conditionnelle”, valid for as long as the persons were alive and delivered the service. In the *Basilica*, the soldiers are called ἐξκουσσεαυόμενοι but the *exkoussēia* in question relates to their availability as court witnesses. See *Basilica* XXI, 1, 7, and H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 6-7. To my knowledge, there is no mention of soldiers as *exkoussatoi* unless they are relieved from service, on which see below.

10. The *exkoussatoi* of the Tembris river, for example, who supplied fish for the emperor when he was campaigning, are not called *stratiotai*. See CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Tres Tractatus*, ed. J. HALDON, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Tres Tractatus de expeditionibus militaribus Imperatoris* (CFHB 28), Vienna 1990, p. 128<sup>554-556</sup>, 252.

11. B. FRIER (ed.), *The Codex of Justinian. A New Annotated Translation with Parallel Latin and Greek Text based on a Translation by Justice F. H. Blume*, Cambridge 2016, III, p. 2819.

12. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes*, cited n. 7, p. 283-284, provided this explanation to highlight the difference between *strateia* and *axia* (office).

the humblest servants directly to the emperor.<sup>13</sup> However, the *axia* (office) is firmly distinguished from the *strateia* in most sources, even though a few maintain that the *strateia* is also an *axia*.<sup>14</sup> Some sources, in fact, describe the service at the higher ranks (including the palace hierarchy) as *strateia*,<sup>15</sup> but the state preserved its right to treat its servants according to principles that pertained to higher senatorial status. To this effect, it is telling that the aforementioned law of Constantine is included in Justinian's *Code* under the heading *De dignitatibus*. However, the *strateia* is also described as a burdensome responsibility, filled with onerous obligations. Philosophically, only the *bios idiotikos*, private life away from public obligations, could bring release from it.<sup>16</sup> In this sense, the *strateia* generally refers to public life in Byzantium and is contrasted with private life in numerous sources propagating the official point of view. The *strateia*, in this case, can be seen as a distinctive mark of public life, along with *axia* (office) and *zone* (belt, Latin *cingulum*). Again, however, the ambiguity of the sources betrays some flexibility when it comes to terminology, since *axia* may be interpreted as *zone* and signify the office, but *zone* may also be used to signify a simple military *strateia*.<sup>17</sup> A law of the 6th century (*CJ* X, 56, 1), which seems to be an update of earlier laws, equates "those who have fulfilled their *strateia*" (οἱ πληρώσαντες στρατεῖαν) with those "who have office" (τῶν ἐχόντων ἄξιās τινάς) and states that they enjoy the same exemptions (τὴν ἰδίαν ἀτέλειαν κεκτημένων).

One of the clearest references contrasting the *strateia* with private life is found in the acts of the Lateran Council of 649, where a rough tripartite division of the Byzantine society is found. In it, people with the *strateia* status make up a class distinct from the other groups: "if they hold title (ἄξιαν)

13. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes*, cited n. 7, p. 161<sup>21-22</sup>: οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν θεμάτων· οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ταγματῶν. The *Taktikon* of Philotheos is the only *taktikon* that includes simple soldiers at the end of the long list of dignitaries.

14. These are philological sources. See STEPHANUS BYZANTIUS, *Ethnica*, ed. A. KAMBYLIS, *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica* (CFHB 42.4), Berlin-Boston, MA 2016, p. 218, Σ.277<sup>6-7</sup>; *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, *Suidae Lexicon*. IV, II-Ψ, Leipzig 1935, Σ no. 1166.

15. LIBANIUS, *Epistulae*, cited n. 7, no. 374; IOANNIS MALALAS, *Chronographia*, ed. J. THURN, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (CFHB 35), Berlin-New-York, NY 2000, ch. 15<sup>8-12</sup>, p. 281; P. LEMERLE, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*. I, *Le texte*, Paris 1979, p. 69<sup>3-4</sup>. In the 6th century, John Lydus described his career entirely in terms of *strateia* and even thought of himself as a soldier. See IOANNES LYDUS, *On Powers*, ed. A. BANDY, *Ioannes Lydus On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State*, Philadelphia, PA 1983, p. 172-180, especially p. 178 (ch. 30). Upon discharge from service, John Lydus was awarded the title of *eparchos*.

16. See for example EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. W. DINDORF, *Eusebii Caesariensis Opera*. IV, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri I-X*, Leipzig 1890, p. 353-354.

17. See A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 566. Jones characterized the belt as "badge of office".

or office (ζώνην) or *strateia*, they are to be stripped of them; if they are private persons (τελοῦντες ἐν ἰδιώταις), and it so happens that they are notables (τῶν ἐπισήμων), they are to suffer the confiscation of their property”. The text generally distinguished between three large “social” groups: the clerics and the monks made up the first; those with the *strateia* status the second; and those who did not serve were the third group, the *idiotai*.<sup>18</sup> Less elaborate stipulations about differentiated penalties for these groups, but without the enhanced social perspective of the 7th century, are also found in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>19</sup>

Tripartite “social” divisions were not uncommon in Byzantium, as they followed the model of Plato. Thus the anonymous author of *De scientia politica* in the 6th century made a rough distinction between the “orders” of the clerics, the *optimates* (ἄριστοι), and the military (περὶ στρατείας).<sup>20</sup> At about the same time, Procopius thought that public servants were divided into those “who bear arms, or know letters”, “or something else”.<sup>21</sup> In the 10th century, the author of the *Geoponica* began his treatise by referring to the division of the polity “in three parts, [...] the military capacity, priesthood and farming” (εἰς τρία ταῦτα [...] στρατείαν τέ φημι καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ γεωργίαν).<sup>22</sup> This is vaguely reminiscent of Leo VI’s beliefs: “no other occupation must be commended to a good general than these two: farming (τὴν γεωργικὴν), in as much as it feeds the soldiers, and the military (τὴν πολεμικὴν), because it attends and protects the farmers who provide them with food (τοὺς τρέφοντας γεωργούς)”.<sup>23</sup> These references establish firmly

18. *Concilium Lateranense*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (ACO, series secunda I), Berlin 1984, p. 210<sup>6-15</sup>. Clerics were removed from priesthood and *kleros* (their parish), whereas monks were condemned to abandon their monastery or *heremeterion*; poor private people were flogged and banished. See E. RAGIA, *Social Group Profiles*, p. 327-328. See R. PRICE, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, with contributions by Ph. BOOTH and C. CUBITT (Translated Texts for Historians 61), Liverpool 2014, p. 263. The terms are translated as “honour or rank or government office”, “private citizens” and “nobility” respectively.

19. *Concilium Chalcedonense*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Concilium universale Chalcedonense* (ACO II.1.2), Berlin 1933, p. 156<sup>19-23</sup>; *Concilium Chalcedonense*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Concilium universale Chalcedonense* (ACO II.1.3), Berlin 1935, p. 120<sup>35-39</sup>, 123<sup>18-28</sup>. These stipulations also predict exile and expulsion from the palace.

20. See E. RAGIA, *Social Group Profiles*, p. 319-320.

21. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 151<sup>22-23</sup>.

22. *Geoponica*, ed. H. BECKH, *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De re rustica eclogae*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1895, p. 2<sup>5-7</sup>.

23. *Tactica*, p. 610<sup>1076-612</sup><sup>1080</sup>; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 437. In my translation, I replaced “enterprise” with “occupation” and “agriculture” with “farming” because in my opinion the Byzantine author implies the respective social groups. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 141-142; W. KAEGI, *Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh-Ninth Centuries)*, *JÖB* 16, 1967, p. 39-53, here p. 41.



that the vast group of people in the service of the Byzantine state made up one of the major groups in the “social” perception in middle Byzantine times. The *Geoponica* and the work of Leo VI, which date from the same period, hint in particular at the dominant socio-economic model of middle Byzantium, which connected the soldiers as a group with land ownership. Thus, although the *strateia* is an ancient concept, its perception as a criterium of social divide, which can be traced as far back as the 6th century, was enhanced in middle Byzantium even though it was restricted to the lower levels of service.

According to the legislation, the servants of the empire were counted among the most respectable witnesses at court. The official relation binding them with the state was seen as enhancing, guaranteeing or proving their credibility, and contributed to their social image. Justinian I made this very clear: “we decree that [...] witnesses must be of good repute (εὖπολήπτους) and beyond that kind of slander because of their indisputable office (ἀξίας), *strateia*, wealth, or profession”.<sup>24</sup> In the 6th century, Procopius, who is generally one of the most socially self-conscious Byzantine authors, expounds on this respectability of the soldiers in the context of public life. While recounting the measures of Justinian regarding the army, he reports that the military catalogues were cleared from those who were aged or incapable of bearing arms for any reason. “They dared to take away their military qualification (ζώνας) and they were reduced from those who were respected (ἐκ τῶν εὖσεβούντων) in the public forum, to [those having to] beg for food, thus always giving reason for tears and lament to all those who chanced upon them”.<sup>25</sup> Considering the military service as a career opportunity was hardly original: a soldier received regular disbursements in the form of the *annona* (food supplies for himself, his family and his animals),<sup>26</sup> regular wages and/or *donatiua*,<sup>27</sup> and of course potentially booty. But Procopius

24. JUSTINIAN, *Novels*, ed. R. SCHÖLL and G. KROLL, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. III, *Novellae*, Berlin 1904, 1972<sup>10</sup>, p. 446<sup>18-24</sup>. See D. MILLER and P. SARRIS, *The Novels of Justinian. A Complete Annotated English Translation*, Cambridge 2018, II, p. 618. The stipulation is repeated summarily in the *Ecloga*, cited n. 5, XIV, 1, and in the subsequent legislation concerning the witnesses admitted at court.

25. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 147<sup>16-20</sup>; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 676. See A. KALDELLIS, *Prokopios, The Secret History, with Related Texts*, Indianapolis, IN 2010, p. 106. Kaldellis translated *zonas* as “insignia”.

26. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Das Finanzwesen*, p. 94-95, 99-100; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 626-630; J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 12-15; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 220-225; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 120-121; C. ZUCKERMAN, *L’armée*, p. 172-174. Generally see Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 399-400.

27. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Das Finanzwesen*, p. 100-106; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 462, 623-626; D. A. PARNELL, *Justinian’s Men: Careers and Relationships of*

also expounded on the effects that the benefits of the soldiers had in a wider social context.<sup>28</sup> Elsewhere, he pointed out that, in general, the benefits of the public servants affected the prosperity of others: as long as the individuals in state service flourished, local societies and the polity flourished greatly as well. But Justinian’s financial measures resulted in the impoverishment not only of those who served, but also of those who depended on them.<sup>29</sup>

Procopius also spoke of the *onoma strateias*, which can be loosely translated as the “*strateia* status” (literally: the name of *strateia*). The phrase seems to include connotations about the individual’s relation with the state and his placement in the wide group of public servants. In reality, it refers to the social, and by extension economic, situation of the individuals. Procopius specifically makes use of it in the case of the *limitanei* and that of the *Scholarioi*. Relating the misfortunes that befell the *limitanei* under Justinian I, he underscored that the emperor “removed from them even the qualification (*onoma*) of *strateia* for no reason”.<sup>30</sup> The “qualification”, or in this case more precisely “status”, is also mentioned in connection with the sale of positions in the *Scholae*, the most prestigious and ancient regiment of imperial guards. Apparently, emperor Zenon was the first to allow the “status” of the *Scholarioi* to be “usurped” (τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιβατεύειν) by “cravens and those without war experience” (ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀπολέμους).<sup>31</sup>

*Byzantine Army Officers, 518-610*, London 2017, p. 25-27; J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 11-12; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 225-229; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 121, 262-263; W. TREADGOLD, *The Military Lands*, p. 622; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 149-157, 188-189; P. KATSONI, Η μισθοδοσία των στρατηγών των θεμάτων. Προβλήματα και ερμηνείες, *Βυζαντινά* 22, 2001, p. 155-220, here p. 174, 181-184; M. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 176-178, 187-192. On the wages of middle Byzantine soldiers see T. KOLIAS, *Θέση*, p. 14-18; W. TREADGOLD, *Byzantium*, p. 119-149; M. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 181-184, 645-654; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 122-130; P. KATSONI, Η μισθοδοσία, cited above, p. 161-165, 170-176, 179-181, 184-187, 190-203. Also see generally on the soldiers’ benefits H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 7-8; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 18-21; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 401.

28. T. KOLIAS, *Θέση*, p. 17; IDEM, Τα στρατιωτικά εγκλήματα κατά τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους, in S. TROIANOS (ed.), *Έγκλημα και τιμωρία στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1997, p. 295-316, here p. 301-302; D. A. PARNELL, *Justinian’s Men*, cited n. 27, p. 157-158; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 21. See generally J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 120, 259-260.

29. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 146<sup>3-9</sup>, 152<sup>3-17</sup>. See A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*, Philadelphia, PA 2004, p. 226.

30. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 149<sup>4-5</sup>; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 661-663. See A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius*, cited n. 25, p. 107.

31. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 149<sup>15-18</sup>; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 657-658. See A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius*, cited n. 29, p. 225.

It comes, then, as no surprise that the removal of the *strateia* was perceived as a severe punishment, and was imposed by the legislation for the most serious crimes, such as conspiracy and heresy. In the case of conspiracy, the punishment was inflicted not on the individual responsible for the crime, for whom the capital punishment was reserved, but on his heirs.<sup>32</sup> When it came to the heretics, the law of Justin and Justinian stated that none of them “may obtain any office, acquire any rank, civil or military, or belong to any order” (οὔτε μετέχειν ἀξιώματος καθάπαξ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζώνην περιβάλλεσθαι οὔτε πολιτικὴν οὔτε στρατιωτικὴν), and that they should be expelled from city offices, such as those of the *ekdikos* or *pater ciuitatis*, and from among the rhetors. “If it is already found that they happen to hold a title (ἀξιώματος) or to belong to the catalogue of those advocating at the court or are invested with a *strateia* or whichever office (ζώνην), they are to be barred immediately”.<sup>33</sup> This elaborate and very severe law is reproduced somewhat changed in the *Basilica* I, 1, 26: “they shall not join a civil or armed *strateia*” (μὴ στρατευέσθωσαν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἢ ἔνοπλον στρατεῖαν). The middle Byzantine legislation on the offences of the military apparently draws from Justinian’s law when it states that “they shall be expelled from their *strateia* and their military privileges” (στρατείας καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐκβάλλωνται προνομίων).<sup>34</sup>

It becomes then clear that the removal of the *strateia* effected the de facto social debasement of the individuals, their relegation to an inferior social and therefore economic status, the loss of their credibility, and inflicted irreparable damage on their social image. Thus, Procopius’ allegation that Justinian did not allow the recruitment of men “coming from Greece” strongly implies that these were suspected or even accused, as “Hellenes”, which Procopius apparently did not consider as a valid reason for obstructing enlistment.<sup>35</sup> In the beginning of the 9th century, patriarch Nicephorus I

32. *CJ* IX, 8, 5; *Basilica* LX, 36, 19.

33. *CJ* I, 5, 12; see B. FRIER (ed.), *Codex*, cited n. 11, I, p. 203, 205. The translation of the second extract is my own.

34. *Ποινάλιος νόμος στρατιωτικός*, ed. E. KORZENSZKY, *Leges poenales militares e codice Laurentiano* LXXV, 6. *Ποινάλιος νόμος στρατιωτικός*, ἐκ τῶν Ρούφου, τῶν Τακτικῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλικῶν. Ἐν κεφαλαίοις μὴ’, in I. and P. ZEPOS (eds.), *Jus Graecoromanum*, Athens 1931, II, p. 80-89, here p. 80<sup>19-20</sup>, 82<sup>79-80</sup>, 84<sup>139.143.148</sup>, 85<sup>167-168.173.183-184</sup>. See *Περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων*, ed. W. ASHBURNER, *The Byzantine Mutiny Act*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46, 1926, p. 80-109 [= I. and P. ZEPOS (eds.), *Jus Graecoromanum*, II, p. 75-79, here p. 75 nos. 2, 7; 76 nos. 18, 19; 77 nos. 25, 26, 29; 78 no. 33; 79 nos. 52, 54, 56]. And see P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 61 n. 1. Lemerle’s question, why the soldiers did not face the confiscation of their property, is answered by the fact that the removal of their *strateia* is already a sufficient punishment.

35. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 147<sup>3-10</sup>. See D. A. PARNELL, *Justinian’s Men*, cited n. 27, p. 42-43; and see Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 396; A. KALDELLIS, *Procopius*, cited n. 29,

built the image of poor, boorish soldiers, who, having been expelled from the army (ἀπὸ στρατείας) and their names having been erased from the military lists (τῶν καταλόγων), roamed the streets of Constantinople in search of a place where they could get some food and drink. But despite the implication in Nicephorus' text there is no information about a generalized discharge of Iconoclast soldiers at this time.<sup>36</sup>

An individual soldier or household could receive a release from the *strateia* for a specific reason. This release would fall under the category of the *exkousseia* in the general sense of exemption. Such freedom, however, was strictly personal. Leo VI specifically considered the case where an archon might grant *exkousseia*, meaning permission not to serve when a mobilization had been called.<sup>37</sup> However, the privileges of an individual or a house with the *strateia* status could as well derive from their personal relationship with the state. According to the *De Cerimoniis* the *logothesion* of the military had stipulated that when an individual exempted from the *strateia* died, this was re-established upon the household and the *exkousseia*, on the contrary, ceased. This piece of information was included in the *De Cerimoniis* because specific cases of individual soldiers serving in various corps of the imperial establishment were examined, such as those of the *basilikoi*, the Grand *Hetaireia*, the clergy of the palace, and others. The responsibility that burdened the households of the soldiers is called in this context *palaia strateia* (old service), because it predated the particular service that brought the *exkousseia* upon the household.<sup>38</sup> The opposite term, *astrateia*, signals only the release from the obligation of a specific service. In reality, while the aforementioned soldiers received the right not to campaign via the special privilege of the *exkousseia*, most would have to buy

p. 168-169, and also see A. KALDELLIS, *Prokopios*, cited n. 25, p. 105 n. 69. In Kaldellis' opinion, Procopius in this extract reproduces the ancient Roman bias about the military prowess of the Greeks.

36. NICEPHORUS, *Antirrheticus tertius*, PG 100, 375-534, here 492<sup>A-B</sup>. Nicephorus projects two reasons for the expulsion from the army, a) some unspecified crime and b) old age. It has been suggested that these were in reality "the poor" recruited by emperor Nicephorus I and later discharged by Michael I. See P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1958, p. 114-125. On the recruits of emperor Nicephorus I, see below.

37. *Tactica*, p. 152<sup>82-87</sup>.

38. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 697<sup>20</sup>-698<sup>15</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 391<sup>57-62</sup>, and commentary in *ibidem*, IV.2, p. 924. The editors of the new edition of *De Cerimoniis* consider that this extract refers to the fiscalized *strateia*, therefore interpreting the information as exemption from its remuneration to the state. In any case, the service precedes the remuneration. Also see H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 20-21; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 136-138; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Fiscalité*, p. 158; S. COSENTINO, *Atto pugliese*, p. 55-56.

the *astrateia* out. An indication about the application of this measure under Justinian I is found in the *Secret History* of Procopius, referring to the *Scholarii*.<sup>39</sup> In the 10th century, the evidence is more explicit, as it was granted in return for a sum that varied according to the unit.<sup>40</sup>

## 2. – THE PROPERTIES OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE LATE ROMAN LEGISLATION AND THE *ECLOGA*

While the *strateia* as outlined above was a condition referring to public service which entailed advantages for the individuals, the actual military service was invested with a detailed legislative protection relating to the assets that would come to the soldier's possession during his term of enlistment. The total of the assets they managed to accumulate during their service is known in the sources as *peculium castrense*. A clear definition is included in the *Digesta* of Justinian I: it comprised all assets donated to the soldiers by relatives in relation to their service, and all assets that the soldiers themselves would acquire and would not have obtained had they not been enlisted.<sup>41</sup> A law dated to AD 223 is explicit regarding the belongings of a soldier. Any asset purchased by a son while still under his father's authority would belong to the father; but if, upon leaving the family home to join the army, the son was given by his family members items or belongings that would be useful for his service, their ownership was forfeited to the soldier. To these belonged also items that would pass on to him as part of his patrimonial inheritance (*hereditares*) precisely because of his soldier status. "And even immovable property is placed in this category" (*et etiamsi*

39. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 149<sup>9</sup>-150<sup>4</sup>; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 657-658; M. WHITBY, *Recruitment*, cited n. 2, p. 112-113; C. ZUCKERMAN, *L'armée*, p. 175-176.

40. In 949, the soldiers of the Thrakesion theme who did not campaign in Crete had to pay four coins each for their service: J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice*, p. 221<sup>52-53</sup>, 261, 306-307 and n. 265; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 321<sup>95-97</sup>, and see J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 126-127; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 462; H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 21; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 117-118, 119; IDEM, *Recruits*, p. 127; IDEM, *Social Structure*, p. 109-110; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 398-399; *Livre des cérémonies*, IV.2, p. 847-848. It is still under discussion whether the information concerns the same event or not.

41. *Digesta*, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. I, *Digesta*, Berlin 1889, XLIX, 11: *Castrense peculium est, quod a parentibus uel cognatis in militia agenti donatum est uel quod ipse filius familias in militia adquisiit, quod, nisi militaret, adquisiturus non fuisset. Nam quod erat et sine militia adquisiturus, id peculium eius castrense non est*. See *Basilica* LVII, 2, 4.11; and see A. DAIN, *Sur le "peculium castrense"*, *REB* 19, 1961, p. 253-257.

*res immobiles in his erunt*). But, although his maternal inheritance and land donated to the soldier did not belong to his *peculium castrense*, "land which has been purchased with money taken from the *castrense peculium* constitutes part of the latter" (*CJ* XII, 37, 1). Thus, two types of land could belong to the military *peculium*: those assigned to the soldier by his father for serving the needs of his *strateia*, and those purchased by the soldier himself with the profits of his service.<sup>42</sup>

In the 4th century, veteran status was still reserved to soldiers after the conclusion of successful service. Upon discharge, veterans received vacant lands, pairs of oxen and seed for sowing, free of taxes "in perpetuity" (*C.Th.* VII, 20, 3.8 and 11).<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the legislation implies that soldiers were taking up other occupations during their service at the location of their billeting, even though this was strictly forbidden (*Digesta* XLIX, 16, 13; *CJ* XII, 36, 10.15).<sup>44</sup> The *Code* of Justinian also preserves an important law relating to the fiscal exemptions of the veterans (*CJ* XII, 47, 1;

42. A clear distinction of the belongings between those coming from the patrimonial assets and the *strateia*, with emphasis on the latter, is made in the *Life of St. Alexander*, the founder of the monastery of the Akoimatoi. See *Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète* (BHG 47), ed. É. DE STOOP, *Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète*, PO 6, 1911, p. 641-705, here p. 661<sup>8-10</sup>: ἀνυπερθέτως τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὰ τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ πράγματα – ἔσχεν γὰρ πολλὰ ὥσάτε σῶφρων καὶ γενναῖος ἐπαρχικός – τοῖς πτωχοῖς καὶ πένησιν διαδίδωσιν.

43. The standard edition of the *C.Th.* is that of P. KRUEGER, *Codex Theodosianus*, Berlin 1923-1926. See the translation in C. PHARR, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmundian Constitutions. A Translation with Commentary, Glossary and Bibliography*, Princeton, NJ 1952, p. 180, 181, 182; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 635-636, 649-654, 675, 778; J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 74-76; and see C. ZUCKERMAN, *L'armée*, p. 154-159; S. COSENTINO, *Atto pugliese*, p. 58-59. The soldiers also received one or two pairs of oxen and seed for sowing.

44. See *Ποινάλιος νόμος στρατιωτικός*, cited n. 34, p. 80<sup>16-20</sup>; *Περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων*, cited n. 34, p. 79 no. 56. For a translation of the laws of the *Digesta* commented here, see A. WATSON, *The Digest of Justinian*, I-IV, Philadelphia, PA 1998. These stipulations forbid the purchase of land in the provinces where they were stationed for fear of being occupied with agrarian activities instead of the war. "The cultivation of the soil, the care of animals, or the pursuit of commerce" is also forbidden in a law dating from the reign of emperor Zenon (474-491). Based on this evidence, it has been suggested that joining the tactical, movable army regiments of the empire did not prevent the soldiers from taking roots. See A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 630-633; see J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 78-79; W. KAEGI, *Some Reconsiderations*, cited n. 23, p. 41-42; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 48-50; EADEM, *Les biens militaires et le recrutement en Byzance. Essai de déterminer et interpréter le rapport entre les biens militaires et le recrutement*, *Βυζαντινά* 12, 1992, p. 215-226, here p. 219-221; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 396, 400-401, 403-404, 412-414; É. PATLAGEAN, *L'impôt payé par les soldats au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in C. NICOLET and H. VAN EFFENTERRE (eds.), *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique*, Paris 1977, p. 303-309, here p. 306-307; C. ZUCKERMAN, *L'armée*, p. 161-162; J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 130; IDEM, "Evil Deeds", p. 250-251.



*C.Th.* VII, 20, 2).<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, the state appeared firm in its position that the soldiers' patrimonial assets were subjected to the general taxation that burdened all the taxpayers of the empire (*Digesta* XLIX, 18, 12).<sup>46</sup> Thus, according to the legislation, only the activities and properties of the veterans acquired after the end of their service enjoyed exemptions. It is these properties that belonged to the military *peculium* par excellence, according to the *Digesta* XLIX, 17, 11, because the soldiers would not have acquired them had they not served.

An additional stipulation (*CJ* X, 56), written in Greek and dating probably from the 6th century because of its terminology, specifically exempts "those who have completed the *strateia*" (οἱ πληρώσαντες στρατείας) from serving in a series of civic offices such as the *ekdikos* and the *pater ciuitatis*,<sup>47</sup> and goes on to stipulate that "wherever [the former servants] wish to live" they shall be exempted from "*diagraphai* under the title of *synetheiai* or *theoretika*. They shall have one house free (μίαν οἰκίαν ἐλευθέραν) from the *metaton* of soldiers temporarily located or residing there, because they enjoy the same exemption as those who hold any office (τῶν ἐχόντων ἀξίας τινὰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀτέλειαν κεκτημένων). This constitution adds to their previous benefits (ταῖς προτέραις εὐεργεσίαις) and does not subtract from them. They are to pay the public taxes (τὰ δημόσια) and honor the archons and be honored by them".

45. *CJ* XII, 46, 1 in the earlier edition. The law summarily frees veterans from *munera municipalia*, public works (*oneribus publicis*), any kind of *collatio* (contribution) and general tax (*uectigalibus*, mostly composed of rents but also dues and tolls), and the sales tax, and protects them from the demand of state officials of the public treasury too (*fisco nostro*). It is well known that the veterans were generally exempted from the payment of the *capitatio* (poll tax), paid by the provincial population, although the extent of the relief was not stable. See on the *capitatio* A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 462, and II, p. 635; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 400. Also see J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Das Finanzwesen*, p. 200.

46. Apparently, J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 77 and 79, thought that *CJ* XII, 47, 1 was abolished altogether in the 5th century. However, the most important methodological mistake of the author was that he did not make the distinction between what belonged to the *peculium castrense* and to the soldiers' patrimonial estates, especially while considering cases of inheritance as these are recorded in the legislation. In the case of the lands of the veterans he notes that their handling was "different". Also see C. ZUCKERMAN, *L'armée*, p. 176-177, who believes that the "institution of veterans" disappeared because of the settlement of soldiers in the countryside or in cities.

47. On the *ekdikos* see A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 144-145, 479-480 and II, p. 726-727, 758-760; A. LANIADO, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (Monographies 13), Paris 2002, p. 33-34, 38-39. On the *pater ciuitatis* see A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 726, 758-760; A. LANIADO, *Recherches*, cited above, p. 91-94, 208-211, 219-223. These are of course burdens that are still imposed on the *curiales* (or most notable citizens) of each city. See generally A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 749-750.

The *diagraphe*, which is attested in the 6th and 7th centuries, appears to relate to any additional burden imposed on taxpayers; it still remains elusive as a concept, but most mentions appear to refer to it as a method, not as a tax per se. This is why it relates to a variety of fiscal burdens paid in coin as well as in kind (such as the *synone*) and could be applied both to agrarian and civilian population. The combination of the *theoretika* with the *diagraphe* is not original and seems to follow an earlier law attributed to Anastasius I.<sup>48</sup> The *synetheia* was the reward of the officers involved in the collection of taxes and is best known from middle Byzantine times, but there is good evidence from early Byzantium as well.<sup>49</sup>

*CJ* X, 56 thus reflects the new conditions of the 6th century and the new practices of the fisc – particularly the *diagraphe* and the *synetheia*. However, in accordance with what has been analyzed above, it is necessary to underscore two things: first, that the existence of these laws in the Corpus of Justinian does not prove that the soldiers were in fact owners of tax-exempted land in the 6th century; and second, that although the distinction between those who completed their *strateia* (οἱ πληρώσαντες στρατείας) and those holding office is clear, the general phrasing employed does not explicitly include, or exclude, the soldiers from the exemption. This is supported by

48. PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, p. 142<sup>15-16</sup>, 144<sup>7-12</sup>. In Procopius, the *diagraphe* is connected with *synone* and *epibole*, and with cities in general, which is also the case in Justinian's legislation, where it is always found in relation to additional burdens and/or exemptions (see *CJ* I, 4, 26.15; XII, 63, 2). A law of emperor Anastasius contains at least two stipulations of which only the second seems original (the first is preserved only in a summary). See *CJ* XI, 1, 2: Μηδεὶς διαγραφέσθω εἰς θεωρητικὰ ἢ ἄλλα τινὰ προφάσει τοῦ κουφισθῆναι τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ χρυσαργύρου, ἐπεὶ ἡ προειρημένη ποινὴ ἐπικείσεται. See B. FRIER (ed.), *Codex*, cited n. 11, III, p. 2647. In 7th century sources, it is found together with *capita* and ἄρτοι πολιτικοί (state bread). Thus in all references *diagraphe* appears to apply to the method by which additional fiscal burdens were imposed on the taxpayers; it can perhaps be translated as “being listed to pay” (διὰ γραφῆς), e.g. the *synetheiai*. The most eloquent reference is found in JUSTINIAN, *Novels*, cited n. 24, p. 656<sup>30</sup>: τῆς τῶν lucratiuon διαγραφῆς; see D. MILLER and P. SARRIS, *The Novels*, cited n. 24, II, p. 871. See primarily S. COSENTINO, Constans II and the Byzantine Navy, *BZ* 100, 2007, p. 577-603, here p. 597-599. And also: A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 814; J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Das Finanzwesen*, p. 47; C. ZUCKERMAN, Learning from the Enemy, cited n. 6, p. 80-84; J. HALDON, Synone: Re-considering a Problematic Term of Middle Byzantine Fiscal Administration, *BMGS* 18, 1994, p. 116-153, here p. 116-122, 131-136, 148-149; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 148-149. On the *epibole*, which is based on the fiscal community of the villages, see A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 814-815; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 46-47; J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 142. On the *metaton* see N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 91-93, and É. PATLAGEAN, L'impôt, cited n. 44, p. 307; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 419-421; IDEM, *The Farmer and the Soldier should be Friends: Justinian's Legislation on the Provisioning of Soldiers in Transit*, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12, 2019, p. 380-421, here p. 402-403.

49. See C. ZUCKERMAN, *Du village à l'empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)*, (Monographies 16), Paris 2004, p. 140-141; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 76-79.

the fact that only a single contemporary piece of evidence indicates that soldiers may still have been discharged.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, the absence of other evidence does not prove that soldiers actually owned no land. The information about their landownership and other activities in the 5th and 6th centuries is certainly scanty.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, it can only be asserted with regard to the laws found in the Justinianic Corpus that in the 6th century the polity still actively recognized the *strateia* with its civil and/or military content as a condition to which privilege was attached, as seen in the granting of additional exemptions from the *synetheiai* and the *metaton* (the *theoretika* were a burden of the *curiales* and senators). But it remains unknown whether soldiers too were counted among those who “completed their *strateia*” and thus could benefit from this special exemption.

Taking into consideration the strict separation of the military and patrimonial *peculium*, the legislation implies that the privilege of a soldier was personal, and was not bound to his family. This aspect is in fact the key to decoding the developments of middle Byzantine times. Indeed, had the laws about the military *peculium* not been included in the Corpus of Justinian, it would be impossible to understand the evolution leading to the emergence of the “military lands”. According to these stipulations, a soldier had power to alienate only the property that came to his ownership through his *peculium castrense* at any time (*CJ* XII, 37, 2).<sup>52</sup> This is because the *patria potestas* was not dissolved if one joined the army (*CJ* XII, 37, 2). This means that a son had no power of any kind (alienation or other) on the patrimonial estate before his father’s death.<sup>53</sup> Conversely, no one had the right to claim the *peculium castrense* of a dead soldier except for the heir appointed by the soldier himself (*CJ* VI, 21, 1). Therefore, the soldier’s property was inherited only by his descendants and heirs he had named himself by testament; if the soldier died without an heir, his *peculium castrense* devolved to his father’s ownership, if he was still alive (*CJ* XII, 37, 5).<sup>54</sup>

50. IOANNES LYDUS, *On Powers*, cited n. 15, p. 226<sup>14-26</sup>. According to Lydus, a retired soldier named Proclus, inhabitant of Philadelphia, took his own life when he was asked to pay an exorbitant amount of taxes.

51. See Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 403-404.

52. A. ARJAVA, *Paternal Power*, p. 149-150.

53. J. CROOK, *Patria Potestas*, *The Classical Quarterly* 17, 1967, p. 113-122; A. ARJAVA, *Paternal Power*, p. 148-149; A. WATSON, *Society and Legal Change*, Philadelphia, PA 2001<sup>2</sup>, p. 24-29.

54. See J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 77-81. The author makes no distinction between the *peculium castrense* and other assets, but signals many laws that concern the relation of the soldiers to landownership. This, however, does not mean that this land belonged to the military *peculium*. In other words, a particular piece of land belonged to the *peculium* only if it had been given to the soldier by one of his relatives for serving his *strateia*.

It appears, then, that the soldier's privileges were given exclusively to the individuals who took up the obligation of a military service. The military *strateia* was built on a mutual understanding between the soldier and the state, and in this the relationship between the two parties was personal. For this reason, the finances of the soldier and those of his paternal household were kept separate; in reality, these constituted two different financial units, and only that of the soldier enjoyed privileges. However, this important divide was rendered ineffective and superfluous in middle Byzantine times, when the soldiers lived in their own homes and served in the context of the thematic organization of the army. Apparently, there was no law abolishing any measure that existed previously, nor was any new general measure or decision taken by the emperors, because none is recorded in the sources.<sup>55</sup> The legislation in particular is so minutely accurate that it is not reasonable to suppose that a new law or decree disappeared without leaving a trace in the legislative corpora and other sources. In fact, *Basilica* LVII, 6, titled "About veterans and their privileges" (περὶ τῶν ἀποστράτων καὶ τῶν προνομίων αὐτῶν), is missing altogether except for the title. Considering that *Basilica* LVII, 7, begins with the translation of *CJ* XII, 47, 3 which concerns the sons of soldiers who died on duty,<sup>56</sup> it is plausible that *Basilica* LVII, 6 was either a summary, adaptation or reiteration of *CJ* XII, 47, 1, perhaps even in combination with other laws describing the benefits of military service. The law regarding the exemptions of the lands of the *limitanei* is also included (*CJ* XI, 60, 1; *Basilica* LV, 6, 3).

The real change that took place between 641 and 741 is that the soldiers "returned" to their own homes and were drafted in the units of their thematic regiments. This created the need to regulate the particularities of the addition of the military *peculium* to the paternal household of the soldier (οἶκος). The *oikos* is an inclusive term for denoting the people living in the house as well as the immovable and movable assets belonging to it. The soldier's revenues would make a difference to the household's way of living, management and status, and would affect the various aspects of its inheritance and succession. It is exactly these aspects that the laws of the *Ecloga*, promulgated in 741, attempt to regulate.<sup>57</sup> From the related laws of

55. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 71-73.

56. *Basilica* LVII, 8 also concerns "the soldiers and their auxiliaries and their privileges" and is missing as well. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 77, claimed that laws of Constantine I for the benefits of veterans and active soldiers were abolished, without offering any evidence.

57. N. OIKONOMIDES, *Role*, p. 982. See M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 234-235; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 40, 53-54; EADEM, *Les biens militaires*, cited n. 44, p. 221-222.

chapter 16 it becomes clear that the soldier is only one of the individuals in a family; other heirs are not enlisted, even though there is no special regulation against it. The *Ecloga* clarifies specifically that the *peculium paganicum* comprises those assets that are inherited by the heir for his worldly use (πρὸς κόσμον καὶ τιμὴν), and therefore have no relation to his *strateia*. After the death of a parent the *peculium paganicum* is calculated with the paternal inheritance along with the father's other assets and divided according to his will (*Ecloga* XVI, 5, 1). It is also reaffirmed that the soldier has no control of his maternal inheritance before his father's death (*Ecloga* XVI, 5, 2).<sup>58</sup>

So neither the income granted to a son for his "worldly use" nor his maternal property belonged to the son, and therefore these were not protected from the *patria potestas*, unlike the *peculium castrense*. *Ecloga* XVI, 1 is a stipulation which confirms what we already know; namely, that the soldier's military *peculium* belonged to him alone and his heirs did not have any claims to it. However, an important detail is added: "a military *peculium* is [the property which] the soldiers shall acquire through their military service, even though they are under the custody of their father or grandfather".<sup>59</sup> *Ecloga* XVI, 2, 2 clarifies that spoils of war (σκόλα) and honorary rewards (φιλοτιμίαι) belong to it from the first day of enlistment. According to the first law of the chapter, if the soldier spent his entire *peculium*, his heirs did not have the right to claim reimbursement as if it had belonged to their own portion of the inheritance. For this reason, it was not allowed that the income of the soldiers "be calculated together, or divided with, their paternal inheritance" (μὴ ὡς πατρῷον αὐτῶν συνεισάγεσθαι ἢ διαιρεῖσθαι), "but shall be exempted and recognised as belonging solely to the soldier" (ἐν ἐξαίρετῳ τοῖς ἰδιοῦς αὐτῶν καὶ μόνον γνωρίζεσθαι προσώποις). Even though the law takes into consideration the father's *potestas*, it does not explicitly mention the *oikos*, and thus it appears at first to elaborate on *CJ* VI, 21, 1 and XII, 37, 1-3. There is, however, an added complexity, as it is implied that the soldier's or the father's heirs may demand that the *peculium castrense* be calculated together with their father's assets (πατρῷον). This is a significant departure from the earlier laws that gave other parties no access to the military possessions. There may be two reasons for this development, which are not specifically mentioned but seem to underlie the spirit of this law: firstly, no son under the *patria potestas*

58. See A. ARJAVA, *Paternal Power*, p. 151-152.

59. See J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 246; R. J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 194-195.

could own anything until the death of the father, and secondly, the soldier now lived in, and was sustained by, his own family. These particularities, the first of which is a fundamental principle of Roman law, may have encouraged the heirs to demand that the *peculium* be divided in proportionate shares (τὴν νόμιμον μοῖραν); therefore, the legislator clarified this aspect in favor of the soldiers.<sup>60</sup>

*Ecloga* XVI, 2, 1 and XVI, 3 attempt to address this gap regarding the *oikos* and the military *peculium*. The latter law is the more important of the two, since it clarifies inheritance issues after the father's death when the soldier depended on family assets. It examines the specific case of clerics and *chartoularioi* “or even others” drafted in the army and equipped from their patrimonial substance (ἐκ γονικῆς στρατευόμενοι ὑποστάσεως). If the portion of the family assets set aside to fund the military engagement was donated to the soldier, then this arrangement stood – because it has been alienated and therefore no longer belonged to the household. If, however, there was no such arrangement, then the heirs of the deceased parent had the right to claim the soldier's *peculium* under certain conditions. Specifically, the heirs could calculate the expenditure made in favour of the soldier and the income that flowed into the household through his *strateia*. “What remains from the sum given for [the funding of] this service should be brought into the remainder of the property and divided” (τὸ περιττεῦον ἐκ τῆς δοθείσης ποσότητος εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον στράτευμα συνεισφέρεσθαι τῇ λοιπῇ ὑποστάσει καὶ συνδιαιρεῖσθαι). This clause is a general directive about how the *oikos* could proceed. The legislator thought that the possibility that the debt of the soldier had not been repaid yet was unlikely: “If, as it is plausible, the sum that has been given, has been defrayed through the [income of the] military obligation, the co-heirs do not have permission to ask anything from the individual who has taken up this obligation, because, as has been explained, it has been repaid through [the income of] this obligation”. We may infer that, had the dues of the soldier to the *oikos* not been repaid, he would have to reimburse his family members, because the difference between expenses and income is signaled simply as *to perit-teuon* without further specification and was expressly calculated together with the property (συνδιαιρεῖσθαι). It is also worth underscoring that the law duly includes the terms *strateia* and *strateuma* for signaling the military engagement of the family member, while the terms “quantity” (ποσότης) and “patrimonial substance” (γονικὴ ὑπόστασις) are terms which signify

60. See A. ARJAVA, *Paternal Power*, p. 150-151.



the expenditure and its provenance from the family assets respectively.<sup>61</sup> The *hypostasis* in particular, known as *stasis* from later monastic archives, implies landed assets, not just any kind of possession.<sup>62</sup>

The fact that only one of the heirs of a family was recruited is significant and eventually led to further developments. This is amply clear from *Ecloga* XVI, 2, 1. This law is much discussed among Byzantinists and concerns the armour and equipment of the soldier.<sup>63</sup> The law begins by acknowledging that one of the brothers was recruited and the other tended to the needs of the household. They may have made an official arrangement between them regarding the expenses and the incoming revenue, which stands in any case. If, however, there was no arrangement, and they decided to divide the household within the first ten years of the brother's service, they were obliged to proceed by dividing equal shares, because they would have both contributed equally to the household's and the soldier's expenditures. After that, the brother who stayed behind had no right on the soldier's armour and war mount (up to thirteen years), and on his other assets and income (after thirteen years). Thus it was recognized by the law that the full depreciation of the soldier's equipment and living expenditure had been reached after the passing of thirteen years of service.

These laws point to an important social development that took place in middle Byzantine times. While it becomes clear that by the year 741, when the *Ecloga* was promulgated, soldiers had returned to their paternal homes and were counted with the household's "workforce", being equipped and sustained by the *oikos*, but also contributing to its income and growth, the military obligation still remained personal and burdened only one individual of the house.<sup>64</sup> This individual was still the only to enjoy the benefits and

61. See M. HUMPHREYS, *The Laws*, cited n. 5, p. 67. Humphreys translated στρατευόμενοι as "state service", στρατευθέντι as "post-holder", στρατεία and στρατεύμα as "position" or "service".

62. See for example P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS and D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Lavra. I, Première partie. Des origines à 1204* (Archives de l'Athos 5), Paris 1970, no. 13<sup>16</sup>: ωτι ουδέποτε μένειν ωτι εκατεκράτησαιν χωραφίων ει Λαβρα εκ της γωνεικης μου υποστασεως (dated to 1008 or 1009). See *ibidem*, no. 43<sup>10</sup>: τὰ τῶν ἐξηλειμμένων στάσεων τόπια τῶν αὐτῶν χωρίων... (dated to 1081). On the *stasis-hypostasis* see N. SVORONOS, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles : le cadastre de Thèbes* (BCH 83), 1959, p. 1-166, here p. 118-119.

63. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung*, p. 81-82; J. MOSSAY and P. YANNOPOULOS, L'article XVI, 2 de l'*Eclogue* des Isauriens et la situation des soldats, *Byz.* 46, 1976, p. 52-57; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 67-73; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 21-22; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 130-134; IDEM, *Fiscalité*, p. 8, 37-38; R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 195-196; M. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 635-636; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 43-44; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 234.

64. See Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 406.

privileges of the soldier status. An imperial decision attached to the manuscripts of the *Ecloga* also points to this direction. The decision concerns a soldier who came into a household as a son-in-law and states clearly what is discussed here: "Our devout and righteous kings have judged according to the reverent laws that [the soldier] should take everything that he has brought into the house without exception, be it wares and property, and whatever is proved that he owns as royal gifts and [has gained] through his sword and those wages that he has brought into the house; his father-in-law should openly record those expenses that he has made for him, that is for his military equipment, his expenses and clothing and simply whatever he is able to bring forth that he has bought and spent [on the soldier]".<sup>65</sup> The decision recalls the *Ecloga* but the final settlement suggested in XVI, 3 (not XVI, 2, 1), specifically that the difference between income and expenses should be taken into consideration, is missing.<sup>66</sup> The court decision perhaps represents an earlier stage of the development, but nonetheless one not much earlier than the *Ecloga*, since *Ecloga* XVI, 3 seems to be based on the same principle as the imperial decision. Also of note is the fact that the latter does not mention the *strateia* status. This absence may indicate either that the house was already a "military house", therefore that there was a pre-existing *strateia*, or the exact opposite, that the household was not a military one, which would also explain why there is such a clear distinction between the assets of the soldier and the expenses of the father-in-law. Both explanations seem equally plausible.

Apparently, it was up to the head of the household, father or grandfather or father-in-law, to decide how he would fund a *strateia* – whether by assigning a portion of his assets to the soldier (*CJ* XII, 37, 1) or by drawing from the household's total income (*Ecloga* XVI, 2; XVI, 3). This points to a much more flexible approach than has been assumed so far, one that gave the state a variety of fiscal and administrative methods for the handling of the crucial problem of the funding of its army. In fact, as regards the financing of the soldiers from their patrimonies, there seems to be no compulsory

65. D. SIMON, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge, in F. BAUR, K. LARENZ and F. WIEACKER (eds.), *Beiträge zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte und zum geltenden Recht. Festgabe für Johannes Sontis*, Munich 1977, p. 91-128, here p. 91-93, 94; see M. HUMPHREYS, *The Laws*, cited n. 5, p. 78-79. The law is saved in two versions. The translation corresponds to the first.

66. See the commentary of D. SIMON, Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge, cited n. 65, p. 96-100; J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 21, 22-23; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 134; R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 196-197; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 402. It has been suggested that these stipulations constitute in reality a change in the status of the military *peculium* which allows other members of the family to claim its ownership.

fiscal or administrative limitation that the households had to abide by; neither the amounts invested on the soldier nor the portion of the property assigned to him are anywhere defined. The state therefore only legislated on a series of issues resulting from this liberal treatment. While the soldier, because he lived in his house, was still under the paternal *potestas* and the stipulations regulating the handling of his patrimonial and matrimonial assets were still in force, the state made sure that his military *peculium* would be protected from potential demands of other family members without, however, entirely discarding these demands. This may have caused the eventual breakup of the households into smaller units, because managing the military assets and income would have been easier to do in a household where no parallel claims on the inheritance could be raised. As we have seen, there was no prohibition that the family assets that sustained a soldier might not be divided, since the soldier himself was one of the heirs and had a legal right to his inheritance; and there was also no prohibition against maintaining the initial household as it was, held in undivided co-ownership by two or more heirs.

The state did not concern itself with the issue whether the soldier was a landowner or not. The soldier had a personal relationship with the state and enjoyed his benefits precisely because of this relationship. There is also no word of the tax exemptions the household might have enjoyed because one of its members served in the army. Theoretically, these might devolve on the portion of the household that maintained his *strateia*, called *posotes* (quantity) in the laws of the *Ecloga*; or they could be reserved for him exclusively in case he decided to leave and found a new household. This is in reality the only piece of information missing from all the sources. If the *oikos*, or the soldier himself when he acted as its head, wished to maintain the tax relief, then the military service ought to be renewed after the death of the initial holder of the privilege, or else the *oikos* would have to reimburse the state for the missing service, or even decide to abandon the service altogether.<sup>67</sup> This, however, is a conclusion *ex silentio*. Both possibilities are founded on the function of the *strateia* and the tax exemptions that follow it as a privileged situation, as has been explained above. Lastly, in a case dating from 1017 which is discussed below, hereditary transmission or the grant of a patrimonial estate in a dowry led to a group of landholdings

67. We know some of the tax exemptions from Emperor Leo VI's *Tactica*, p. 560<sup>344-354</sup>. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 6-7; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 154; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 142-143, 427-428; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 402-403 and see É. PATLAGEAN, *L'impôt*, cited n. 44, p. 303-309. They concerned secondary taxes, surcharges and servitudes that could become burdensome.

maintaining a single *strateia*. These conclusions are particularly helpful, because they elucidate the soldiers’ actual social position within their households and their communities, and urge us to re-evaluate the evidence found in the narrative sources.

### 3. – THE IMAGE OF “POOR” SOLDIERS IN NARRATIVE SOURCES

The sources, especially saints’ lives, are in agreement regarding the soldiers’ status; more often than not, they are thought to be poor. Their poverty is frequently manifested in their inability to equip themselves or to maintain a war horse. The pieces of evidence or comments deriving from narrative sources are not uniform in meaning and context, but even this diversity is to be evaluated in relation to everything that has been discussed above.

Apparently, being obliged to cater for their own equipment and war horse was burdensome for the soldiers, so it comes as no surprise that this pattern is found repeatedly in the sources. The *Life of St. Philaretos* is one of the earliest sources reflecting the 8th century standards. According to the narrative, soldier Mousoulaios who was “very poor” (πτωχὸς πάνυ ὑπάρχων) could afford only his armour and a single horse.<sup>68</sup> In the *Life of St. Eustratios of Agauros*, a soldier asked for the saint’s mount because he had lost his own “and had no means to go about his own [assignment]”.<sup>69</sup> A developed version of this pattern is also found in Theophanes Continuatus: while Mousoulaios risked flogging by his commander and even dying if he went to war without a mount,<sup>70</sup> the soldier in Theophanes Continuatus actually lost his life because his general found a pretext to appropriate his horse, and thus “he left behind his wife and poor children” (γυναιῖκα καταλελοιπότα καὶ τέκνα πτωχά). His wife had to go to Constantinople to seek justice from emperor Theophilos.<sup>71</sup> It is noteworthy that in this narrative the author calls

68. *Life of St. Philaretos* (BHG 1511z), ed. L. RYDEN, *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful written by his grandson Niketas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, Uppsala 2002, p. 72<sup>223</sup>-74<sup>227</sup>. See A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine*, p. 141; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 59-60; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 58; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 18; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 244; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 414-415.

69. *Life of St. Eustratios of Agauros* (BHG 645), ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Βίος καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐστρατίου, ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ἀγαύρου, in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, IV, St. Petersburg 1897 (repr. Bruxelles 1963), p. 367-400, here p. 377. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 60 n. 2.

70. *Life of St. Philaretos*, cited n. 68, p. 74<sup>229-238</sup>.

71. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, *Chronographia*, eds. M. FEATHERSTONE and J. SIGNES CODONER, *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur, Libri I-IV* (CFHB 53), Boston, MA-Berlin 2015, p. 134-136.

“poor” not the soldier’s wife, but his children who would, presumably, continue to fulfill the military obligation.

The theme of the soldier’s widow is exploited by the authors in various ways. By praising empress Irene for letting the dues of the soldiers’ widows lapse, Theodore the Studite probably hinted at the sum that needed to be paid to the state to replace a dead soldier’s service.<sup>72</sup> Later, patriarch Nicholas I pleaded with the emperor not to draft the son of a widow because he was her only son and because “she does not have a mount or quiver or helmet and sword to protect her soldier”, lest “instead of the future *opsonia* (wages) she will multiply her own poverty” by losing her son.<sup>73</sup> Emperor Leo VI, on the other hand, emphasized again that the soldiers should be able to equip themselves. The emperor qualified the men that did not have enough means for sustaining a war mount as “poor but brave” (πένητες ἀνδρεῖοι) and contrasted them with the “wealthy” who did not serve (εὐπόροις μὲν, μὴ στρατευομένοις δέ).<sup>74</sup> Several decades later, emperor Nicephorus II Phocas spoke about “poor” soldiers too. The general-emperor accused the employees of the treasury of humiliating the “poor” by demanding taxes, to the point that they even resorted to violence, thus shedding the “blood of the poor”.<sup>75</sup>

It appears, then, that the topos of “poor” soldiers relies not on their actual financial condition, i.e. the size of their properties, but on their obligation, since the 8th century, to sustain themselves, their war mount and their armor from their family property. Apparently, funding one’s service from one’s own means was incompatible with the empire’s tradition; therefore, this aspect became a fertile ground for criticisms, even if more “official” views recognized military virtues in underprivileged environments where there was no wealth. Two of the most important, and earliest, references to “poor” soldiers after the promulgation of the *Ecloga* are found in the

72. THEODORE STUDITES, *Epistles*, ed. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* (CFHB 31), Berlin 1991, p. 26<sup>61-63</sup> (no. 7): αἱ στρατιώτιδες τὸ οἰκεῖον πένθος ἔχουσαι τῆς ἀνδρικῆς ἀποβολῆς, οὐκ ἐπιθρηγῆσουσι πικρῶς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανέντος ἐλσεινὴν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἐξάπαλτησιν. See N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 135-136; IDEM, *Fiscalité*, p. 38-39; IDEM, *Role*, p. 982-983. See J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 23-24, 25, 33; IDEM, “Evil Deeds”, p. 257; L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 745.

73. J. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers byzantins du x<sup>e</sup> siècle* (AOC 6), Paris 1960, p. 131<sup>15-16.20-21</sup> (no. 50). See J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 47-48; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 241-242; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 51.

74. *Tactica*, p. 610<sup>1056-1059</sup>. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 5-6; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine*, p. 139-140; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 238-239; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 439-440; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 22-24; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 268-269.

75. *Ibidem*, p. 109<sup>37</sup>-111<sup>40</sup>.

*Chronography* of Theophanes Confessor. The measures (κακώσεις: injuries) taken by emperor Nicephorus I seem to relate to a significant expansion of the recruitment base of the empire which largely depended on the joint fiscal liability of agrarian communities, an aspect that will be discussed below. These new recruits were in reality a crowd of poor people (πένητάς τε πολλούς, στρατεύεσθαι πτωχούς), who were sustained by their own means (ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις). Theophanes' allegation that they were armed with "slings and staffs" exemplifies their poverty and does not necessarily reveal the truth about their military equipment.<sup>76</sup> In the same vein, the much later *Life of St. Nikon* points out that the soldier Michael Argyromytes served on his own means "although this is opposed by the Apostle".<sup>77</sup> In this context, it becomes evident that soldiers belonging to the professional guards regiments were not treated in the same way and were never called "poor", and that their handling in 10th century legislation was completely different. The *Life of St. Ioannikios* qualifies his obligation as *strateia* or military obligation (στρατιωτικὴ δουλεία), but there is no word about poverty as he belonged to the corps of the Excubitores.<sup>78</sup> The *Life of St. Luke the Stylite* specifically refers to the fact that the saint was not receiving *opsonion* (wages) or *siteresion* (expenses) from the royal fisc, which "it was customary to give to those who served".<sup>79</sup>

But even though the image of the "poor" soldier is dominant, not all soldiers were seen as "poor" in the sources. The *Life of St. Euthymios the Younger* and the *Life of St. Luke the Stylite* narrate the stories of saints that came from wealthy, if not noble families. The more ancient of these texts, the *Life of St. Euthymios*, frames the "nobility" of his family within a large circle of relatives and justifies it through their piety, endangered by their obligation to fulfill military service, as if the biographer refrained from exalting the noble origins of the family. The extract is precious for its

76. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, I, Leipzig 1883, p. 486<sup>24</sup>, 490<sup>5-6</sup>. See W. KAEGI, Some Reconsiderations, cited n. 23, p. 42-43; H. KÖPSTEIN, *Stratioten*, p. 85-86; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 237-238, 245; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 24.

77. *Life of St. Nikon* (BHG 1366), ed. D. SULLIVAN, *The Life of St. Nikon*, Brookline, MA 1987, p. 222 ch. 65<sup>1-4</sup>. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 146; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 45 and n. 73, p. 58-59; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 239-240.

78. *Life of St. Ioannikios* (BHG 936), *Vita S. Ioannicii auctore Petro monacho* (AASS Nov.), II.1, p. 384-435, Bruxelles 1894, here p. 386<sup>B</sup>, 387<sup>C</sup>. See M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, Πληροφορίες αγιολογικών κειμένων γύρω από αγιολογικά ζητήματα, in *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση, Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*, Athens 1989, p. 531-545, here p. 532; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 235-236. See T. KOLIAS, *Θέση*, p. 30-31. And see generally Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 397-398, 402.

79. *Vie de saint Luc le stylite*, p. 201<sup>16-17</sup>.



terminology regarding the social standing and the image of a provincial military family:

His parents were noble (εὐπάτριδες) and just at the same time, and stimulated each other's virtue to the point of antagonism until one of them took the lead in virtue from the other; because they had no jealousy for promotion (ἀναβασσεως) but zeal was prodding them, and there was an honourable competition between them. They were surrounded by a *phatria* beneficial to the soul and desired not only by those living in the same village, but also by those whose life and dwelling had been allotted further away. It was indeed a marvel for those who knew them or heard about them to understand, or suspect, that people involved in worldly life (βιωτικούς), subjected to public taxation and enlistment to *strateia*, gave in to its necessity (βίβη) as if they owed little to virtue and would not even think of turning away from it in any way.<sup>80</sup>

While the efforts of the saint's parents to uphold their piety and simultaneously fulfill their obligations to the state become in this context part of their social self-projection, the author specifically founded his claims about their noble origin on their indigenous descent of many generations, and therefore called them *eupatrides*, which is a rare and erudite term signaling nobility.<sup>81</sup> The *phatria* mentioned in the extract refers to a wider circle of influence than their own extended family; otherwise the noble competition among the members of their family and others' admiration would be incomprehensible. The competition concerned two different public and therefore "social" roles, that of service in the ranks and philanthropy.<sup>82</sup> Later, when Euthymios' father died, there is no question about the family's poverty. Instead, it is mentioned that his mother was unable to cater both for her widowhood and the military obligation as she had no other son for "venerating the *strateia*" (τῆς στρατείας τὴν λατρείαν).<sup>83</sup>

The *Life of St. Luke the Stylite*, on the other hand, frames the nobility of his family in standard 10th-century terms, namely wealth, land ownership and service. "His forefathers and his parents were nobles (εὐγενεῖς) of the east, who lived on an appropriate abundance of wealth and in self-sufficiency (συμμέτρῳ περιουσίᾳ πλούτου καὶ αὐταρκείᾳ), devoted themselves

80. *Life of St. Euthymios the Younger* (BHG 655), ed. L. PETIT, *Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune*, Paris 1904, p. 16<sup>20-31</sup>.

81. E. RAGIA, *Social Group Profiles*, p. 348-350.

82. See L. PETIT, *Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune*, cited n. 80, p. 17<sup>3</sup>: τοῖς ἀπόροις αἰσίαν τὴν παροχὴν διαψιλεύσασθαι.

83. L. PETIT, *Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune*, cited n. 80, p. 18<sup>5-9</sup>. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 143-145; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 47, 63; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 32-33; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Role*, p. 983; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 239; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 49.

to the knowledge of farming and were enrolled in the military host”.<sup>84</sup> The military service here is called a “burden” (ἐπιηρέια). This term is generally used to signal secondary taxes, and its appearance here may be taken to indicate the land sustaining St. Luke’s service.<sup>85</sup> But again, the text juxtaposes poor soldiers with St. Luke. The saint served on his own expenditures, but “what he had from his paternal household (ἐκ τοῦ πατρικοῦ οἴκου) that was supplying him with everything [he needed] for his expenses (εἰς λόγον ἀναλωμάτων)”, he gave “to the poor and destitute of the army” (τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ δὲ πένοις καὶ ἀποροῦσι).<sup>86</sup> In a similar manner, Vaanes, son of St. Maria the Younger, distributed his share of the booty to his fellow soldiers and thus became popular among them.<sup>87</sup> This information indicates that poor soldiers were not rare in the military ranks. Nevertheless, it should be taken into consideration that in hagiographical texts the distribution to the poor soldiers serves the purpose of exalting the hero’s philanthropy and self-sufficiency.

#### 4. – THE “MILITARY LANDS” IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

It has been mentioned above that the *strateia* is a twofold concept, signifying the service per se and the fiscal functions, or obligations, attached to it. Our earliest information about the “military lands” comes from the *Chronography* of Theophanes Confessor. In the beginning of the 9th century, emperor Nicephorus I resettled an unknown number of soldiers in regions overrun by Slavic populations. According to Theophanes, among those who had to move were both poor and wealthy soldiers (τῶν μὲν πενήτων ἐν τούτοις [...] τῶν δὲ ὑπερεχόντων). Apparently, some of them had to sell their estates (τὰς τούτων ὑποστάσεις πιπράσκεσθαι), others grieved on their fathers’ graves, and others “could not bring along those assets that were difficult to move, and so witnessed the loss of properties acquired by parental toil”. According to the author, some even “hanged themselves to be delivered from such a sorry pass”.<sup>88</sup> It is plausible that movable assets

84. *Vie de saint Luc le stylite*, p. 200<sup>1-5</sup>. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 146-149; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 45; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Πληροφορίες*, cited n. 77, p. 531-545.

85. *Vie de saint Luc le stylite*, p. 201<sup>14-15</sup>.

86. *Ibidem*, p. 201<sup>17-20</sup>.

87. *Life of St. Maria the Younger* (BHG 1164), *De S. Mariae Iunioris matrona Bizyae in Thracia*, (AASS Nov.), IV, p. 692-705, here p. 703 (ch. 30); M. KAPLAN, *La place des soldats*, p. 49.

88. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, cited n. 76, p. 486<sup>10-22</sup>. See J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 50 and n. 87; IDEM, “Evil Deeds”, p. 247, 256; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 38; P. NIAVIS, *The*

referred to in the text were working animals such as ploughing oxen, or perhaps herds of sheep and goats that would also have to be sold, as it would be difficult to bring them along great distances. But the “poverty” of those soldiers is only framed in comparison with the wealthier soldiers and has nothing to do with the formal definition of poverty found in the legislation, as it is clear that those soldiers were not “poor”. Once again, the distinction between “wealthy” and “poor” seems to depend on the abundance of wealth, not its complete absence.

The next measure of emperor Nicephorus I regarding the soldiers relies on the joint fiscal liability of the peasants. He ordered that the poor be enlisted and equipped by the co-villagers, pay in addition 18.5 gold coins to the fisc, and share the public tax.<sup>89</sup> Considering that for Theophanes “the poor” is also a cliché for signaling the misfortune that befell peasant landholdings, we may as well doubt whether these new soldiers were poor. However, it is clear that a single soldier is conscripted, and his equipment and maintenance became the burden of his co-villagers. The text offers no clear clues as to whether the soldier paid his share of the 18.5 coins or was exempted from the shared fiscal liability of the village, or even if he belonged to the village community at all, although this is implied. Perhaps, then, this was one reason for Theophanes’ grumbling; the soldier would enjoy the privileges of the service while his co-villagers were burdened with

*Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802-811)* (Historical Monographs 3), Athens 1987, p. 80-81, 86-89; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 237, 245; J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 25-28; R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 198-199; L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 746-747.

89. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, cited n. 76, p. 486<sup>24-26</sup>. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, trans. C. MANGO and R. SCOTT with the assistance of G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997, p. 667, and 669 n. 4 for comments. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 20; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 62-64; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 50; R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 198-200; M. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 636; P. NIAVIS, *The Reign*, cited n. 88, p. 68-74; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 24-25; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 39, 137-138; IDEM, *Role*, p. 983; L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 747-751; S. COSENTINO, *Land and Military Service in the Ninth Century: a Note on Nicephorus and Charlemagne*, in A. BEIHAMMER, B. KRÖNUNG and C. LUDWIG (eds.), *Prosopon Rhomaikon. Ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (Millennium Studien 68), Berlin-Boston, MA 2017, p. 211-220, here p. 212-214, 215-217; IDEM, *Public Power, Military Service and Land in the Early Middle Ages: East and West*, in A. KOLIA-DERMITZAKI, V. SEIRINIDOU, S. PLOUMIDIS and M. LOUKAKI (eds.), *Ιστορίες πολέμων στη νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη. Μια προσέγγιση στη διαχρονία. Πρακτικά διεθνούς επιστημονικού συνεδρίου με αφορμή τα 100 χρόνια από τους Βαλκανικούς Πολέμους (1912-1913) (Αθήνα, 7-9 Νοεμβρίου 2013)* (Ιστορήματα 6), Athens 2018, p. 209-225, here p. 217-218. Lemerle takes very literally the text to mean that “in every χωρίον the peasants who had fallen into a poverty that prevented them from exploiting their land, and consequently paying their fiscal charges, were enrolled in the army”.

its financing. It seems that emperor Nicephorus I transferred to the village the shared liability for the expenses of the soldier which we have seen in the context of the *oikos*.<sup>90</sup>

But this report reveals too little to reach definitive conclusions. There is no way of knowing whether the peasants were burdened once, or if the impost was a yearly obligation. We also do not know whether the soldier was liable for reimbursing his co-villagers with the earnings of his service; while this might seem self-evident in the context of a single household pictured in the *Ecloga*, this practice seems much more complicated when applied to entire communities. Following the same logic, we might as well question whether these peasants that funded a *strateia* were counted among the *stratiotai* or were simple taxpayers; in other words, whether they were seen as joint holders of the *strateia* or not. The text is inconclusive regarding this aspect, because the author aimed at underscoring the people's misfortune that befell them *ab nihilo*, not at highlighting their actual social position and status. If we consider that the sum mentioned in the text refers to the soldiers' equipment and maintenance for a year, and that, as it is reasonable to think, the same sum was not delivered in the next year because a regular soldier can be fully equipped only once, then it seems that this is a reference to the *strateia* as a fiscal burden. Theophanes must have been referring to a tax.<sup>91</sup>

This particular method of equipping the soldiers is called *syndosis* in *De Cerimoniis*. To my knowledge, this is a unique mention in Byzantine sources, since the burden of equipping the soldiers is called *strateia* in the monastic archives. According to *De Cerimoniis*, the "civic taxpayers" (ἀπὸ συνδόσεως τῶν ἀστικῶν) of Constantinople were asked to pay for the equipment of twelve hundred soldiers.<sup>92</sup> From this tax certain *paroikoi* of

90. J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Das Finanzwesen*, p. 119-123; IDEM, *Die Entstehung*, p. 42-44; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 615-616, 619; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 4-5; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 22-25, 51-53; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 25-26; M. WHITBY, *Recruitment*, cited n. 2, p. 77-80; C. ZUCKERMAN, *Learning from the Enemy*, cited n. 6, p. 94-97, 101-105, 108-109; IDEM, *L'armée*, p. 170-172; S. COSENTINO, *Public Power*, cited n. 89, p. 221-222. The measure brings to mind the ancient *adaeratio* of the conscription, meaning the delivery of money instead of new recruits, but its application is fundamentally different. In late antiquity the levy of troops burdened villages, cities, and great and small landowners who could levy recruits on their own, depending on the size of their property. A soldier was generally valued at 30 gold coins.

91. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 18-23; J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 38-39; IDEM, "Evil Deeds", p. 248-249, 252-253, 256-257; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 39 and n. 40; M. KAPLAN, *La place des soldats*, p. 52.

92. J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice*, p. 213<sup>144-145</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, IV.2, p. 829-830. The *astikoi* here are probably the professionals, merchants and guild members, not simply civilians, who are generally signaled as *politikoi* in the sources of the time.

the great monasteries were exempted in the 11th-12th centuries. The tax is unsurprisingly called βάρος (tax burden) or ἐπήρεια (impost).<sup>93</sup> Between the 11th and 12th centuries, Ioannes Zonaras, revisiting the measures of emperor Nicephorus II Phocas which he characterized as “injuries” (κακώσεις), perhaps as a witticism evoking the original “injuries” of Nicephorus I, noted how this emperor revised the charges of those subjected to various *strateiai* and qualified them as “military function” (στρατιωτικὸν λειτουργημα).<sup>94</sup> This passage is, however, more complicated than it seems at first. While the individuals registered for service in the *dromos* were in reality *exkoussatoi* and the soldiers actually serving were privileged, meaning that they were exempted from the payment of secondary taxes, those paying a tax funding a soldier, such as monastic *paroikoi*, were obviously not privileged. This is the reason why this type of tax, the *strateia* (called *syndosis* in the *De Cerimoniis*), which is implied in the *Chronography* of Theophanes Confessor and is made explicit in various archival documents, is included in the lists of tax exemptions from the 11th century onwards, because the vast majority of tax payers would be liable to pay it unless they had received a special exemption.<sup>95</sup>

In 10th-century sources we get a glimpse of how diverse the social base supporting the *strateia* and single soldiers could be. The texts in reality betray how complicated the evolution of the soldiers’ self-funding system became over time, as it has not been excluded from the laws regulating the hereditary transmission of properties. At this point, it is worth noting that the term *stratitika ktemata* is found for the first time in an addition to a later edition of Novel 2 of emperor Romanos I Lakapenos which seems to date from a time after ca. 950, and perhaps even from the 11th century.<sup>96</sup> The original version of Novel 5 of emperor Constantine VII calls these

93. *Actes de Lavra*, I, cited n. 62, no. 56<sup>89-92</sup>, and see no. 58<sup>8-10</sup>.

94. IOANNIS ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, cited n. 7, p. 506<sup>1-9</sup>. Several charges are mentioned in this extract, among them the *strateiai* of the war fleet and of the *dromos* (πλευστικά and δρομικά στρατεῖαι), but the second part seems to refer to joint or contributory *strateiai*. Thus Zonaras seems to confound two different fiscal functions for making a point against Nicephorus II Phocas. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 17, 21-22; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 278-279; T. KOLIAS, *Νικηφόρος Β΄ Φωκάς (963-969). Ο στρατηγός αυτοκράτωρ και το μεταρρυθμιστικό του έργο* (Historical Monographs 12), Athens 1993, p. 67-68, 71-78.

95. See N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Fiscalité*, p. 114-115, 119-120 and 293 tableau I. Monasteries were normally exempted from paying the *strateia*, therefore the exemption is found in the chrysobulls preserved in the corresponding archives.

96. See the comments of *Novelles des empereurs*, p. 49-59, esp. 57-58, and no. 2.Π<sup>97-103</sup>. The addition to version II of Novel 2 relies on Novel 5 of Constantine VII. While the latter defines forty years prescription for the sale of military properties (*ibidem*, no. 5<sup>64-66</sup>), the addition recognizes only thirty years.

properties “military possessions” (στρατιωτικαὶ κτήσεις) or “immobile possessions” (ἀκινήτους κτήσεις) or simply “real estate” (ἀκίνητα),<sup>97</sup> and confirms that the property “supporting the *strateiai*” (τὰ ἐξ ὧν αἱ στρατεῖαι ὑπηρετοῦνται κτήματα)<sup>98</sup> might not be equal in size to the family estate. It was also possible that one only “serves part of a *strateia*” (εἰ δὲ μέρει στρατείας ὑπηρετεῖται τις). This means that a single *strateia* could be supported by a group of estates owned by different owners. In this case each piece of land would also have been listed as a “military land”, and each of the owners would be serving “part of a *strateia*” and would be considered a “soldier” precisely because, as owner of the *strateia*, he would enjoy the same benefits as those individuals delivering the actual service. According to this stipulation, such landholders were considered wealthy (or not) according to the surface of the part of the land that funds the *strateia* (κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τυποῦσθαι).<sup>99</sup> At first, this recalls the measure of Nicephorus I commented above; however, as we have seen, the equipment of soldiers under that emperor should be classified as a special tax, not as co-funding of the soldier’s needs on a regular basis.

It follows that the content of Novel 5 of Constantine VII is consistent with the laws of the *Ecloga*, where it is clear that only one part of the household supported the soldier’s service. We have seen that the head of the house, father or grandfather, could assign a portion of his estate to fund the soldier’s service. But such parceling of the land as is attested in the Novels of the 10th century could as well have been the result of hereditary transmission practiced over centuries since the promulgation of the *Ecloga*.<sup>100</sup> At the end of the 11th century, Michael Attaleiates, trying to elucidate what the legislator meant with “part of the *strateia*”, explained that perhaps it concerned “a fourth or a half”.<sup>101</sup> Apparently no evidence from Byzantium

97. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>18-19,47,50,57,112</sup>.

98. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>10-11</sup>. The new laws introduce the prohibition of alienation of this part. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 119-120; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 247-249.

99. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>62-63</sup>. See on the difference between *στρατιώτης* and *στρατενόμενος*: H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 13; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 124-125, 152-153; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 43-44, 55-56; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 32; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 280-281; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 82-89; T. KOLIAS, *Νικηφόρος Β΄*, cited n. 94, p. 69-70; IDEM, *Θέση*, p. 22-23; D. M. GÓRECKI, *Strateia*, p. 163-164; EADEM, *Peri ton stratioton*, p. 142-145. *Strateuomenos* in the 10th century is usually the one who actually fulfills the obligation. The word is used with the same meaning in the *Ecloga*, as we have seen above, but there is no distinction from the *stratiotai* in that text. See J. MOSSAY and P. YANNOPOULOS, *L’article XVI, 2*, cited n. 63, p. 50-52.

100. See J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 80; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 58-59.

101. MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, *Poima nomikon*, eds. I. and P. ZEPOS, *Μιχαὴλ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ Ἀτταλειώτου Ποίημα νομικὸν ἥτοι πραγματικὴ νομοθεσία κατὰ κέλυσιν τοῦ*



survives regarding this aspect, but a document coming from Bari in Italy, dated to 1017, attests to hereditary transmission of properties sustaining a *strateia* which were inherited through the female line. One of the heirs, Mele, gave his share to a cousin, Simeon, in a surviving agreement concluded under the supervision of the *krites* of Italy, Ioannes. Before it was reunited thanks to the act of Mele, the *strateia* was apparently jointly held by two cousins, the aforementioned Simeon and Ursus, who bequeathed his share to Mele.<sup>102</sup> Cosentino, who commented extensively on the document, noted that it is possible to follow its evolution over four generations. The estate sustaining the military service was apparently initially held by a single individual. Later, both heirs, Mele and Simeon, owned additional property that was not subjected to the *strateia*. There can be no doubt that the second holder of the *strateia* transmitted it to his sons-in-law via dowries and inheritance of his daughters, since, apparently, he had no sons.<sup>103</sup>

Another group with a close association to the military service and soldiers were the contributors (*συνδότες*). It appears that the contributors were soldiers themselves, and this distinguishes them from those called to pay the *syndosis* attested in *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine VII. Our clearest mention of the *syndotai* comes from the same work. The emperor explained that no recruit was allowed to contribute to the soldiers' obligations (*τήρωνας συνδότης*), unless these were impoverished; the soldiers were therefore obliged to deliver the service themselves (*μόνοπροσώπως*), but they were sent to a more lightly armed corps (*ἀδορεύονται*) when even this measure did not re-establish their *strateia*. Their land was thereafter held by the state and preserved for the soldier in case he managed to recover financially.<sup>104</sup> This extract is in close relation with Novel 5 of Constantine VII where the

βασιλέως Μιχαήλ τοῦ Δοῦκα, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, Athens 1931 (repr. Darmstadt 1962), VII, p. 409-497, here p. 493: Εἰ δὲ μὴ ὀλόκληρον στρατεῖαν ἔχει τις, ἀλλὰ μέρος ὑπηρετεῖ ταύτης, τυχὸν τέταρτον ἢ ἥμισυ, κατ' ἀναλογίαν τοῦ μέρους τυποῦσθαι καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν καὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς διατιμῆσεως.

102. S. MÉTIVIER (ed.), *Économie et société à Byzance (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Textes et documents* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 24), Paris 2007, p. 284: "Or il y a longtemps je me suis entendu avec Siméon fils d'André, cousin de cet Ursus de la cité de Bari, qui faisait avec lui la *strateia* en raison de l'héritage de sa mère qui était la sœur de la susdite Sifa".

103. S. COSENTINO, *Atto pugliese*, p. 48-51, 56-58, 62-63.

104. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 695<sup>18</sup>-696<sup>9</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 385<sup>85-96</sup>. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 119 n. 2; D. M. GÓRECKI, *Strateia*, p. 163, 168, 169-171; EADEM, *Periton stratioton*, p. 143-144; *Novelles des empereurs*, p. 145; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 243; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 73-74; EADEM, *Les biens militaires*, cited n. 44, p. 223-224; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 426-427, and see S. COSENTINO, *Land and Military Service*, cited n. 89, p. 214-215; *Livre des cérémonies*, IV.2, p. 922. *De Cerimoniis* relates that the soldier received the *adoreia*, which has been taken to mean either enlistment to a lighter-armed corps, as explained by Constantine VII, or complete *astrateia*, discharge from

emperor clearly states that the land of impoverished soldiers was still considered as military and therefore should be saved from alienation.<sup>105</sup> In this law the *syndotai* are also called *synaichmoi*, fellow soldiers in-line (an ancient term denoting fellow soldiers in-line of the ancient phalanx). In the absence of heirs and distant relatives who could inherit the soldier's land, the *syndotai* were given first the right to claim the estate if it had been unlawfully alienated. Next, tax contributors of the community who were soldiers themselves were also given the same right to replenish their wealth depending on their needs; significantly, they are called "poorer soldiers" in the text (τοὺς συντελεστὰς ἀπορωτέρους στρατιώτας). The *synaichmoi* are given precedence because they belonged to the same unit as, or fought side by side with, the impoverished soldier, while the *syntelestai* were simple tax contributors of the same village community. Only in their absence could the civil taxpayers (πολιτικοὶ συντελεσταί) claim the property, "in order for the tax not to lapse". The civil fiscal contributors in this context can only be those peasants whose properties were not listed as military, but they too were called to take up the burden of sustaining a *strateia*, purely for fiscal and not for military reasons. Here it may be implied that they would reimburse the state for the missing service while benefiting from the exploitation of the abandoned military lands, but no military service per se is implied (unless of course they wished to take up the obligation themselves).<sup>106</sup>

While the alienation of the "military lands", the main subject of Novel 5, is not part of the present study, several interesting conclusions may be drawn from this law. Clearly, what was at stake in the case of impoverished soldiers was not the military service per se but the maintenance of the lands that funded it under the same status of "military lands". This is understandable because these properties were kept under a privileged status. As the *syndotai* themselves were also soldiers, they served a different *strateia* and were called to help the impoverished soldier only in extraordinary cases. In other words, the *syndotes* in this case was not the joint holder of a single *strateia*, but acted as a co-contributor, or financial guarantor, potentially taking up some of the expenses of the impoverished soldier or even helping

the military service and the right not to campaign. See *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, I, Leipzig 1928, no. A.506: Ἀδορατία. ἡ ἀστρατεία. κυρίως δέ, ἡ ἀργία.

105. See *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>70-75</sup>.

106. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>98-105</sup>. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 13-14; H. KÖPSTEIN, *Stratitoten*, p. 90-91; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 121-122, 125, 134-136; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 27-30, 64-67; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 49-50; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 30-31; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 123-124; D. M. GÓRECKI, *Peri ton stratitoton*, p. 147-152; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 243-244, 248-249; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 52-54; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 408-410.

him to pay his taxes. For this reason the law predicted that a *syndotes* might inherit, or take up for exploitation, a poor soldier's properties, and only in this case the service of the poor soldier would lapse.<sup>107</sup> This means that soldiers actually having *syndotai* was not the rule, but an exception. Only in the absence of such co-contributors were the taxpayers not listed for military obligation called.

However, two important considerations arise. First, we can imagine that the civil taxpayers were in practice the co-villagers, peasants living in the same village as the soldier, and that they thus became fiscally liable for the *strateia*. This solution was facilitated by the joint liability of the peasants for the payment of the taxes of their community. Second, in the case of jointly held *strateiai* (εἰ δὲ μέρει στρατείας ὑπηρετεῖται τις), the methods that we have seen in the *Ecloga* were inevitably applied. In other words, a joint *strateia* would have been hardly manageable in a community context, but not if the soldier had one, two or even more contributors; these would help the soldier to pay for the expenses of his *strateia*, and the soldier could agree with them on the terms of their reimbursement. However, while the cases described in the *Ecloga* concern the family and its members, the Novel concerns partners; it is therefore more correct to speak of society (κοινωνία) meaning the joint sharing of expenses and profits. *Basilica* XII, 1, 5 states clearly: “[a *koinonia*] can be formed for all things, commerce and taxes and property, and even between those of unequal wealth; because what the poorer lacks in money, he will make up with his zeal”.<sup>108</sup> Under these terms, the *koinonia* a soldier was obliged to form with another taxpayer could be dissolved after it served its purpose.

We may, then, classify the joint holders of a *strateia*, meaning those who funded only a part of it, under the status of *koinonia*; they jointly funded and shared the profits of the actual service of a soldier who would then have to recompense them for their expenses. Recently Cosentino drew attention to the fact that similar arrangements were made in the West by Charlemagne. The contributors were mostly of equal financial capacity, but it was also foreseen that five taxpayers should fund the military service of a sixth individual by paying five *solidi* each.<sup>109</sup> However, our information – the definition of a *koinonia* in the *Basilica* and the evidence in Novel 5 – suggests that in Byzantium the actual soldier could be one of the contributors.

107. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 7<sup>35-41</sup>.

108. See *Basilica* XII, 1, 5.

109. See S. COSENTINO, Land and Military Service, cited n. 89, p. 213-214, 217; IDEM, Public Power, cited n. 89, p. 216-221.

Indeed, it indicates that the Byzantine application of this method was freer and that each taxpayer, or farmer, could share the expenses and profits of a *strateia* in direct proportion to his own contribution. In these cases – either that of the civil contributors or that of a joint *strateia* – the exemptions would fall on the part of the land that had actually been registered as “military land”.

## 5. – THE SOCIAL RAMIFICATIONS OF THE *STRATEIA* IN THE 10TH CENTURY

From the analysis attempted above it follows that the sources signal the existence of various groups of taxpayers associated with the *strateia*. Some, themselves soldiers, delivered the actual service, and some only contributed funding. While the legislation of the 10th century makes no clear class distinctions among the various groups – i.e., we do not have any data on the status of the *syndotai* apart from the fact that they were not “poor” themselves – and sees them as a large social group subjected to the same rules, it becomes clear that, based on the size of their property, not all soldiers belonged to the same social “class”. The 10th-century governments were at first not fully aware of this reality. In fact, Novel 4, promulgated in 947, makes this very clear: “If an alienation has taken place by the superior (τῶν περηφανεστέρων) of the group (τῆς ὁμάδος: of the village) to equals (ἴσους) or somewhat inferior in office (ὑποβεβηκότος ἐν ἀξιώμασι), such as *Scholarioi* to soldiers, or by the humblest (τῶν εὐτελεστέρων) to those who slightly exceed them (μικρὸν ὑπερέχοντας), such as civil [taxpayers] not subjected to *strateia* to *Scholarioi* or to those who serve in the *sekreta*, the alienation that did, or shall take place, shall stand”.<sup>110</sup>

It is obvious, then, that until the middle of the 10th century the governments were not particularly disturbed by social divisions either among soldiers or between soldiers and simple peasants. At the same time, the soldiers generally stood socially higher than the rest of the farmers as a group, as this extract demonstrates. This was about to change. In this context it is important to underscore that the different handling of the civil taxpayers and the soldiers resulted in the deepening of social differentiation in the local communities. In fact, later laws do not show a homogeneous group characterised by its service to the state, but rather a social diversity that may have run much deeper than we initially thought.

110. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 4<sup>80-84</sup>.

Novel 5 makes it clear that not all soldiers were of the same status and this is reiterated in the laws that follow. They speak about impoverished soldiers (ἀπορώτεροι), those “who have been relegated to absolute poverty” (εἰς ἐσχάτην καταντήσαντας ἀπορίαν), and those who have “many immovable possessions” (πολλὰς ἀκινήτους κτήσεις, or εὐπορώτεροι).<sup>111</sup> But it is also clear that social and economic superiority was defined in relation to other soldiers and landowners of the same locality; the laws, therefore, do not reflect an absolute and irreversible social condition. An officer (οἱ ἄρχεῖν τοῦ στρατοῦ λαχόντες)<sup>112</sup> was always deemed superior to a simple soldier, and so was a soldier of the professional guard regiments, the *Scholarioi*, who were classified among the “powerful” at this time.<sup>113</sup> Wealth distinctions among soldiers in the context of the alienation of small landholdings are dealt with specifically in Novel 5 chapter B3 of emperor Constantine VII and in Novel 7 of Romanus II.<sup>114</sup> Cases of extreme poverty of the soldiers had been noted; some soldiers had even been turned into *paroikoi* (dependent cultivators) while remaining on the land they had alienated.<sup>115</sup> In any case, the alienation of the land that preserved the soldiers’ service meant that the numbers of the army may have diminished at this time.

But in the Novels, this last aspect surprisingly evokes the creation of bonds among the soldiers that seem to border on clientele relations. It is not clear whether those who took soldiers into their own service (εἰς ἰδίαν ὑπηρέσειαν) also belonged to the army, but the legislator acknowledged that these soldiers may well have been detached to that service by their own commanders. This was accepted if they were assigned to this duty, but not if they came from the ranks.<sup>116</sup> When the *strateia* was served by the members of the soldier’s family or his *syndotai* after the soldier had fallen into poverty, the state did not care whether he entered the service of a powerful individual. But if that individual was aware that he was holding an active soldier, then he would have to pay full reimbursement and a fine for the service that was not rendered.<sup>117</sup> This stipulation is quite similar to a clause

111. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>57.102</sup>; no. 6<sup>5.10</sup>; no. 7<sup>42-43</sup>. See P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 116 n. 1.

112. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>122-123</sup>.

113. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>39-40</sup>; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 100; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 414. See the salaries of the officers and professional soldiers in J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 127-128. And see M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 235; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 46-47.

114. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>106-111</sup> and no. 7, especially paragraphs A2, Γ1-3.

115. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>139-148</sup> and no. 7<sup>42-43</sup>.

116. *Ibidem*, no. 5<sup>149-157</sup>. It was not allowed that they come “from outside the army”, meaning the village community. See M. KAPLAN, *La place des soldats*, p. 50.

117. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 7<sup>38-39.42-55</sup>; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 122-124, 127-128; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 282-283; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 74-76; J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 238-239; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 421-422. It is also

found in the *Tactica* of Leo VI, where those who prevented the soldiers from fulfilling their duty were condemned and fined. The fines were determined according to one's position in the army, starting from the generals and moving on to the thematic commanders.<sup>118</sup> Both these provisions suggest the creation of clientele relations between soldiers and their officers, or soldiers and officers with individuals outside the army.

Already in Novel 5 emperor Constantine VII condemns particularly strongly those officers who followed their higher commanders' "habits" and accepted bribes for granting exemption from campaigning (ἀσπρατεία).<sup>119</sup> More hints come from other sources: while emperor Leo VI's recommendation that soldiers must be sustained by other farmers fits well in the frame of the joint *strateia* or the *strateia* owned by a single household with more than one co-owner,<sup>120</sup> emperor Nicephorus II Phocas claimed that soldiers, their *hyperetoumenoi* and "all their people" should enjoy the same tax exemptions.<sup>121</sup> Leo VI was therefore more conventional: his claim that soldiers should have "others in their households (ἐν τοῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις) who do the farm work and are able to provide the required items for the complete equipping and arming of a soldier" explicates his recommendation that a general should choose the "wealthy" (εὐπόρους) among the soldiers of his army. But according to Nicephorus II Phocas, even the *hyperetoumenoi* were soldiers (τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν). While it seems at first plausible that they too sustained a *strateia* and were thus the same as the joint contributors, the phrase chosen, "the soldiers who serve them" rather indicates that the *hyperetoumenoi* themselves did not necessarily belong to the army; indeed, if this was the case, they would already enjoy the same tax exemptions as the soldiers as holders of a joint *strateia*. Thus it appears that Nicephorus II Phocas claimed soldier and *strateia* status for a group of people that served the soldiers, even if their properties were not registered as military lands.<sup>122</sup>

defined that those who accepted a poor soldier unable to sustain himself would be free of charges as these burdened the person who had driven the soldier away from his estate.

118. *Tactica*, p. 152<sup>82-87</sup>; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 268; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 221.

119. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>124-125</sup>.

120. *Tactica*, p. 46<sup>5-14</sup>. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 5; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine*, p. 143-144; H. KÖPSTEIN, *Stratitoten*, p. 81-84; W. TREADGOLD, *The Military Lands*, p. 622-623; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 264-266; T. KOLIAS, *Θέση*, p. 19-20; W. TREADGOLD, *Byzantium*, p. 175; M. KAPLAN, *La place des soldats*, p. 47-48; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary*, p. 139-141.

121. *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 109<sup>29-30</sup>; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 142; T. KOLIAS, *Θέση*, p. 23-24.

122. *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 266-268.



If this interpretation is correct, then Nicephorus II Phocas' thinking process was more advanced with a view to the benefit of his own class. In *De uelitatione bellica* Phocas claimed that a general should make sure that the soldiers receive regularly "their wages and their supplies and other gifts and benefits, more than are customary or stipulated, with the purpose that, once they are not wanting, they will be able to acquire in addition the best mounts and the other items of their armour".<sup>123</sup> The "perfect freedom" which Phocas thought that they should possess, which "has been preserved and maintained for them from the beginning and since ancient times", relates to their tax exemptions and their privileged status.<sup>124</sup>

*De Cerimoniis* of emperor Constantine VII also contains information on what appears to be the establishment of new households by converted captives, or the entry of Saracens as sons-in-law in "military" or "civil" houses. Lemerle noted that the main concern of this elaborate stipulation does not seem to be military recruitment, but "the peopling and cultivation of the countryside". However, the military aspect of this extract is dominant throughout, and the stipulations relating to the value of the military lands and to the contributors of soldiers (*syndotai*) that we have seen above are reiterated.<sup>125</sup> Specifically, when prisoners (of Saracen or perhaps other origin) were established in a thematic periphery, the *protonotarios*, who was the dignitary in charge of the logistics, should deliver to them a fixed quantity of grain as their own supply and for sowing, and in addition a small payment of three gold coins and in addition six for a pair of oxen. Two cases are emphasised. In the first, a "military" or "civil" household (καὶν τε στρατιωτικὸς, καὶν τε πολιτικὸς ὁ οἶκος) is exempted from the payment of the *synone* and *kapnikon* for three years after the entry of a prisoner as a son-in-law.<sup>126</sup> The second case, however, concerns those who received land instead of joining a pre-existing household: they too were released from the payment of the *synone* and *kapnikon* and "all state charges" (ἀπὸ πάσης δουλείας τοῦ δημοσίου) for three years. While the *synone* and the *kapnikon* were basic taxes at this time (the main tax being the *telos* or *kanon*), it appears that in the latter case the exemption was expanded, apparently because a new household was being founded.<sup>127</sup>

123. *Ibidem*, p. 109<sup>22-26</sup>.

124. *Ibidem*, p. 109<sup>29-30,31-32</sup>.

125. *Livre des cérémonies*, IV.2, p. 918-920; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 133-134. See M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 35.

126. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 694<sup>22-695</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 383<sup>66-75</sup>.

127. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 695<sup>9-14</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 383<sup>76-80</sup>. See D. M. GÓRECKI, *Peri ton stratioton*, p. 143. The *synone* and the *kapnikon* are two basic secondary taxes that

Oikonomides, by disassociating the first part of the stipulation from the rest of the text suggested that it concerned the settlement of prisoners on state lands, which would mean, in his analysis, that they became *douloparoikoi* (serfs) of the state, his strongest argument being that apparently they received no land.<sup>128</sup> However, it should not escape our attention that allotment of land was commonplace: it is already mentioned in the late Roman legislation,<sup>129</sup> and emperor Nicephorus I resettled soldiers presumably by allotting land to them. In the case of our stipulation, allotment of land is perhaps suggested by the mention of the *protonotarios* delivering the surface corresponding to the number of oxen distributed.<sup>130</sup> On the other hand, in the first case it is clear that exemption from the *synone* and the *kapnikon* was an additional motive for military or civil households to welcome prisoners into their families. These households apparently already possessed land.

The middle Byzantine state had every reason to encourage the households to maintain their capacity to uphold the military service (in the case of military or non-military houses) or to register their land as military holdings. Such motives as these found in the *De Cerimoniis* would have been indeed hard to ignore, but there is no way of knowing for certain that such a measure was applied already in the 7th and 8th centuries. The mention of the *oikoi* in the second part of the stipulation, which vaguely recalls the *Ecloga*, indicates that it might have been modeled on an ancient text; thus we might consider the possibility that *De Cerimoniis* speaks about a fiscal practice that was already ancient in the 10th century, and in any case it predates the Novels (especially no. 5), which solely mention military properties, not *oikoi*. Nevertheless, in the last part of the stipulation the *oikos* is not mentioned because it did not exist yet; this condition therefore concerned the establishment of a new "military" household and secured the privileged initiation of the service.<sup>131</sup>

normally burdened the entire agrarian population; for this reason, they often became the object of exemption granted to individual tax payers or entire groups. See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 70-72; IDEM, *Role*, p. 997; J. HALDON, *Synone*, cited n. 48, p. 231-232.

128. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Οι βυζαντινοί δουλοπάροικοι*, *Σύμμεικτα* 5, 1983, p. 295-302, here p. 301-302.

129. *C.Th.*, VII, 20, 3 and 20, 8. In the *Codex*, there is no restriction of the surface of the land, and no fixed amounts are included. Therefore, the land would have to correspond to the number of oxen delivered to the veterans, which in its turn depended on their position in the army.

130. About the *zeugarion* as a measure for the surface of land see E. SCHILBACH, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970, p. 67-70; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 270-271.

131. See J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 247-248, for cases of establishing new households particularly from different ethnic groups. S. COSENTINO, *Atto pugliese*, p. 53-55, brings this part of *De Cerimoniis* in relation with the following stipulation, which repeats the regulation

The double connection of the service with the soldier and his land and the emergence of military holdings might have helped the state in its managerial decisions as well. Since the military property was privileged because it belonged to the soldier, the state demanded the reimbursement of unfulfilled military obligations. This practice became increasingly common in the 10th century. In 949, the soldiers of the Thrakesion theme who did not campaign in Crete had to pay four coins each for their service. It has been suggested that the sum may not represent the actual amount each and every soldier had to pay,<sup>132</sup> but in any case it would have been gathered much more easily from the owners of a joint *strateia* than a single owner. Be that as it may, the figure is quite close to the reimbursement paid to the state by the soldiers of the Peloponnesos theme under Romanos I Lakapenos. *De administrando imperio* informs us that the theme had to deliver a thousand horses and a *kentenarion* of gold (7200 coins) for being relieved from the obligation to campaign. In order to collect this sum, every two “destitute” soldiers (παντελῶς ἄποροι) of the theme were charged with five coins, while all the rest should give to the state five gold coins each.<sup>133</sup> While the qualification “poor” in the text applies to soldiers in actual service, which was valued therefore as much as the sum mentioned, the amount per se could, if it corresponded to joint *strateiai*, very well be divided among its holders; if not, the sum of 2.5 coins would burden each soldier separately. In any case, not even the soldiers who could deliver 2.5 gold coins can be seen as “destitute” as the text claims.<sup>134</sup> This tariff is confirmed by other sources.<sup>135</sup> The amounts are close to the mobilization pay of soldiers, which

of the Novels about the total surface of the military lands and includes the specifics about the *adoreia*. Could this be a suggestion of the compiler of *De Cerimoniis* about the surface of the land that was to be delivered to the prisoners? This part of *De Cerimoniis* appears to serve as a guide for administrative employees.

132. J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice*, p. 40, 221<sup>52-53</sup>, 261, 306-307 and n. 265. See A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 462; H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 21; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 117-118, 119; IDEM, *Social Structure*, p. 109-110; IDEM, *Recruits*, p. 127; J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 126-127; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 398-399. It is still under discussion whether the information concerns the same event or not.

133. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, eds. G. MORAVCSIK and R. J. H. JENKINS, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio* (CFHB 1), Washington, DC 1967, p. 256<sup>199-204</sup> (ch. 51), 256<sup>12-15</sup> (ch. 52); *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio*, II, *Commentary*, ed. R. J. H. JENKINS, London 1962, p. 204-205.

134. H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 14; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 61; IDEM, *Military Lands*, p. 37-40, 48-50; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 124; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 131-133; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Social Structure*, p. 109.

135. *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDÈS (Archives de l'Athos 4), Paris 1968, no. 1. The document is dated to 1056. Konstantinos Phasoulas apparently paid the same sum for his *strateia*. He agreed to sell half of a piece of disputed land (eight *modioi*) to the monastery of

varied from two to four coins. The reimbursement for withholding a soldier from campaigning was set at three coins in Novel 5 and double as much if malicious intent was established. In this case, half of that sum was kept by the state as a fine.<sup>136</sup>

Based on these figures, Oikonomides suggested that a regular military holding of the 10th century was supposed to have, according to the legislation, the surface of about three hundred *modioi*, which corresponded, according to him, to the land that two pairs of oxen were able to plough. "In other words, a *stratiotes* was normally sustained by the work of two well-off farmer families, his own and another one that worked on his land, probably of a relative, but maybe of a salaried worker or even of a *paroi-kos*". He also suggested that "a poor *stratiotes* must have been himself a 'zeugaratos (having a couple of ploughing oxen) or the equivalent', that he worked with his family, and that the well-off *stratiotes* must have had double that". Oikonomides thus reached some rough conclusions regarding the land distribution of the Peloponnesos theme and the workforce of the country, which – he supposed – belonged primarily to the lay and ecclesiastical great landowners.<sup>137</sup> However, he did not take into account that the owners of three hundred *modioi* of first quality land "or the equivalent" would not be "poor", and he did not consider the possibility that these *strateiai* might as well have been joint *strateiai*. A *strateia* of joint contributors would not change the amount paid to the treasury because this corresponded to the service, not the land; the service was still delivered by one person and was evaluated by, and paid to, the state. Nevertheless, this changes the picture of land ownership in the theme of Peloponnesos, considerably increasing the number of free owners of small- and medium-size properties. If these suggestions are plausible then we might have to re-evaluate all that we know about the distribution of landholding in the provinces. This pattern can only be conceived of if we accept that the majority of joint and single holders of military land in the 10th century were, in fact, small or medium landholders. When examined under this light, such a picture explains the urgency of the situation expressed in 10th-century Novels on the alienation

St. Panteleemon of Thessalonike and to deliver its taxes. This condition suggests that Phasoulos kept the use of the land, and therefore its earnings, while he delivered solely its ownership to the monastery. Of course, the sixteen *modioi* that the monastery trespassed on might not represent the total of Phasoulos' assets. See M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 254.

136. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>139-145, 149-152</sup>. See J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice*, p. 247 table I, p. 258 table II, p. 302-305. Six coins are also defined in the case of relegating soldiers to the service of individuals without the general's authorization.

137. N. OIKONOMIDES, *Social Structure*, p. 113-115, 120, 123-124; see Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 415-416.

of small properties to the powerful, from which, apparently, not even the privileged holders of *strateiai* could escape. Being themselves small land-owners, they faced all the hardships that the majority of the farmers faced at this time, and it was equally difficult for them to get over the misfortunes of farming. This simple reality could lead to large scale alienations of military properties to the powerful.

It therefore becomes easier to understand why Novel 5 of emperor Constantine VII officially sanctioned the existing fiscal values of the land that could sustain a *strateia*. In the first stipulation of the law, it is even noted that these values were already predominant by custom and the immovable properties assigned to the funding of the *strateiai* (τὰ ἐξ ὧν αἱ στρατεῖαι ὑπηρετοῦνται κτήματα) were usually not sold. The values were determined at two to four *litrai* (or three to five according to *De Cerimoniis*). Later, Nicephorus II Phocas complemented the scale with the addition of the value of heavy cavalry *strateiai* (set at twelve *litrai*).<sup>138</sup> Plausibly, many of these *strateiai* by then belonged not to a single owner but several, because, if we take into account the 10th-century fiscal value rates, the owners of the corresponding land surfaces would be quite well off.<sup>139</sup> Therefore, determining the values of the “military lands” did not aim at preserving the integrity of the properties of single soldiers, but the integrity of the *strateia*, meaning the service, which, at this time, would have been financed by more than one owner. In other words, the owners themselves could be poor, but the *strateia* had to be maintained at the determined value for serving the expenses of an individual soldier, who might have been one of its owners.

138. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>9-18</sup>, no. 10<sup>15-22</sup>; *De Cerimoniis*, p. 695<sup>14-18</sup>; *Livre des cérémonies*, III, p. 383<sup>81-84</sup>. See H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 10-12, 16-19; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine*, p. 155, 161-162; H. KÖPSTEIN, *Stratioten*, p. 86-89; W. TREADGOLD, *The Military Lands*, p. 620-622, 624-625; IDEM, *Byzantium*, p. 173-179; T. KOLIAS, *Νικηφόρος Β'*, cited n. 94, p. 89-115; IDEM, *Θέση*, p. 25-26; J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 60-61; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 267-268; *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 279-280, 281-282; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 129-130, 152; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 118; IDEM, *Social Structure*, p. 111-112; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 242-244, 249-252; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 48-49; Ph. RANCE, *The Army*, p. 410-411; *Livre des cérémonies*, IV.2, p. 920-923.

139. One gold coin equaled one *modios* of first quality arable land and was imposed at a rate of 1:24. According to this rate, the minimum landholding of a soldier ideally corresponded to an acreage of a hundred and forty-four *modioi* (two litres of gold). Oikonomides calculated the income of a soldier ideally in possession of three hundred sixty *modioi* of arable land of first quality, which would correspond to a *strateia* of five litres of a cavalry soldier. The sum for buying out the military *strateia* – which he takes to be five coins – would represent a 22% increase of his taxes. See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 50 for the fiscal values and p. 131-133 for the example. Also see H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 22-24; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 240-241, 252-253.

## CONCLUSIONS: EVALUATING THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE 10TH CENTURY

Byzantium did not have a fixed notion of "society" in the modern sense that encompassed all people notwithstanding their status, position, and wealth. The basic "social" division was based on the service that the individuals could provide to the state, and wealth only became significant when this condition was absent.<sup>140</sup> The service, called generally *strateia*, was the condition from which social distinction derived; it was an artificial, although ancient construct and a political *modus operandi* designed to secure goods and services for the state. As such, the *strateia* brought with it a set of privileges; their preservation depended on the personal service to the state of the individuals who received them. Therefore, the dishonorable discharge from the body of servants was a severe punishment; in practical terms, it meant social degradation and loss of social status. The importance of the *strateia* for the functioning of the state explains why people with the *strateia* status made up one of the major components of society in the theoretical and legislative social models of the Byzantines in early and middle Byzantine times.

The soldiers constituted the vast majority within this very large and disparate group of public servants. For this reason, the state provided, early on, the legislative context framing the conditions of the service and associated privileges, and this became the foundation of military service. In other words, the position of the soldiers was founded on the *strateia* as a principle. This principle is outlined in laws preserved in the Corpus of Justinian I. Much of the discussion among Byzantinists so far has centered on the crucial problem of supplying and equipping the army in the 7th and 8th centuries, and on the issue of the "military lands" as evidenced mostly in the legislation of the 10th century. However, individual soldiers came from specific families, which had an impact on their personal status and rights as members of those families once they returned to them. Therefore, emperor Leo III built a legal frame that allowed to regulate the soldiers' obligations and privileges within the *oikos* at the level of financial management and inheritance while maintaining the specific laws on military *peculium*. The laws of the *Ecloga* on the soldiers in fact complement the existing legislation by effecting minor alterations regarding the military possessions in the context of the *oikos*. Of course, the state could, as *De Cerimoniis* suggests, allot a piece of land to landless soldiers newly recruited and to those foreigners who entered into

140. E. RAGIA, *Social Group Profiles*, p. 327-329.



state service one way or another, but this would not have necessarily been the rule. As the portion of the soldiers' patrimony funding their *strateia* already belonged to the *peculium castrense* according to the legislation (*CJ* XII, 37, 1) and the soldier benefited from privileges attached to the *strateia* (salaries, exemptions, etc.), the return of the soldiers to their homes would be an incentive for the households to benefit from it and consequently to become more involved in the system. Based on this, we may even assume that this development caused an increase in the numbers of new recruits in the 7th and the 8th centuries.<sup>141</sup> The "return" of the soldiers to their homes coincided with the founding of new military regiments, later known as themes, beginning from the late 7th century and all through the 8th century. In this process, it is almost self-evident that no new measure was required for such a change to take place; the shift from the early Byzantine system to the recruitment of soldiers sustained exclusively by their families could have happened immediately with the passing of the generation of soldiers who witnessed the withdrawal of the Byzantines from the eastern and northern fronts; or, as is highly plausible, there may have been a period of adjustment in which both the old and the new system functioned concurrently. In any case, this conclusion situates the double connection of land to soldiers and households in the second half of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century.<sup>142</sup>

The service was a personal condition and the cause for soldiers' privileges, as defined in pre-existing legislation, complemented in the 8th century with laws dealing with the soldier within the context of his own *oikos*. The maintenance of tax reliefs within the household created the need to replace the service when the soldier died. That the privileges could not be maintained if the service was not delivered was an inherent precondition of the *strateia*. Obligations related to it could be taken up by another member of the family or paid off to the state. It seems that no change affected this basic bond between the soldier, who was the one who benefitted from this exchange, and the state before the 10th century. It was then that the state confronted a different reality, namely the alienation of military properties to non-military

141. See R.-J. LILIE, *Reform*, p. 197-198. Lilie pays attention to *CJ* XII, 36, 15 and is led to the conclusion that the real difference between the 8th and the 10th century is that the soldiers were farmers themselves, but were supported by others in the early period.

142. See J. HALDON, *Recruitment*, p. 73-79; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 122-123, 263. Haldon explains the emergence of the thematic army through a permanent "garrisoning force" that was gradually assimilated to the local population; this view is not to be discarded because there would have been a transitional phase when the two systems overlapped. Also see N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recruits*, p. 135, 136, who thought that the obligation of service was transferred to the land as early as the beginning of the 8th century.

proprietors as well as the complete abandonment of military landholdings. The proposed solution consisted of two elements: firstly, to preserve the *strateia* as a land burden fulfilled by the successors of the initial owner. The state redefined the military service as a principle i.e., as a *strateia*, by reasserting its role as the sole source of privilege and protecting its funding. Many Byzantinists interpret this as the transfer of the military obligation to the land, and consequently as a break in the hereditary transmission of service, because it was foreseen that someone unrelated to the soldier could succeed him in the cultivation of the land. However, the claims by the soldier's kin or fellow soldiers to that piece of land<sup>143</sup> are reminiscent of the 8th-century principles outlined above: namely that the hereditary transmission of the land to the heirs of the soldier or the household would result in joint *strateiai* being much more common than we might at first think. Secondly, the state granted to the fleeing soldiers the opportunity to claim their land back even after forty years, irrespective of the status of the new owner, which underscored the right of the soldier and his heirs both on his land and the service, since a change of generation plausibly occurs within forty years. Thus, the close relationship that had been forged between the state, the soldier and the land over the centuries was still preserved and even enhanced: by claiming their land back, soldiers and their heirs did not just claim back the ownership of their property but also the privileged situation that derived from a *strateia*.<sup>144</sup>

This type of liberal treatment of the soldier in the context of a household left to the state a variety of choices when it came to handling the "military lands", that is the tax-exempted part of the soldier's assets that funded the service. It became clear above that this part did not necessarily coincide with the households' estate. While the *oikos* was unrestricted when it came to passing it on to its heirs, the part that funded the *strateia* would have to be kept in one piece because of its financing role. The soldier who was actually listed for military service would normally inherit such a plot. For this reason Constantine VII noted that it was the "habit" not to sell it.<sup>145</sup> The households or the fields that enjoyed this tax exemption would have to be thereafter carefully monitored by the fiscal services of the state. These simple facts, as well as the significant cost of the equipment and maintenance

143. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>19-28,94-105</sup>.

144. *Ibidem*, no. 2.II<sup>97-103</sup>, 5<sup>64-66</sup>. Initially, between 928/934 and 947, this period was set to 30 years. See *De uelitatione bellica*, p. 275-277; M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU, *Στρατολογία*, p. 40-41, 62-63, 67-77. And on the legal rights of the soldier on his land see D. M. GÓRCEKI, *Strateia*, p. 157-161, 171-176; EADEM, *Peri ton stratioton*, p. 139-142.

145. *Novelles des empereurs*, no. 5<sup>9-12</sup>.

of a soldier resulted in *strateiai* maintained by joint contributors shortly after these were integrated into the *oikoi*. Indeed, in the long run, maintaining the lands that funded the *strateia* as an undivided entity seems to have been more of an ideal than reality in Byzantine provinces. However, although a soldier could grant each of his children a part of his estate, it was the preservation of the land as a single tax-exempted unit that ensured the delivery of the service. All the pieces of land that had been transmitted in this way still were “military lands” even if their owners descended from the soldier, his son-in-law, brother or other. At the same time, this flexibility might have led many small farmers to form up smaller or greater *koinonai*, offer service and thus connect their land to it and enjoy the same exemptions, while only one of them served as a soldier. This aspect explains why the Novels speak about poor soldiers. Indeed, the individual owners of a part of a *strateia* could be “poor”, but the *strateia* as a unit had to be maintained at the value required for its funding. This value was enshrined in the legislation in the middle of the 10th century.

Thus, the image of the poor soldier arising from middle Byzantine narrative sources is not inaccurate, even if they replicate and adapt current narrative models. In reality, a wide variety of individuals belonging to all levels of the social spectrum were soldiers.<sup>146</sup> In this respect, it is significant that most sources do not differentiate the soldiers from farmers. Their privileged status, due mainly to their tax exemptions, secured favourable handling by the state and therefore a better resilience against the hardships of farming. However, the absence of specific protective legislation before the 10th century did not facilitate the preservation of their financial condition. The state became aware of the deep divides in the body of its armed servants too late and sought to amend them, again by expanding their privileges.<sup>147</sup> The soldiers did not, technically, belong to the upper social strata, but in their home towns and villages they formed a group apart because they were seen as superior compared to simple farmers and the legislation of the 10th century recognized them as such.<sup>148</sup> However, if they belonged to the professional guard regiments they joined the group of the powerful in 947 or a little later. Owning small or medium property listed as military would be the norm in Byzantine provinces by the 10th century at the latest. It is also in this context that stories relating to the difficulties of the heirs of deceased soldiers or to the loss of war horses are relevant.

146. J. HALDON, *Military Lands*, p. 56-60; IDEM, *Warfare*, p. 267; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 244-246, 253-255; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 54-55.

147. See J. HALDON, *Warfare*, p. 255-256.

148. H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches*, p. 9-10.

Among all those who are called *stratiotai* by the state at this time, first came those who were owners of land registered as "military land" in the fiscal registers. They could be wealthy, medium or even small property owners. Next came those who jointly funded a single *strateia* fulfilled by one of the joint holders, who was called *strateuomenos*.<sup>149</sup> These were in reality partners; if such a parceling of the military land occurred via inheritance, then the partners of a *strateia* would be blood relatives or bound by marriage as in the case of Bari.<sup>150</sup> Last came those who were called to co-contribute to the expenses of a *strateia*, who were soldiers themselves and were called *syndotai*. They were also called *synaichmoi*, or fellow soldiers in-line; they were obliged by the legislation of the 10th century to enter into partnership with soldiers facing financial difficulties. Ultimately, those who were reduced to extreme poverty in spite of all the measures taken for their relief received *adoreia*, or the right not to campaign in person. They were sent to lighter armed garrisons but their right to return to their land was preserved and the state prevented its alienation.<sup>151</sup>

Nevertheless, the expansion of the commutation system which is amply recorded at the same time in the sources led to new developments. Through this process, most soldiers eventually turned from privileged "*exkoussatoi*" to regular taxpayers. The commutation of the *strateia* would have a ripple effect on society, one which did not only affect the fighting soldiers but also their contributors and their families, thus cutting across wider social groups and local communities. By widely commuting the *strateia* in the 10th and 11th centuries, the state dissolved the basic centuries-old bond that it maintained with the "society" at large, since it was the *strateia* that generated distinction and wealth thanks to the privileges attached to it, and a "code of honor" that was respected by the state, the people involved, and even by those who did not participate in it. The *strateia* was a condition that everybody understood, acknowledged and appreciated for what it gave to individuals. Indeed, it can even be suggested that this development eventually led to a re-evaluation of the concept of "society" in general, with social distinction now originating in ideas that were previously underestimated in favour of the service, such as nobility, wealth, or personal bonds between individuals

149. This distinction between the *stratiotes* and the *strateuomenos* is, however, not universal, as *Novelles des empereurs*, p. 112 already observed. Both are found in the sources with the meaning of the man who fights. Also see above n. 99.

150. See J. CROOK, *Patria Potestas*, cited n. 53, p. 116-117. This type of joint landholdings farmed by different families is attested in ancient Rome and the legal frame surrounding them was included in the *Digesta* of Justinian I.

151. M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 246-247.

of different social standing that cut vertically through the Byzantine society. It becomes then clear why the sources place so much emphasis on the social position of the soldiers, since they were the group that connected the supreme authority with its subjects in the provinces.<sup>152</sup> Their role in their communities depended on the bonds they had forged with the state, as the *Life of St. Euthymios the Younger* clearly indicates. While soldiers could actually be part of the upper social stratum in their villages, social “superiority” remained, in the fluid social environment of the middle Byzantine times, a relative situation. In the long run, the commutation of the *strateia* did not help the preservation of the soldiers’ status: it was adapted to the new circumstances that these changes generated in the following era – namely the introduction of the *pronoia* system for the funding of the army.

In 928, following a harsh winter and a famine, the soldier St. Luke the Stylite opened up his family’s underground warehouses in the middle of the night and distributed to the poor of his district four thousand *modioi* of wheat, and in addition fodder for their oxen and other animals. That same year or a few years later, he pretended that he desired to become a bishop, and would therefore need money to buy the position in the city of Sebaste in Phrygia. His parents readily provided him with a hundred gold coins, which he distributed to the needy. Even if we do not need to take this round sum at face value, the story is meant to underscore the wealth of his family and the saint’s philanthropy, and hints at what he was leaving behind by becoming a monk.<sup>153</sup> He clearly came from a wealthy and noble family. But St. Luke the Stylite was the exception, not the rule among the soldiers.

### Abbreviations

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 A. ARJAVA, Paternal Power: A. ARJAVA, Paternal Power in Late Antiquity, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 88, 1998, p. 147-165.  
*Basilica: Basilica*, ed. H. J. SCHELTEMA and N. VAN DER WAL, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, Groningen-Djakarta-The Hague 1953-1988.  
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*CJ: Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. KRUEGER, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. II, *Codex Iustinianus*, Berlin 1892.

152. See L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium*, p. 627-629, 749-750.

153. *Vie de saint Luc le stylite*, p. 201-202; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes*, p. 240, 241; IDEM, *La place des soldats*, p. 49-50.

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# POLITICAL USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN BYZANTIUM: *ENCAENIA*, DEDICATION OF A CHURCH

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*In memory of Christian Thodberg (1929-2020)*

## INTRODUCTION

The Byzantine Church had three lectionaries: the Gospel lectionary, or *evangelion*, the Epistle lectionary, or *apostolos*, and the Old Testament lectionary, or *prophetologion*.<sup>1</sup>

“*Prophetologion*” is the modern name for the book containing the texts, or pericopes,<sup>2</sup> from the Old Testament that were recited in the Byzantine Church in the same solemn manner as the *evangelion* and the *apostolos*. Old and New Testament lectionaries featured identical musical signs, the *ekpho-netic*, or lectionary notation, written in red ink above and below the text in manuscripts from the 9th to the 14th centuries. These signs indicate the exact manner in which the Holy text was to be cantillated and the system of

List of abbreviations and index of manuscripts at the end of the article.

1. Parts of this article were originally presented in a talk at the University of Uppsala in 2004, but the main part is a revised and enlarged version of my talk at the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade 2016. I am grateful to Michael Stenskjær Christensen, Tinatin Chronz, Olivier Delouis, Mary Farag, Daniel Galadza, Oliver Gerlach, Derek Krueger, Gregory Myers, Georgios Petropoulos, Roger Scott, and Holger Villadsen for practical help, fruitful discussion and inspiration.

2. Slavic scholars refer to an Old Testament pericope as “paremija”, Western scholars may call it “prophet reading” (προφητεία), but both are misleading since a pericope may be taken from the Pentateuch or one of the Historical Books, as well as from Proverbs or a Prophet Book. *Prophetologion* manuscripts invariably refer to “reading” (ἀνάγνωσμα). The terms “pericope”, “lection”, and “reading” are interchangeable in the present article, and all Old Testament references, including Psalms, are to *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS.

application was the same in all three lectionaries.<sup>3</sup> The text of the medieval *prophetologion*, including the *ekphonic* notation, has been edited by the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae in 1939-1981, based on a large number of manuscripts and with the title *Prophetologium*.<sup>4</sup> Basically, the edition shows the Old Testament reading program of the 10th-11th century, which is in almost complete agreement with that of the *Typicon* of Hagia Sophia from the same period, edited by Juan Mateos in 1962-1963.

The program of Old Testament readings originated in Hagia Sophia, the cathedral church of Constantinople, but was eventually extended to all orthodox Chalcedonian churches in the Byzantine realm. Recitations from the Old Testament played an important role in the liturgy of Hagia Sophia, where texts from a limited number of biblical books were recited as readings. Selections from the Psalter, on the other hand, were sung as *prokeimena* or halleluia verses, but never recited as readings.

The Old Testament lection did not belong in the Eucharist, but was recited in morning and evening services of Lenten weekdays as a semi-continuous *course reading*, that is, a recitation of a Biblical book from beginning to end, omitting smaller or larger parts of the text.<sup>5</sup> A symbolic, or *topological reading*, where a specific Old Testament text was selected because it prefigured the event celebrated in a specific feast, was applied to all other occasions, i.e. the eves of feasts, where the carefully selected Old Testament readings originally served as a prophecy of events to come in the New Testament.

The complete *prophetologion* manuscripts from the 11th-12th centuries have readings for the movable year, i.e. from the beginning of Lent to Sunday after Pentecost, as well as for the fixed year from September to August.

3. For the notation, see S. G. ENGBERG, Greek Ekphonic Neumes: The Classical and the Pre-Classical Systems, in J. RAASTED and C. TROELSGÅRD (eds.), *Palaeobyzantine Notations: A Reconsideration of the Source Material*, Hernen 1995, p. 33-55, and EADEM, Les lectionnaires grecs, in O. LEGENDRE and J.-B. LEBIGUE (eds.), *Les manuscrits liturgiques. Cycle thématique 2003-2004 de l'IRHT* (Aedilis, Actes 9), 2005, <https://irht.hypotheses.org/612>. For a general description of the *prophetologion*, see S. G. ENGBERG, The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book, *CIMAGL* 54, 1987, p. 39-48 (outdated in some respects), and J. MILLER, The Prophetologion: The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?, in P. MAGDALINO and R. NELSON (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington, DC 2010, p. 55-76 (partly based on outdated literature).

4. It should be noted that this paper will distinguish the edition (*Prophetologium*) from the genre *prophetologion*.

5. The *course reading* may also be called a *pseudo-lectio continua*, as opposed to the recitation of the Torah in the synagogue, which is a genuine *lectio continua* where the whole text is recited from beginning to end without omissions. The *course reading* is edited, while the *lectio continua* is mechanical.

Old Testament readings were prescribed for a limited number of fixed feasts, about thirty in all, which are labeled L 1-2 (Christmas and Epiphany) and L 48-75 (September to August) in the scholarly edition of the book.<sup>6</sup>

As far as the fixed feasts are concerned, liturgical references in *prophetologion* manuscripts indicate that by the 10th century the service in Hagia Sophia normally contained the following elements: on the previous day there was an evening service (*lychnikon*) and a series of three Old Testament lections, in this paper referred to by the term *paramone* (the day before);<sup>7</sup> this was followed by an all-night vigil (*pannychis*) and, on the feast day itself, the morning service (*orthros*), a procession and finally the Liturgy. The procession would normally set out from Hagia Sophia and go to some other church, or to the Forum and back. It seems that a *paramone* with Old Testament readings, followed by a *pannychis* and a solemn procession the next day, was a liturgical entity that could be used to highlight a particular feast.<sup>8</sup> How far back this arrangement goes is hard to say. Liturgical processions are known from the times of St John Chrysostom, e.g. the transfer of relics to the church of St Thomas in Drypia in 398 AD, a thirteen-kilometer walk from Constantinople in which the empress took part, as Chrysostom describes it in his homily for the occasion; the transfer of John Chrysostom's own bones on 27 January 438 took place "with great honours in a public procession" in Constantinople going from Hagia Sophia to the church of the Apostles, as related by Socrates Scholasticus.<sup>9</sup> A public religious procession also took place during severe earthquakes in Constantinople. People gathered to beg God for mercy, and the procession was repeated in

6. For a list of the feasts included in the edition of the *Prophetologium*, see *infra* the Appendix, Contents of the *Prophetologium* (p. 223-224). The *Prophetologium* labels each lection with a number designating the feast for which the lection is read, and with a letter indicating its position in the sequence of lections. L 2c is thus the third L(ection) for the second feast in the edition, which is the eve of Epiphany.

7. Some scholars use the term *paramone* for the service, e.g. MATEOS (*Typicon*, II, p. 311), but in the manuscripts it is only used to indicate the time, "the day before", when the service is held, not the service itself. Whether the Old Testament readings formed part of the *lychnikon* or occurred after the end of this service, is unclear, which is why it may be practical to refer to the more vague "the *paramone*", rather than to the *lychnikon*.

8. See the statement that "orthros, stational procession, and stational eucharist formed a single pattern of worship without interruption at Constantinople": J. F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Worship* (OCA 228), Roma 1987, p. 261. To this must be added the evening service on the *paramone*, and the *pannychis*, in my opinion.

9. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *II Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum, etc.*, PG 63, 467-472, here 467-468; SOCRATES OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. G. C. HANSEN (GCS N.F. 1), Berlin 1995, VII, 45, 2-4.

the yearly commemoration of the earthquake. The earliest such commemoration recorded is that of the earthquake on 6 November 447, of which the *Chronicon Paschale* states that “the commemoration is held every year up to the present day with the procession to the Trikonchos”.<sup>10</sup> As for the *pannychis*, it may have originated in the “nocturnal hymnody” with silver crosses and lighted candles which Chrysostom organized in his competition with the Arians’ successful nightly assemblies.<sup>11</sup> According to Theodore Anagnostes, it was taking place in the Great Church by the mid-fifth century: “[Anthimos] was the one to organize the all-night vigils” (αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τὰς παννυχίδας παρεσκεύασε γίνεσθαι), Anthimos being presbyter at the Great Church and composer of *troparia*.<sup>12</sup> It is more difficult to estimate the age of the evening service with three Old Testament readings on the *paramone*. However, as I hope to show in the following, the liturgical entity *paramone-pannychis*-procession was in place by the mid-sixth century, at the second *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia.

Some of the fixed feasts in the repertoire of the *prophetologion*, such as Christmas and Epiphany, must be quite old. Others are much younger, e.g. the feast for the Transfer of the holy *Mandilion* from Edessa to Constantinople, which took place on 16 August in the year 944 and was subsequently commemorated every year on the same date. As far as the christological and mariological feasts are concerned, the Old Testament texts were selected in order to prefigure a New Testament event. For example, the text about the rod of Jesse in Isaiah 11:1-10, is read on Christmas eve, prefiguring the birth of Christ. However, the Old Testament readings for the younger feasts of the *prophetologion* seem to point to contemporary, rather than biblical events, and in some cases they even “prefigure” the achievements of the emperor. This is best illustrated by an analysis of the commemoration of church building, the *encaenia* feast.<sup>13</sup>

10. *Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 586; similarly on 26 January 450, *ibidem*, p. 589.

11. R. F. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, Collegeville, MN 1993<sup>2</sup>, p. 172.

12. Little is known about Anthimos. In Theodore’s text he is placed between 451 AD and ca. 460 and he was a Chalcedonian, as opposed to his fellow-poet Timokles: see THEODORE LECTOR, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. G. C. HANSEN, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (GCS N.F. 3), Berlin 1995<sup>2</sup>, p. 109. An Anthimos presbyter is remembered on 7 June: see *Typicon*, I, p. 308.

13. In his important dissertation, Permjakovs unfortunately does not treat the commemoration feast, but concentrates on the consecration itself, and especially the *kathierosis* of church and altar. Also, he leaves aside the service on the eve (*paramone*) of the *encaenia* feast in the Byzantine rite, and thereby also the Old Testament readings which form the basis of the present article. See V. PERMJAKOV, “*Make this the Place where Your Glory Dwells*”, p. 5 and his note 9.



I. – THE *ENCAENIA* FEAST1. *The feast in prophetologion manuscripts*

By the 10th century one finds in lectionary manuscripts the feast of *encaenia* (ἐγκαίνια), “renewal”, or dedication of a church, celebrating a contemporary rather than a biblical event.<sup>14</sup> Many of the complete *prophetologion* manuscripts from the 10th to 11th centuries contain a παραμονή τῶν ἐγκαίνιων (eve of *encaenia*), without date or indication of the church in question and mostly in an appendix, signifying that these are the lections for the dedication of any church. A few manuscripts ascribe the *encaenia* to a specific church, either explicitly by name, or implicitly by the position of the feast in the chronological arrangement of the manuscript. In a few of these old manuscripts the church is Hagia Sophia, and the following intends to show that this was indeed the original *encaenia* feast on which all following were modeled. In addition to Hagia Sophia, two more *encaenia* feasts are found in *prophetologion* manuscripts, that of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in Greek called Anastasis, and that of the Chalke church in Constantinople.

The method used in the present article is based on the occurrence of dedication feasts in *prophetologion* manuscripts and takes into account the age of the manuscripts, the total number of occurrences, as well as the wording of the heading of the feast. The presence<sup>15</sup> of Old Testament lections for a particular feast proves the existence of a “great feast” of two days’ duration for the occasion. On the first day (the *paramone*), three Old Testament lections were recited during, or maybe after, the evening service, the *lychnikon*. Unfortunately, few of the *prophetologion* manuscripts have rubrics that tell us how the service continued after the Old Testament readings, but in the few cases where this happens, the liturgy is the same as that found in the *Typicon* of the Great Church. However, the manuscripts give very little information and one has to look elsewhere in order to establish the rite for the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia: the *Typicon*, the Byzantine historians, and Symeon, archbishop of Thessaloniki.

The Old Testament readings for the *encaenia* of a church are found in 66 *prophetologion* manuscripts, sometimes in an appendix, without date and with the generic heading “Readings for the dedication of a church” or the

14. The word *encaenia* designates equally the initial consecration, the re-dedication of a church, and the annual commemoration of either of the two.

15. Naturally, the absence of a particular feast from the *prophetologion* does not exclude the possibility that the feast could have existed on a smaller scale.

like.<sup>16</sup> In some cases the *encaenia* are for a specific church (other than Hagia Sophia or the Anastasis church), and in those cases the manuscript must have been produced for that particular church. In the two Grottaferrata manuscripts A.8.4 and A.8.6 (13th c.) the dedication service is for the *encaenia* of the monastery's church of the Theotokos on 17 December. The uncial Trier manuscript (10th-11th c.) has the generic heading without a date, but it places the dedication readings between 6 and 15 August, presumably for some unnamed church with a dedication feast between these two dates.<sup>17</sup> Sinai 17 (11th c.) has the dedication of the church of St John the Baptist with the date 23 June, which shows that this manuscript was written for, and used in, the Monastery of Stoudios. To my knowledge, the only other *prophetologion* manuscript with any certainty written and used in Constantinople itself is Princeton 112 (11th c.), formerly of the Monastery of the Trinity on the island of Chalki. This manuscript mentions, on 14 July, the *encaenia* of an otherwise unknown church of the Theotokos in Roufinianai, a quarter situated on the Asiatic side of the Bosphoros, south of Chalkedon.

The vast majority of these 66 *prophetologion* manuscripts contain one, and only one, dedication feast, either that of Hagia Sophia on 23 December, that of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem on 13 September, that of a local church, or a generic *encaenia* commemoration.<sup>18</sup> *Prophetologia* earlier than the 11th century tend to have either the generic feast, the *encaenia* of a local church, or that of Hagia Sophia. Eight manuscripts from the 10th to the 12th centuries, and also Athos, Iviron 882 from 1520 AD, mark the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia with the heading "of the most holy Great Church", or the date 23 December, or both.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Sinai 8 (11th c.), the position

16. In Vat. gr. 768 (11th c.) and Vall. D 62 (14th c.): ἀναγνώσματα εἰς ἐγκαίνια ναοῦ; Sinai NE M 173b (12th-13th c.) has εἰς ἐγκέ(νια) παντ(ὸς ναοῦ) "For the dedication of any church"; Escorial y.III.2 (11th c.) and Vat. Reg. gr. 75 (ca. 980 AD): εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν τῶν ἐγκαίνιων, "For the eve of *encaenia*".

17. In Jerusalem, there was an *encaenia* feast for the local Hagia Sophia church on 8 August and for the church of the Theotokos "in Spudaeon monasterio" on 11 August: see G. GARITTE, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Subsidia Hagiographica 30), Bruxelles 1958, p. 83, 297, and 299. The manuscript appears to have been brought to Trier from Sinai, but it may have originated in Jerusalem; obviously there are other options.

18. The commemoration of the *Mandilion* and the *encaenia* of its church on 16 August is treated separately below, because the *Mandilion* is the focus of this feast and only one of its readings concerns *encaenia*.

19. Patmos 210 (12th c.) has the Hagia Sophia *encaenia*, but with reference to the Anastasis *encaenia* on 13 September where the lections are written out. However, the heading is identical for both feasts, being that of Hagia Sophia: εἰς τὴν μνήμ(ην) τῶν ἐγκαίνιων τῆς μετ(ά)λης ἐκκλη(σίας), "In commemoration of the dedication of the Great Church". Strangely, the manuscript gives the date 24 December for the dedication of Hagia Sophia, the only manuscript to do so.

of the feast between 26 September (St John the Evangelist) and Christmas is the only indication that 23 December is meant here.

## 2. *The Old Testament readings for encaenia*

The three Old Testament readings prescribed for *encaenia* are invariably the same, listed as L 50abc in the edition *Prophetologium*:<sup>20</sup>

L 50a 3 Kings 8:22-23a, 27bc, 28-30

*inc.* ἔστη σολομών κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κυρίου, *expl.* ἤλωσ ἔση αὐτόις

*inc.* Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord

L 50b Prov. 3:19-34 (= L 9c)

*inc.* ὁ θεὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν, *expl.* ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν

*inc.* The Lord by wisdom has founded the earth

L 50c Prov. 9:1-11 (cf. L 16c)

*inc.* ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησε ἑαυτῇ οἶκον, *expl.* ἔτη ζωῆς

*inc.* Wisdom has built a house for herself

Even if these three readings became used for the *encaenia* of any church, they were originally typological and point to the *encaenia* of a specific church. The text of the two pericopes from Proverbs is already present in the oldest layer of the lectionary, since L 50b is identical with the Proverbs reading for the evening service for Friday of the first week of Lent (L 9c), and L 50c is identical with the last part of the Proverbs reading for Tuesday of the third week (L 16c = Prov. 8:32-9:11). Quite often a manuscript will simply quote the *incipit* of the Proverbs reading and refer to its proper place during Lent for the full text, in the case of L 50c with an added “from the middle [of the lection = L 16c]”. The choice of the two Lenten readings for *encaenia* probably occurred at an early stage in the development of the *prophetologion*, when the “recycling” of texts already present in the lectionary seems to have been preferred.

The lection L 50a is new, chosen from one of the historical books of the Old Testament, which are otherwise sparsely represented in the *prophetologion*,<sup>21</sup>

20. The three readings for *encaenia* are printed in *Prophetologium*, II, p. 16, under 13 September, because the *dux* manuscript of the edition (Laud 36) has the readings on this date; the same readings are found in *Typicon*, I, p. 144-146, for the dedication of Hagia Sophia. All *prophetologion* manuscripts have the same pericopes for *encaenia*, and only the two Grottaferrata manuscripts, A.δ.4 and A.δ.6, have readings for L 50a and 50b different from the rest of the manuscripts, although still developed from the model of Hagia Sophia.

21. Lections from the Historical Books are found at the eves of Epiphany (six lections), Easter (three lections), and Metamorphosis (one lection), and also for a few eves of fixed

and taken from 3 Kings 8 which contains King Solomon's prayer to God in his newly built temple. The pilgrim's travelogue written in the late 4th century by the nun Egeria contains a description of the ceremony of *encaenia* in Jerusalem:

The date when the Church on Golgotha (called the Martyrium) was consecrated to God is called *Encaenia*, and on the same day the holy church of the Anastasis was also consecrated. [...] You will find in the Bible that the day of *Encaenia* was when the House of God was consecrated, and Solomon stood in prayer before God's altar, as we read in the Books of Chronicles.<sup>22</sup>

The consecration of the Martyrium and Anastasis church is parallel to the *encaenia* of Solomon's temple, all occurring on the same date and sharing the same name, and the church builder is indirectly compared to Solomon. This comparison became a well-known *topos* in sixth-century Constantinople and was used in the rivalry between Anicia Juliana, the powerful noblewoman and patron of the arts, and the Emperor Justinian. Anicia Juliana built a church dedicated to St Polyeuktos in the 520s, and she had an epigram inscribed on its walls in which she claims to have surpassed Solomon's temple; when Justinian entered his finished church Hagia Sophia some decades later, he famously exclaimed: "Solomon, I have surpassed you!"<sup>23</sup>

The passage referred to by Egeria is almost identical to that found in the Book of Kings,<sup>24</sup> and this was the passage chosen as the first reading for *encaenia* (L 50a). The text indirectly compares the church builder to Solomon, just as Justinian himself is said to have done. However, less than the whole text is recited: verses 23b to 27a were omitted, maybe because of the frequent references to Solomon's father David, who would have been irrelevant for Justinian's purpose of comparing himself to Solomon. It stands to reason that the Solomon lection was chosen for the most holy Great Church and its builder Justinian, who was anxious to be remembered in this capacity, and the two readings from Proverbs could only have been selected for the *encaenia* of his church. It is striking that the word "wisdom" (σοφία) appears in the very beginning of both Proverbs readings, as we know that the church

feasts which entered the lectionary rather late, such as the feasts for the prophet Elijah, the archangel Michael, the Seventh Council in 787 AD, and the Eisodia of the Virgin.

22. Quoted from *Egeria's Travels*, ed. J. WILKINSON, London 1971, 48, 1-2, p. 146. See *infra*, n. 24.

23. Anicia Juliana's epigram is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*. For the rivalry between Justinian and Anicia Juliana, see e.g. J. KODER, Imperial Propaganda in the Konstantia of Romanos, *DOP* 62, 2008, p. 275-291, here p. 278-279, and especially his note 31 for bibliography.

24. Compare 3 Kings 8:22-30 to 2 Paraleip. 6:12,14-21.

of the Saviour in Constantinople was referred to as “Sophia” at least as early as 430 AD. The beginning of Proverbs 9:1, *Wisdom has built a house for herself*, is here understood quite literally: wisdom, or God, built a house for itself/himself, since Hagia Sophia was dedicated to Christ, or Logos, that is, to Divine Wisdom.<sup>25</sup> Eventually these words were interpreted as a *typos* of the Holy Virgin housing God the man, and Proverbs 9:1-11 would also become a reading for the oldest of her feasts: the Birthday, Annunciation and Dormition of the Theotokos.

## II. – THE *ENCAENIA* OF HAGIA SOPHIA

Three contemporary poems connected to Justinian’s Hagia Sophia have been transmitted to us: a *kontakion* by Romanos the Melode named *On Earthquakes and Fires*; an anonymous *kontakion* *On the Inauguration of St Sophia*; and the *Description* (or *Ekphrasis*) of *Hagia Sophia* by Paul Silentiarios. A comparison of the Old Testament lections for *encaenia* (L 50abc) with these three poetic texts may show us something about the liturgical and historical context of Justinian’s church. Two different dedication ceremonies are known for Hagia Sophia, the first was the consecration in 537 of the huge building erected to replace the older Hagia Sophia that had been destroyed in the Nika riots five years earlier, and the second was the re-dedication in 562 after the church, and especially its cupola, had suffered severe damages from an earthquake. Other Byzantine authors and sources that mention the *encaenia* may also be compared to the poetic and liturgical sources.

### 1. *First Dedication of Justinian’s Church, AD 537 and Romanos’ kontakion*

The description of the first dedication of Hagia Sophia in 537, found in Theophanes, *Anecdota Graeca* and Pseudo-Symeon (in the manuscript Par. gr. 1712), mentions a procession which included the patriarch and the emperor Justinian and set out from the church of Anastasia; in Theophanes the date is 27 December for the *encaenia*.<sup>26</sup>

25. See R. JANIN, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*. III, *Les églises et les monastères* (La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin 3), Paris 1969<sup>2</sup>, p. 455-456.

26. THEOPHANES, *Chronicle*, p. 217; *Anecdota Cramer*, II, p. 113; PSEUDO-SYMEON, *Chronographia*, quoted from Par. gr. 1712, f. 142.

Romanos' *kontakion* no. 54, *On Earthquakes and Fires*,<sup>27</sup> relates the destruction of the older Hagia Sophia in the fires of the Nika riot in 532, when large parts of Constantinople were destroyed, and the rebuilding of the church and the city by "the emperors", Justinian and Theodora. It has been suggested that the poem was written for the dedication ceremony of the church in December 537. However, the *kontakion* describes the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia in the present tense: stanza 23 speaks of the house [of the church] being constructed (ὁ οἶκος [...] οἰκοδομεῖται), and stanza 24 prays to God for its successful completion (αἰτοῦμεν τὸν δεσπότην [...] ἵν' ἄξιω-θῶμεν θεάσασθαι πᾶσαν πληρωθεῖσαν).<sup>28</sup> Based on this, Paul Maas<sup>29</sup> argued that the hymn must have been written earlier than the completion and dedication of the church, and he suggested the year 536 AD, or some time before December 537, as the most likely date. In his preface to the edition of the *kontakion*, Trypanis expanded this to "between the years 532 and 537".<sup>30</sup>

Far from being the joyous celebration of a newly built church, this *kontakion* is rather a penitential hymn which centers on illness of mind and body and on calamities such as earthquakes, drought, and the fire caused by the Nika riot. It finally gets to the restoration of the city and church at the very end of the poem, in stanzas 22-24. In the only two manuscripts which contain the *kontakion*, Patmos 213 and Sinai 927, it is labeled "hymn of contrition (κατανοητικόν) sung in commemoration of any earthquake or fire" (Patmos 213), or "earthquake or fire or any other sorrow or distress of men" (Sinai 927). In the Patmos manuscript the *kontakion* is placed in the Lenten period, for Wednesday of the third week, while Sinai 927 places it, without a date, in an appendix close to the end of the manuscript.

Accordingly, Grosdidier de Matons agreed with Maas that the *kontakion* could not have belonged in the dedication ceremony of December 537, adding that the singing of such a penitential hymn was unlikely to have taken place close to Christmas. He suggested instead that the hymn was performed during Lent at some official ceremony in connection with the building, in

27. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica genuina*, ed. P. MAAS and C. A. TRYPANIS, Oxford 1963, p. 462-471; ROMANOS LE MÉLODE, *Hymnes*, V, ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS (SC 283), Paris 1981, p. 455-499.

28. The verb πληρόω is used in the sense of "finish building" by Malalas (JOHN MALALAS, *World Chronicle*, p. 404): τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ἐπληρώθη ἡ χαλκὴ τοῦ παλατίου ("in the same year the Chalke gate of the Palace was finished").

29. P. MAAS, *Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos*, BZ 15, 1906, p. 1-44, here p. 7.

30. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica genuina*, cited n. 27, p. xix.



either 537 or 533.<sup>31</sup> K. Mitsakis suggested that this occasion might have been the laying of the cornerstone of the building, which would have had to be quite early in the process, in either 532 or 533, a suggestion accepted by E. Topping and J. H. Barkhuizen.<sup>32</sup> Mitsakis based this assumption on the wording of stanza 24: τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στερεῶσαι [...] ἐγχείρημα, which calls “foundation” to mind, although to my knowledge there is no sign of such a ceremony in the sources. However, the wording of stanza 23 – ἐν χρόνῳ γὰρ ὀλίγῳ ἀνέστησαν ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν, “[the emperors] rebuilt the whole city in a short time” – speaks against the date of 532. In that year Easter fell on 11 April, which would leave only very short time for the emperors to rebuild the whole city, after the Nika Revolt in mid-January and before the end of Lent. On the other hand, tradition has it that the construction of Hagia Sophia began “in the 6008th year of the world in the fifteenth indiction on 23 February at the first hour of the day”,<sup>33</sup> in surprising detail, albeit with some inconsistencies as to the year in the different sources for this note. But in the year 533 Easter fell early, on 27 March, and accordingly Wednesday of the third week, the day assigned to Romanos’ *kontakion* in the Patmos manuscript, was 23 February, the same date that is mentioned in all the sources for the note. This may of course be a coincidence; or it could be that the ceremony for which the *kontakion* was intended was indeed held on 23 February 533, which would explain the double theme of the poem, the contrition of Lent and the pride in the rebuilding of the Great Church.

31. ROMANOS LE MÉLODE, *Hymnes*, V, cited n. 27, p. 458. His reason for suggesting the year 533 was that it would be more natural to sing about the Nika riot when it was still fresh in people’s memory, “durant le Carême de 533, par exemple”.

32. K. MITSAKIS, *Βυζαντινὴ ἑμνογραφία*. Α’, *Ἀπὸ τὴν Καὶνὴ Διαθήκῃ ἕως τὴν εἰκονομαχίᾳ*, Thessaloniki 1971, p. 389-390; E. TOPPING, On Earthquakes and Fires: Romanos’ Encomium to Justinian, *BZ* 71, 1978, p. 22-35, here p. 23; J. H. BARKHUIZEN, Romanos Melodos, On Earthquakes and Fires, *JÖB* 45, 1995, p. 1-18, here p. 1.

33. *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ed. I. BEKKER (CSHB), I, Bonn 1838, p. 651 (quoted from R. SCOTT, Narrating Justinian: from Malalas to Manasses, in IDEM, *Byzantine Chronicles and the Sixth Century*, London 2012, no. XVII, p. 29-46, here p. 39) has the year 6008, and so has the ms Petrop. 482 of the *Diegesis*: ἐν ἔτει ζη’ (E. VITTI, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel, kritische Edition mehrerer Versionen* [Bochumer Studien zur neugriechischen und byzantinischen Philologie 8], Amsterdam 1986, p. 604; the editor has corrected the year into 6040). Other sources have the year 6040: JOHN ZONARAS, *World Chronicle* (ed. Th. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII* [CSHB], III, Bonn 1897, XIV, 6, p. 156), *Diegesis* (p. 81, app. crit., corrected to 6008), and maybe also SYMEON LOGOTHETE, *Chronicle* (ed. S. WAHLGREN, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicle* [CFHB 44], Berlin-New York 2008, p. 140, app. crit. to line 16: the ms Par. gr. 854 has τῷ ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ μ’[?] ἔτει). The year 6020 is found in PSEUDO-SYMEON, Par. gr. 1712, f. 142: ἐν τῷ ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει (*sic*). While the sources disagree as to the year, they all agree on the rest of the information.

Ever since Paul Maas, there has been general agreement that Romanos' *kontakion* was not written for the consecration of Justinian's first Hagia Sophia, and consequently it is not to be expected that it contains quotes from, or references to the Old Testament lections. The *kontakion* does contain a brief reference to Solomon in stanza 21, but only as a contrast to the Christian emperors/builders. Whereas Solomon's temple has disappeared never to be recreated, the churches built by Constantine the Great and his mother Helena are still standing, and the present emperors even initiated the reconstruction of the destroyed Hagia Sophia "the day after it had fallen". However, this is not the usual *topos* which compares the splendour of a finished church to the temple of Solomon, as the first dedication lection (L 50a) implicitly does. There are no references to the two Proverbs readings for *encaenia* in the *kontakion*, nor to Divine Wisdom (Sophia), the only occurrence of the word being the mention of the two destroyed churches of *Sophia* and *Eirene* in stanza 20. Since the *kontakion* was intended for some otherwise unknown occasion before the church was finished, it is not surprising that it makes no reference to the Old Testament readings and sheds no light on the dedication ceremony. Still, there might have been Old Testament lections for the liturgical ceremony of the *encaenia* in December 537.

## 2. *Second Dedication of Justinian's Church, AD 562*

After the cupola of Justinian's first church fell down during the earthquake of 557, Hagia Sophia was restored and rededicated in 562. The precise date presents somewhat of a problem. It is not mentioned by the early historians Prokopios, Evagrios, Malalas and Agathias, and even if many scholars refer to Theophanes for the date of 24 December, that is not the date found in the manuscripts, but a conjecture of the editor who states in the critical apparatus that his manuscripts have the date of 20 December. Some of the Theophanes manuscripts, which give the letter *kappa* for the number 20, also leave a space after the letter, as if they knew that the date fell somewhat later than 20 December but did not know the precise date. Two manuscripts have quite a different date: 15 December.<sup>34</sup> The only sources for the date of 24 December seem to be the sixth-century *Chronicon Paschale* and the so-called *Anecdota Graeca*, from the single manuscript Par. gr. 1555A.<sup>35</sup> *Chronicon Paschale* tells us that the dedication was on a

34. THEOPHANES, *Chronicle*, p. 238, app. crit. ad l. 18. The four manuscripts Par. gr. 1710, Vat. gr. 155, Vat. Barb. 233, and Christ Church 5 have *spatium* after the  $\kappa$ '. The date  $\iota\epsilon'$  is found in Par. gr. 1709 and 1711.

35. *Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 687; *Anecdota Cramer*, II, p. 114.

Sunday, and indeed 24 December 562 was a Sunday. We should probably accept the date of 24 December and ascribe the confusion in the manuscripts to the fact that the liturgical date became a different one.

By the 10th century at the latest, the date of the liturgical celebration of the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia was 23 December. In the *Typicon* one finds the heading ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, “*encaenia* of the most holy Great Church”, on this date, which is also the date given for the event in New Testament lectionaries from the 11th to 12th centuries.<sup>36</sup> The same date is found in the Old Testament lectionaries: nine *prophetologion* manuscripts, eight of which are from the 10th to 12th centuries and one from 1520 AD, have the *encaenia* for Hagia Sophia. Most of these manuscripts have the same heading as the *Typicon*<sup>37</sup> and/or the date of 23 December.<sup>38</sup>

A different source for the dedication date is the *Diegesis*, or *Story of the Construction of Hagia Sophia*, perhaps written in the 9th century. It is here that we find the anecdote about Justinian’s entry into the finished church, where he leaves the patriarch at the Royal Doors, proceeds alone to the *ambon* in the center of the church, and then, stretching his hands to heaven, he exclaims “Glory be to God who has thought me worthy to finish this work. Solomon, I have surpassed you”.<sup>39</sup> One problem with this text, which mingles fact with fiction, is that it appears to fuse the two dedications – the first in 537 and the second in 562 – into one single event with the date of 23 December. In some manuscripts it is 27 or 28 December which reflects the first dedication in 537.<sup>40</sup>

#### a. *The anonymous kontakion*

Both of the other contemporary poems – the anonymous *kontakion On the Inauguration of St Sophia*, and the *Description* (or *Ekphrasis*) of *Hagia*

36. The *encaenia* feast of the Great Church on 23 December is found in *Typicon*, I, p. 148. The Gospel lectionary Sinai 215, dated to the 10th century by Clark, mentions the *anoixia* on the day before, but not the *encaenia* on 23 December. For a list of the New Testament lectionaries consulted, see below, n. 81.

37. So Athos, Laura 190, Sinai 7, Sinai 13, while Jer. Saba 247, Patmos 210 and Sinai 9 leave out one, or the other, of the two adjectives “most holy” and “great”.

38. Athos, Ivion 882 and Patmos 211 have the date of 23 December with the generic heading “For dedication of churches”: εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, and εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐγκαίνιων, respectively. Sinai 8 has a generic heading and no date, but the position of the feast in the chronology indicates the December commemoration. The date 23 November added in Sinai 7 is probably a mistake for 23 December. One manuscript, Patmos 210 (12th c.), has the date of 24 December, but this manuscript is anomalous in other ways.

39. *Diegesis*, p. 104–105.

40. Actually, the date quoted in the *Diegesis* is 22 December, but the main event is “on the next day” (τῇ ἐπαύριον), 23 December. For the alternative dates, see E. VITTI, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel*, cited n. 33.

*Sophia* by Paul Silentiarios – were composed for the second dedication of Justinian’s Hagia Sophia.<sup>41</sup>

The *prooimion* of the *kontakion* begins with the words “O Lord, thou hast demonstrated at once both the splendour of the firmament above and the beauty of thy dwelling here below, this holy tabernacle of thy glory” (Ὡς τοῦ ἄνω στερεώματος κτλ.). The *kontakion* has the *acrostichon* τῶν ἐγκαινίων ὁ ὕμνος, “the hymn for *encaenia*”, and is permeated with words pointing to the dedication of Hagia Sophia: “wisdom” (σοφία, λόγος), “house”, both noun and verb (οἶκος, κατοικεσία, σκήνωμα, οἰκέω, ἐνοικέω, κατοικέω), “foundation” (στερεώμα). The text includes quotes or allusions to all three Old Testament lections for *encaenia*.<sup>42</sup> A reference to the first reading, L 50a from 3 Kings 8, is in stanza 13 with the words “Solomon the far-famed [...] sings the praises of the temple in Jerusalem”. The stanzas that follow compare the temple with Justinian’s church, to Solomon’s disadvantage. Stanza 3 has a direct quote from 3 Kings 8:27a, *But will God indeed dwell on the earth?*, which is then interpreted as a prophecy of the Incarnation. This quote is omitted from the lection L 50a, as we know it from the 10th century onwards, but the original lection may have consisted of the entire passage (3 Kings 8:22-30), and the omission of 23b-27a may be the result of a later revision.<sup>43</sup>

The two readings from Proverbs are alluded to by their *incipit*, which in medieval times was the defining element of a Biblical lection. The beginning of L 50b from Proverbs 3, *The Lord by wisdom has founded the earth* (ὁ θεὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν) is reflected in stanza 7 with the words “the temple of [God’s] wisdom has been founded” (τεθεμελίωται ὁ ναὸς τῆς [θεοῦ] σοφίας). The *incipit* of L 50c from Proverbs 9: *Wisdom has built a house for herself* (ἡ σοφία ὠκοδόμησε ἑαυτῇ οἶκον) is clearly played on

41. The text of the *kontakion* is edited in C. A. TRYPANIS, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 5), Vienna 1968, p. 139-147; the text of *Ekphrasis* in PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae*, ed. C. DE STEFANI (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Berlin 2011.

42. Andrew Palmer identified the references to 3 Kings 8, and Proverbs 8 and 9, apparently without realising that these were the readings for *encaenia* in the Byzantine Church; see A. PALMER, *The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion*, *BMGS* 12, 1988, p. 117-167, here p. 145. The translation of *prooimion* and stanza 13 is taken from Palmer.

43. For an example of revision of an Old Testament lection for politico-theological reasons, see S. G. ENGBERG, *The Emperor Leo V, his Choir Master, and the Byzantine Old Testament Lectionary*, in R. CEULEMANS and B. CROSTINI (eds.), *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and Their Readers* (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20), Uppsala 2021, p. 79-90.

in the first stanza: “For the wisdom of God the Father has truly rebuilt a house of Incarnation for herself” (ἡ σοφία γὰρ ἀληθῶς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνθρωποδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ σαρκώσεως οἶκον), with a double meaning of “rebuilt”, referring both to the rebuilding of the church and to the Incarnation. The references to all three lections suggest the poet’s knowledge of their liturgical use, which could mean that they had already been in use for the dedication ceremony of Hagia Sophia in 537. Most likely, they were also recited for the re-dedication in 562.<sup>44</sup>

#### b. *Paul Silentarios*

The contemporary *Ekphrasis* of Paul Silentarios describes and praises the restored Hagia Sophia and its builder, and it comes as no surprise that the poem contains no reference to the three Old Testament readings since it was intended for the more secular part of the festivities and was not performed in a liturgical setting. While the stanzas 315-349 do describe part of the ecclesiastical ceremony of the dedication, this passage is just a clever way of letting the reader/listener “enter” Hagia Sophia and “see” its interior as described by the poet.

But even so, and even if it is shrouded in Paul’s convoluted and archaizing language, the passage gives us a glimpse into the liturgical setting. The night before, an all-night vigil was held with the singing of “night-long hymns” (παννυχίους ὕμνους, v. 333) by “the unsleeping choir” (ἀγρύπνοιοι κελάδημα χορείης, v. 335). At the break of dawn a procession set out from the church, led by the priest and soon joined, at the emperor’s bidding, by the civil servants and common people, all holding candles and singing hymns (v. 337-346). When the procession reached Hagia Sophia, a cry of “Open, oh priests!” (ἀνοίξατε, μύσται, v. 350-351) arose, an exclamation which leads to the poet’s detailed description of the interior of the church. In liturgical language, this means a *pannychis* in a different church, probably preceded by an evening service, and the next morning a procession to the church to be dedicated and the formal opening of the new church.

#### c. *The historians and the Diegesis*

The Byzantine historians confirm these three elements and add more details. Malalas relates that the patriarch Eutychios held the Gospel lectionary

44. It is normally assumed that the *kontakion* was composed for the re-dedication in 562, but there is a possibility that it could have been composed later for one of the commemoration feasts of the *encaenia*.

(*megaleion*), in this context a symbol of Christ,<sup>45</sup> and that the crowd stood by while Psalm 23:7 was sung: *Lift up our gates, oh rulers!*<sup>46</sup> *Be lifted up, eternal doors, and the King of glory will enter* (ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης). Theophanes and *Anecdota Graeca* add that a *pannychis* was held the night before in St Platon, a church which Justinian had rebuilt before he became emperor. The patriarch set out from this church with the procession, sitting in the golden (imperial) carriage and wearing his archbishop's vestment. Theophanes adds that the emperor was present (συμπαρόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως), but it is not clear whether he sat in the carriage with the patriarch.<sup>47</sup> The description of the first dedication of Hagia Sophia in 537, which is basically identical in Theophanes, *Anecdota Graeca* and Pseudo-Symeon (Par. gr. 1712), mentions that "the procession started from the church of Anastasia, Menas the patriarch sitting in the royal chariot and the emperor walking with the people."<sup>48</sup> He probably walked in 562 as well.

Another church dedication, where the role of the emperor is different from that of the clergy, is the *encaenia* ceremony of the church of St Eirene in the quarter of Sykai across the Golden Horn. The procession set out from Hagia Sophia, led by the patriarch of Constantinople, Menas, who was joined by Apollinarios of Alexandria, both sitting in the golden carriage, which took them down to the crossing point. The shorter version ends here. The longer text found in Theophanes and Pseudo-Symeon relates that the two patriarchs (and the crowd, presumably) were taken across the water – in a large galley (μονήριον) according to Pseudo-Symeon – and were met on the other side by the emperor who "opened" the church. After this followed the "usual dedication service", again according to Pseudo-Symeon.<sup>49</sup>

45. The *megaleion* is "evidently functioning here as a symbolic representation of the Patron of the new church – Christ himself" (V. PERMIKOV, "Make this the Place where Your Glory Dwells", p. 208) and thus represents the relic connected with the consecration.

46. Or *Lift up your gates, oh rulers!* The manuscripts have either ἡμῶν or ὑμῶν, which of course phonetically are identical.

47. JOHN MALALAS, *World Chronicle*, p. 429; THEOPHANES, *Chronicle*, p. 238; *Anecdota Cramer*, II, p. 114.

48. THEOPHANES, *Chronicle*, p. 217: τοῦ βασιλέως συλλιτανεύοντος τῷ λαῷ, similarly *Anecdota Cramer*, II, p. 113; in Par. gr. 1712, f. 142: τοῦ βασιλέως λιτανεύοντος ἐν τῷ λαῷ.

49. Par. gr. 1712, f. 145': καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἠνέφξε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς ἁγίας εἰρήνης καὶ ἐπετέλεσαν τὴν συνήθη ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ ἐγκαίνισμοῦ. THEOPHANES (*Chronicle*, p. 228) has the first part of the passage, but with the plural ἠνέφξαν. Theophanes and Pseudo-Symeon have the longer text; JOHN MALALAS, *World Chronicle* (p. 414–415), and *Anecdota Cramer* (II, p. 113) have the shorter version. Actually, *Anecdota Cramer* also mentions the *encaenia* on p. 110, but this does not add anything new, except that the patriarch of Alexandria happened to be in Constantinople and was asked to join by Menas. Malalas refers to the quarter Iustinianai, instead of Sykai.



According to Procopios, Justinian had rebuilt the church of St Eirene in Sykai and adorned it magnificently, and so in a certain sense he was the host who was opening his building to the others, including the patriarch. At the first dedication of Hagia Sophia the patriarch and the emperor arrived separately at the doors of the church, which might indicate that they had different roles in the ceremony of the opening of the church. Could the emperor have played some active part in the ceremonial opening of the reconstructed Hagia Sophia and could this perhaps have been vaguely remembered in the much later *Diegesis* with the tale of the emperor letting go of the hand of the patriarch and entering the church alone?

The singing of Psalm 23:7, *Lift up the gates* (ἄρατε πύλας), before the closed doors of the church is not mentioned in connection with the first consecration of Hagia Sophia, but only with the second in 562. The opening ceremony, sometimes referred to as *anoixia*, involves a dialogue between those outside the church, who intone *Lift up the gates* [...] and the King of glory will enter, and those inside the church, who ask *Who is this King of glory?* (Ps. 23:8). After three repetitions of the dialogue, the gates are opened and the procession enters. This ritual is known in some detail from the eleventh-century manuscripts Par. Coisl. 213 and Dresden A 104.<sup>50</sup> It is also used for the *encaenia* of the church of the Stoudios monastery on 23 June, the day before the feast of John the Baptist, in the rubrics of an *apostolos* manuscript from the 10th century, Par. gr. 382: “Then *Lift up the gates* [is sung] three times, someone from inside replies *Who is this King?*, and when the gates open, the procession enters”.<sup>51</sup> The *euchologion* Vat. Barb. 336 from the late 8th century refers to the singing of *Lift up the gates* at the *encaenia* service, although without explicitly mentioning the dialogue. However, the fact that in Paul Silentiarios’ poem the cry “open” (ἀνοίξατε, 350-351) is repeated three times shows that the ritual was known to him and thus may be even older than the second *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia in 562.

50. The Dresden manuscript is quoted in K. K. AKENTIEV, *Типикон Великой Церкви Cod. Dresden A 104. Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А.А. Дмитриевского* (Subsidia Byzantinorossica 5), St Petersburg 2009, p. 212-215. See also G. M. MYERS, *The Ritual and Music for the Dedication of a Church among the Medieval Slavs: Byzantine Cathedral Practice Transplanted*, *Bulgarian Musicology* 3-4, 2012, p. 35-44, here p. 43-44.

51. Par. gr. 382, f. 252<sup>v</sup>: εἴτα τὸ ἄρατ(ε) πύλ(α)ς: Γ': ἔσωθ(εν) τιν(ὸς) ἀπ(οκρινομένου): τίς ἐσ(τιν) οὗτ(ος) ὁ βασι(λεὺς): καὶ ἀνοιγομέ(νων) τῶν πυλ(ῶν): γίνεται εἴσοδος. For a description of this manuscript, see G. ANDREOU, *Alcune osservazioni sul menologion del lezionario Paris gr. 382* (x sec. ex), *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 2, 2005, p. 5-16.

The original consecration of the restored Hagia Sophia in 562 would have been as follows, according to the Byzantine historians. On the day before, 23 December, there probably was an evening service with the three Old Testament lections (L 50abc),<sup>52</sup> and certainly an all-night vigil (*pannychis*) held in a different, ancient church. The next morning, 24 December, a procession led by the patriarch Eutychios went to Hagia Sophia, the opening ceremony with the thrice repeated *Lift up the gates* was performed, and the clergy and people entered the church and joined in the Holy Liturgy. It is not mentioned in which of the two churches the *orthros* was held. After the church had been consecrated, the *Diegesis* relates, the emperor held secular festivities, with much eating and presumably also drinking, “until Epiphany”, that is, until 5 January.<sup>53</sup>

By the 10th century the yearly commemoration of *encaenia* of a church followed the same pattern, as attested by the *encaenia* of the church at Chalkoprateia on 18 December. On the preceding evening (*paramone*), the patriarch entered Hagia Sophia for the evening service that included the three *encaenia* lections from the Old Testament (L 50abc), after which there was some unspecified reading (προανάγνωσις) and *pannychis*. The next morning the *orthros* was held, and then a procession went down the street to the Chalkoprateia church, where *Lift up the gates* was performed, the church opened and the Liturgy held, with the epistle reading Hebrews 3:1-4 and the Gospel Matthew 16:13-18.<sup>54</sup> This may also have been how the commemoration of Hagia Sophia took place in the beginning, but two changes occurred. First, the *encaenia* ceremony was moved to 23 December, perhaps in order not to collide with the elaborate service on the *paramone* for Christmas on 24 December. Second, the ceremonial opening of the church was separated from the Liturgy and the *encaenia* proper. Hagia Sophia could not be *ancilla* to any other church in Constantinople, so the evening service and the *pannychis*, with procession and ritual opening inserted, were all held in the Great Church itself on 22 December. Hagia Sophia was closed when the procession set out for the Forum and when it returned to the narthex, the choir intoned the *Lift up the gates*, the church opened again and the evening service was held, followed by a *pannychis*. In the morning of 23 December, the *orthros* and Liturgy took place, with the readings Hebrews 3:1-4 and Matthew 16:13-18.<sup>55</sup> In this way the opening ritual, the

52. The only service where the Old Testament lections could have been recited would be the evening service before the *pannychis*.

53. *Diegesis*, p. 104-105.

54. *Typicon*, I, p. 138.

55. *Ibidem*, p. 144-146.

*anoixia*, for the Great Church fell on the evening of 22 December, and the *encaenia* ceremony on the morning of 23 December, which are indeed the dates one finds in New Testament lectionaries from the 10th century onwards.<sup>56</sup>

In most of the manuscripts, the *Diegesis* has it that the emperor entered Hagia Sophia on 22 December, and that “the following day he solemnly opened the temple”, the text using the term “*anoixia*” (τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐποίησε τὰ ἀνοίξια τοῦ ναοῦ). This might sound as if the *anoixia* came after the *encaenia*, but that is impossible. The explanation is rather that the word “*anoixia*”, which is not a common word, could sometimes be used more or less as synonymous with “*encaenia*”, as is the case here, because it formed part of the *encaenia* service. It was only when the *anoixia* of Hagia Sophia was separated from its *encaenia*, and the two were held on different days, that the word became restricted to the specific meaning of “opening ritual” implying the singing of *Lift up the gates*.

To sum up, the consecration of Justinian’s church in December 537, rebuilt after the Nika riot, contained a procession setting out from the church of Anastasia, where the patriarch Menas rode in the imperial chariot and the emperor walked with the people. What else it included, we cannot know, just as we do not know if there was an annual commemoration of the consecration. As to the second consecration on 24 December, 562, we are on firmer ground: an evening service and a *pannychis* in the church of St Platon; a procession to Hagia Sophia on the following morning with the patriarch Eutychios in the chariot and the emperor being present; and the opening ritual in connection with Psalm 23, *Lift up the gates*. The three Old Testament readings were presumably read during the evening service of the *paramone*.

56. A note in the manuscript Fir. S. Marco 304 reads: ἐτελειώθη σὺν θεῷ μὴνὶ μαῖῳ ἐγ’ ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε ἤνοιξεν (i.e. ἤνοιξεν) ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, “[the above was] completed with God’s help on 13 May, a Sunday, in the hour of the day when the Great Church opened”. Reitzenstein interpreted this as referring to *anoixia*, and several scholars have since proposed 13 May 994 as the date for the official re-opening of Hagia Sophia after repairs of the damage done to the building by the earthquake of 989 AD. However, this is liturgically impossible. In the 10th century the *anoixia* ceremony of the Great Church was 22 December and the church could not have had two different *anoixia* in the same year, nor could the date of the *anoixia* switch from December to May and back again. Once a church was re-dedicated, the older date would disappear in favour of the more recent one. Thus, the word “opened” (ἤνοιξεν) of the note simply refers to the daily opening of Hagia Sophia and not to the ceremony of *anoixia*. See R. REITZENSTEIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie in Alexandria und Byzanz*, Leipzig 1897, p. 68, and S. G. ENGBERG, The Opening of Hagia Sophia: A Note on a Note, *CIMAGL* 89, 2020, p. 101-106.

Subsequently the dedication of Hagia Sophia was commemorated every year, over two days and including the procession, which went out from the church itself and returned for the opening ritual, *anoixia*, and the singing of Psalm 23.<sup>57</sup> This ritual of procession and *anoixia* was at some point moved to the evening of 22 December, while the dedication service proper, the *encaenia*, took place in the morning of 23 December.

Justinian’s exclamation “Solomon, I have surpassed you” is placed on 22 December by the *Diegesis*, probably influenced by the liturgical date of the *anoixia* at the time when the *Diegesis* was written down. Whether the famous scene took place at the first or the second consecration, if at all, we cannot know, but even if this story belongs in the realm of folklore, its roots in liturgy are firm.

d. *Afterlife*

The *prophetologion* manuscripts reflect the fact that the celebration of the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia was discontinued after the year 1204, when “the Franks”, i.e. the crusaders, invaded Constantinople, and the clergy and the imperial court had to flee the capital, taking up residence in Nicaea during the western occupation of Constantinople in 1204-1261. Eight *prophetologia*<sup>58</sup> dating from the 10th-12th centuries have the feast and then it stops. After the recapture of Constantinople, the feast was not resumed, and it is not found in the manuscripts except for the single occurrence in Athos, Iviron 882 from 1520 AD.

Hagia Sophia *encaenia*, 23 December, found in *prophetologion* manuscripts:

Date	
10th c.	1 ms
11th c.	2 mss
12th c.	5 mss
13th-15th c.	none
16th c.	1 ms

This feast does not appear in the printed editions of the *prophetologion* in 1545 (Fedzis) and 1595/6 (Glynzounios), nor is it found in the edition

57. This is in accordance with the *encaenia* ceremony prescribed by the 8th-9th-century *euchologion* Vat. Barb. 336, see V. PERMJAKOV, “*Make this the Place where Your Glory Dwells*”, p. 196-199 and 204-211.

58. The reason why the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia is found in so few *prophetologia*, is probably that most manuscripts were not used in the cathedral and therefore did not celebrate this feast, but only the *encaenia* of the local church.

printed in St Petersburg in 1890-93, or in the modern edition of the *Προφητολόγιον* from 2008. The commemoration does not appear in the Rome edition of the *Menaemum*. It is mentioned in *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦ ἔτους 1966*, on the date of 22 December, where ἀνοίξια have now become θυμανοίξια, and on 23 December as “*encaenia* of the church of Christ, also called Hagia Sophia”.<sup>59</sup>

### III. – THE *ENCAENIA* OF ROMANOS’ CHURCH FOR THE *MANDILION*

#### 1. *The Mandilion and the Church of Our Saviour at the Chalke gate*

The second *encaenia* commemoration found in the *prophetologion* is only so “by one third”, so to speak, because two of the three Old Testament readings concern the relic with which the church was consecrated, while only the third is an *encaenia* lection proper, viz. a doctored version of the Solomon reading L 50a. The relic was the famous *acheiropoiectos eikon* of Christ, the *Mandilion*, and enough is known of this event to make it possible to reconstruct the process and the liturgical changes involved. On the other hand, this liturgical day was already rather crowded with commemorations and it is necessary to clear the ground first for an analysis of this *encaenia* feast to be successful. The method is again that of an analysis of the *prophetologion* manuscripts involved, compared to a selected number of early New Testament lectionaries.

In the year 944 this new *encaenia* feast was assigned to the day 16 August. However, by this time the day was already spoken for: the tenth-century *apostolos* manuscript from Stoudios, Par. gr. 382, devotes this day to the commemoration “of the horrible threat of the earthquake”, with the same choice of Psalms and epistle as the Great Church. The manuscript also briefly remembers St Diomedes and the anachorete Aiglou on this day and refers to “[the reading for] martyrs”. The earthquake took place on 16 August 542 and destroyed churches and houses and the city wall, especially in the area of the Golden Gate. The *Typicon* prescribes a *pannychis*, a procession to the Golden Gate in the morning and a *synaxis* in the church

59. Sinai 19 is a copy of the (lost?) edition by Fedzis in 1545, see S. G. ENGBERG, An Unnoticed Printed Edition of the Old Testament Lectionary in Greek (Venice 1545), *EPSILON* 1, 1987, p. 57-67; for Glynzounios’ edition see S. G. ENGBERG, Greek Literacy and Liturgical Books: Manolis Glynzounios’ Edition of the “profetie”, Venice 1595/96, *EPSILON* 2, 1988, p. 31-41. *Παροιμάριον τοντέστιν τῶν παροιμιῶν συναγωγή εἰς ὅλον τὸ ἔτος*, I-II, St Petersburg 1880-1883. *Προφητολόγιον – Τὰ Λειτουργικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα ἀπὸ τὴν Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη*, Athens 2008. *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦ ἔτους 1966*, Athens 1966.

complex called Jerusalem, which was situated in the vicinity of the Golden Gate where the earthquake did the most damage.<sup>60</sup> There must also have been a service on the evening before, since one *prophetologia* prescribes three “earthquake readings” from the Old Testament for the *paramone* of the earthquake on 16 August.<sup>61</sup>

Almost two centuries later, in 718, the earthquake feast was overlaid with the commemoration of the expulsion of the Saracens, that is, the lifting of the Arab siege of Constantinople that lasted a whole year. In the *prophetologia* this means that a series of “enemy readings” from Isaiah were substituted for the earlier earthquake readings and the commemoration now became “of the attack by the Barbarians”, εἰς τὴν ἐπέλευσιν (or just ἔλευσιν) τῶν βαρβάρων.<sup>62</sup> The procession to the Golden Gate prescribed by the *Typicon* was probably for the earthquake of the year 542, but it was now modified to suit the new theme in 718, when the role of the Theotokos as protector of Constantinople in times of war was highlighted by the singing of the *troparia* “Your city, oh Mother of God” (Ἡ πόλις σου, θεοτόκε), and “Invincible wall” (Τεῖχος ἀκαταμάχητον), hymns of gratitude for salvation from the enemies, far removed from the penitent tone of procession *troparia* for earthquake commemorations. From the Golden Gate, the procession went to “the church of the Virgin called Jerusalem”, as the *Typicon* states. Here again, focus is on the Theotokos, even if the church dedicated to St Diomedes was perhaps the better known of the two churches in the complex.

Where the Old Testament lectionary typically has only one heading for each feast, the *typika* and the New Testament lectionaries tend to accumulate several commemorations on the same date. After the year 944, the commemoration of the *Mandilion* entered the already crowded 16 August, but there is a great difference in the way the lectionaries of the Old, and the New Testament handle this situation. Out of the 22 relevant New Testament

60. THEOPHANES, *Chronicle*, p. 222; *Typicon*, I, p. 372-374; R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères*, cited n. 25, p. 95-97, 185-186.

61. Athos, Vatop. 622 (12th c.) is alone in devoting 16 August to the earthquake commemoration. Other *prophetologia* mention the earthquake, but place the feast on 31 August (Messina 102, 12th c.), or at the end of the manuscript which is also the end of August (Jer. St. 48, 1203 AD, and Vat. Barb. 446, 12th c.). All four manuscripts have an “earthquake series” of Old Testament readings.

62. These “enemy readings” are printed as L 75abc in *Prophetologium*, II, p. 155-157. Two *prophetologia*, Athos, Kar. 119 (14th c.) and Vat. gr. 768 (11th c.) have the date 16 August for the “attack by the Barbarians”, while Jer. Saba 99 (11th c.), Sinai 9 (11th c.) and Sinai 10 (14th c.) just mention the month of August. In four manuscripts, Athos, Laura 177 (10th c.), Fir. X. 27 (14th c.), Jer. Taph. 510d (9th c.), and Moskva 485 (1116 AD) this series is prescribed for 7 August, the commemoration of the joint attack on the city by the Avars and Persians in 626 AD, and the series was probably originally created for this feast.



lectionaries referred to in note 81, fifteen have the new feast, in most cases just added to the already existing commemorations of the Saracens and of Diomedes. However, the Gospel lection is invariably the same, namely that of the more recent feast of the *Mandilion*, which replaced earlier “disaster readings”. In contrast, the *prophetologia* have only one commemoration on 16 August, which is either that of the earthquake in 542 AD, the lifting of the Arab siege in 718, or the *Mandilion* in 944.<sup>63</sup> The Old Testament readings for the eve of 16 August vary according to which heading is found in each manuscript and it is obvious that the variation in the *prophetologia* on this date is due, not to local variation, but to a difference in time.

When the emperor Romanos Lekapenos in 944 AD acquired the precious image not-made-by-hands, also called *Mandilion*, from Edessa, he had it brought through Anatolia to Constantinople with enormous fanfare and in a great procession. It was arranged for the miraculous image of Jesus to arrive at the Blachernae church for the Holy Virgin on her great feast of Dormition, 15 August, so that the Theotokos, the protector of the imperial city, could be the first to greet her Son in the presence of the emperor, Romanos Lekapenos. The relic was then taken aboard a ship from this, the north-eastern point of the city walls, and sailed around the city in a protective half circle to the south-western point, from where a procession brought it through the Golden Gate, into the city and up to Hagia Sophia, and then to the imperial palace. The city’s magnificent reception of the relic happened on 16 August, which also became the day for the yearly commemoration of the transfer of the *Mandilion* to Constantinople, but at the same time it was the date of the *encaenia* of the church of the Saviour at the Chalke gate, to which the relic must have been transferred as part of the consecration rite. This church was built by Romanos in order to house the cloth on which the image of Our Saviour had been miraculously imprinted, and the spot was carefully chosen. The main entrance to the palace, the Chalke gate opposite Hagia Sophia, was highly charged with symbolic meaning, not least because it had played an important role throughout the long iconoclast period, and it was the place where the emperor communicated with God.

However, other sources heavily influenced by Romanos’ rival Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos<sup>64</sup> claim that the relic was deposited in a different

63. The three *prophetologia* Jer. St. 48 (1203 AD), Messina 102 and Vat. Barb. 446 (12th c.) that do combine the earthquake and the enemy attack in their heading, all have earthquake readings and a date at the end of August.

64. For the sources and the analysis of their bias in favour of Constantine, see B. FLUSIN, L’image d’Édesse, Romain et Constantin, in A. M. CASTAGNO (ed.), *Sacre impronte e oggetti*

church of the Palace, the Pharos church, and it was certainly later transferred here. But for the commemoration of the *encaenia* of the Chalke church, coupled to that of its relic, the *Mandilion*, to have survived, the *Mandilion* must have remained in the Chalke church and the yearly feast celebrated for a number of years.

This commemoration was a two-day service with three Old Testament readings on the eve, printed as L 73 in the *Prophetologium*. The third lection (L 73c) starts out as the “Solomon reading” from 3 Kings 8 for *encaenia* (L 50a), but it continues with an added *cento* of bits and pieces from 3 Kings 9, and from the second book of Paraleipomena:

L 73c     3 Kings 8:22-23a, 27bc, 28-30; 3 Kings 9:2a, 3a; 2 Paraleip. 7:12, (14), 15-16a

L 50a     3 Kings 8:22-23a, 27bc, 28-30

The original, shorter “Solomon lection” for the normal *encaenia* (L 50a) relates how Solomon enters his temple and prays that God will accept this house and dwell in it. The additional text of the modified, longer version created for this feast (L 73c) makes God answer Solomon:

The Lord appeared to Solomon and the Lord said to him, “I have heard your prayer and your supplication and I have consecrated this house and I will forgive the whole people. Now My eyes will be open and My ears attentive to the prayer offered in this place. Now I have consecrated this house, that My name may be there perpetually.”<sup>65</sup>

Transposed to Romanos’ Chalke church, this means that God promises to dwell in the small church which contains His true effigy, the *Mandilion*. Here the Solomon comparison is taken one step further in permitting the builder, Romanos, to have a dialogue with God and receive His promise.<sup>66</sup>

As already mentioned, the New Testament reading program for the feast day on 16 August relates to the *Mandilion*. The epistle reading from St Paul’s letter to the Colossians 1:12-18 contains the characteristic phrase *the image*

“non fatti da mano d’uomo” nelle religioni, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Torino, 18-20 maggio 2010)*, Alessandria 2011, p. 253-277.

65. Printed as L 50a 34-49, *Prophetologium*, II, p. 18. For practical reasons, L 73c has been fused with L 50a in the edition, but it would have been more correct to print the shorter “Solomon reading” as L 50a and the longer version as L 73c.

66. For a detailed discussion of the *Mandilion* and the Chalke church, see S. G. ENGBERG, Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa, in J. DURAND and B. FLUSIN (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Monographies 17), Paris 2004, p. 123-142 and EADEM, Jesu håndklæde: liturgi og politik i Konstantinopel i 900-tallet, *Bulletin, Bysantinska Sällskapet* 22, 2004 (2006), p. 7-18.

of the invisible God, and the Gospel is Luke 9:51-56; 10:22-24; 13:22, a text consisting of passages chosen from three different chapters, the central passage of which is probably Luke 10:23, *And he turned himself to his disciples, and said [...] "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see"*. This may allude to the fact that the *Mandilion* with the face of Christ was only shown to a few select from the imperial family, here compared to the disciples. The passage from Luke ch. 9 would have been chosen because of 9:54: *James and John [...] said, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?"*. God often manifests himself through fire, as in the Burning Bush, and the myth has it that the Persian king Chosroes in the 7th century was driven away from Edessa by fire sent by the holy *Mandilion*. Thus the fire of the Gospel text points to the *Mandilion* in two different ways at the same time.

Fire is also conspicuous in two of the Old Testament readings for the *paramone*: God talks to Moses from out of burning fire in L 73a and L 73b, both centos stitched together from parts of Deuteronomy, a choice which in itself is important. The Book of Deuteronomy is not otherwise represented in the *prophetologion* repertoire, except for the feasts for the Oecumenical Councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon (L 44 and 69). The feast of the *Mandilion* is thus placed in the context of two dogmatically and theologically important events.

The feast of the *Mandilion* and the Chalke church was important enough to displace several older commemorations of local disasters in Constantinople on the same date. The emperor Romanos wanted to set himself a monument in the liturgy of Hagia Sophia, but most of it did not last long, according to the manuscripts.

## 2. Afterlife

The feast of transfer of the *Mandilion* is found in fourteen *prophetologion* manuscripts, seven of which include the *encaenia* of the church of the Saviour at the Chalke gate:

Date	<i>Mandilion</i> only <sup>67</sup>	<i>Mandilion</i> and <i>Encaenia</i> of the Chalke church
11th c.	2 mss	Venezia 13, BL Add. 11841
12th c.	2 mss	Athos, Esf. 46, Messina 102, Vat. Barb. 446

67. *Mandilion* commemoration, without *encaenia*, in Laud 36 and Jer. Saba 247 (11th c.), Alexandria 141 and Athos, Dionys. 82 (12th c.), Petrop., NAUK Q 12 (13th c.), and Par. gr. 372, repair (16th c.). The heading is missing from Messina 131 because of a lacuna.

13th c.	1 ms	Jer. St. 48 (1203 AD)
14th c.	none	none
15th c.	none	Sinai 20
16th c.	1 ms	none

The evidence of the *prophetologia* indicates that the eve was celebrated in the Great Church, whereas the *Mandilion/encaenia* feast itself presumably was held in the Chalke church on the next day, at least as long as the *Mandilion* stayed in the church. Once the relic was transferred to the Pharos church, the *encaenia* part was no longer relevant and the feast would now become focused on the *Mandilion*. It should be noted that we do not know when this happened, only that the relic was certainly in the Pharos church shortly before the Fourth Crusade in 1204 AD. One twelfth-century *prophetologion*, Alexandria 141, has the interlinear note “end of *encaenia*” in the longer, manipulated Solomon lection (L 73c) at the point where the shorter version stops (3 Kings 8:30). The longer version was by now probably perceived as a reading for the *Mandilion*, rather than the *encaenia* reading for the Chalke church that it originally was.

The fate of the *encaenia* commemoration of the Chalke church is parallel to that of the Great Church. Six manuscripts, written before the Fourth Crusade in 1204, mention the *encaenia* commemoration in connection with the transfer from Edessa of the church’s relic, the *Mandilion*, but it disappears from the *prophetologia* after 1204, except for the single occurrence in the late manuscript Sinai 20. After the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 the Chalke church at some point functioned as a zoo, and it was later demolished and forgotten.<sup>68</sup>

After the relic itself had disappeared to the west with the crusaders, the *paramone* of the *Mandilion* feast must have been discontinued, as it is found in only two *prophetologia* later than 1204 AD and is absent from the two printed editions from the 16th century. It is interesting that the *prophetologion* printed in St Petersburg in 1890-93 remembers the *Mandilion* on 16 August with three Old Testament readings, similar to, but not identical with the medieval pericopes, but this is probably due to the importance that the image of the *Mandilion* had acquired in Russia. The feast itself, without Old Testament readings, is found in the Rome edition of the *Menaеum*, where the *Mandilion* is mentioned in each heading, the *synaxarion* and the hymnology of 16 August,<sup>69</sup> and it survives today, still with the *Mandilion*

68. N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER and A. EFFENBERGER, Zur Kirche auf einem Kupferstich von Gugas Inciciyan und zum Standort der Chalke-Kirche, *BZ* 97, 2004, p. 50-94, Abb. 1-14.

69. *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, I-VI, Rome 1888-1902, here VI, p. 421-431.

Gospel reading created in the 10th century, even though the *Mandilion* may not always be mentioned in the heading of the day, or in the *synaxarion*.

Ever since the 13th century the *Mandilion* commemoration was only a “virtual” feast, a celebration of a relic which was no longer in Constantinople, but was only present to the churchgoer in the sense that she/he would often be able to see its representation in the church over a door or a vault, or on an icon. The image of the relic had taken the place of the relic itself and was in this respect not very different from the icon of a martyr or a saint no longer among the living. Romanos’ fame in connection with the *Mandilion* was stolen by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, whose memory also faded. The orphaned feast survived only in liturgical hymns, and the emperors so keen to boast of the great achievement were no longer remembered liturgically, except for references to the anonymous emperors in the canon “of the Holy Eikon” for the day.

#### IV. — THE *ENCAENIA* OF THE ANASTASIS CHURCH

##### 1. *Dedication of the Church of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem*

The third *encaenia* feast found in the *prophetologia* is that of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem on 13 September. The *encaenia* feast of Solomon’s Temple, which Egeria claimed to have happened on the same date as the *encaenia* of the churches on Golgotha, was in reality celebrated in winter, as John 10:22-23 tells us: *And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication [encaenia], and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon’s porch*. This passage from John was the obvious candidate for the Gospel reading for the *encaenia* of the church of the Sepulchre, indeed of any church, once the typological identity of church and temple was established, and it was recited in both Jerusalem and Constantinople for *encaenia*. However, here the similarity ends.

It is often assumed that Constantinople imported the *encaenia* feast of the Anastasis from Jerusalem at a very early stage, e.g. “the Feast of the Dedication of the Golgotha Martyrium on 13 September [...] [was] imported into subsequent calendars at Rome and Constantinople, and thence to the general calendars of those rites”.<sup>70</sup> However, there does not seem to be evidence for this. In a recent article Ekaterina Kovalchuk<sup>71</sup> refers to two

70. J. F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, cited n. 8, p. 239.

71. E. KOVALCHUK, *The Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and St Sophia of Constantinople: An Attempt at Discovering a Hagiographic Expression of the Byzantine Encaenia Feast*, *Scrinium* 6 [*Patrologia Pacifica Secunda*], 2010, p. 263-338, here p. 283-284.

homilies, presumably early, as proof of an ancient Constantinopolitan *encaenia* feast on 13 September: one homily (CPG 4270) attributed by the manuscript to Severian of Gabala, who preached in Hagia Sophia around the year 400,<sup>72</sup> the other (CPG 4927) ascribed to John Chrysostom.<sup>73</sup> In the manuscript Par. gr. 751 (11th or 12th c.) they are found as the first two of a thematic collection of six homilies for the *encaenia* or for the Holy Cross, all six assigned the date of 14 September, the Exaltation of the Cross. The two homilies in question have the somewhat unusual title: εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ, “For the *encaenia* of the Holy Cross”, and whether or not they are genuine, they are at least of a fairly early date. Based on these two homilies Kovalchuk imagines a scenario where a Constantinopolitan *encaenia* feast on 13 September was amalgamated with the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on the following day and the two feasts blended into one, so that eventually the Dedication proper went out of use. However, one should remember that the word ἐγκαίνια is not restricted to the meaning of “dedication feast of a church”, but can also be used in the more general sense of “renewal”, or “presentation”, or even “commemoration”, as in the *synaxarion* for the Sunday after Easter: τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐορτάζομεν τῆς Χριστοῦ Ἀναστάσεως, “we celebrate the commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ”, found in the edition of the *Pentekostarion* printed in Rome in 1883. The homily CPG 4270, ascribed to Severian (but maybe spurious), has its title from the words in the beginning of the homily: Σήμερον τὴν τῶν ἐγκαίνιων τοῦ ζωηφόρου σταυροῦ ἐορτάζομεν πανήγυριν, “Today we celebrate the feast of *encaenia* of the life-giving Cross”, and nowhere in the homily is there any mention of dedication of a building. The preacher himself explains his use of the word *encaenia* thus: “Although hidden underground by the dark malice of the Jews [...], the sacred light from the tree of life has gloriously risen. Therefore we call the day renewal (*encaenismus*) and we celebrate with a multitude of hymns what has already been celebrated and glorified”.<sup>74</sup> The word “renewal” refers to the Holy Cross reappearing from underground,

72. SEVERIAN OF GABALA, *Oratio in dedicationem pretiosae et uiuificae crucis* (CPG 4270), ed. J. ZELLINGER, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, Münster 1926, p. 129-137, and in the manuscript Par. gr. 751, ff. 181<sup>v</sup>-188<sup>v</sup>.

73. PSEUDO-JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Oratio in exaltationem crucis* (CPG 4927), in *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae*, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN, R. REGTUIT and J. TEVEL (*Instrumentum studiorum* 1), Turnhout 1994, p. 80-83, and in Par. gr. 751, ff. 179-181<sup>v</sup>.

74. Κατακρυβείς δὲ τῇ τῶν ἰουδαίων σκοτεινῇ κακοβουλίᾳ [...] τῇ γῇ τὰ νῦν φαιδρῶς “ἀνέτειλε” τὸ ἄδυτον φέγγος “τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς”. Τοῦτου χάριν ἐγκαινισμὸν καλοῦμεν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγομεν παννύμνητον τοῦ ἤδη ἐορτασθέντος καὶ δεδοξασμένου (ed. J. ZELLINGER, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, cited n. 72, p. 130<sup>20-24</sup>; see also *ibidem*, p. 139-140).



and indeed the homily is about the Finding and the Exaltation<sup>75</sup> of the Cross, not about the church in Jerusalem.

Contrary to this, the pseudo-Chrysostom homily *CPG* 4927 does not treat the Holy Cross, but exclusively the *encaenia*. The homilist begins with a wish that he could be in the Holy Land and see the Holy Cross, the Grave of Our Lord, Bethlehem and the Manger. This is the only time the Cross is mentioned, whereas the manger appears seven times.<sup>76</sup> The homily is an exegesis of John 10:22ff., the Gospel reading for *encaenia* in both Jerusalem and Constantinople. The homilist mentions that this pericope is read “today”,<sup>77</sup> and he refers to the *encaenia* of the Anastasis church: “Thus even now [the Jews] celebrate the feast [of *encaenia*] in winter, rejecting the Governor of the human race [i.e. Jesus]”, whereas the Christians, as the listener or reader knows, celebrate the *encaenia* of the Christian temple, the Anastasis church, in September.<sup>78</sup> The homily makes diverse quotes from John 10:22-31, which might suggest that the homilist should be sought in the context of Jerusalem where a longer pericope is recited, whereas the Constantinopolitan pericope stops at John 10:28 or 30. There is nothing in the text to show where the homilist was located, and no compelling reason why the homily should be related to the cathedral of Constantinople but for the manuscript’s attribution of the homily to John Chrysostom, an attribution with which the editors do not seem to agree. The title “*encaenia* of the Holy Cross” need not be contemporary with the composition of the homily and is perhaps best explained either as inspired by the title of the homily by Severian right next to it in the manuscript, or perhaps short for the liturgical term “the *encaenia* [on the day] before the Exaltation [of the Cross]”, also found in the form “the *encaenia* of [the Exaltation of] the Holy Cross”, a heading not unusual in later lectionary manuscripts for the feast on 13 September.<sup>79</sup>

75. *Ibidem*, p. 136<sup>7</sup>: Δεῦτε τοίνυν ἐορτάσωμεν κοινῇ τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ ὑψώσιν, and p. 137<sup>6</sup>: ὅτι σταυρὸς ὑψώθη.

76. Traditionally, the Manger is parallel to the Grave of Jesus, see e.g. S. VERHELST, *Jean de Bolnisi, Homélies des dimanches de carême suivant la tradition de Jérusalem et autres homélies* (SC 580), Paris 2015, p. 457: “Le parallèle établi entre l’incarnation du Verbe au sein de Marie et l’ensevelissement de Jésus au sein de la terre”, and p. 504: “le thème Golgotha-Bethléem est un lieu commun de [...] l’exégèse”.

77. PSEUDO-JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Oratio in exaltationem crucis*, cited n. 73, p. 81<sup>42-43</sup>: σήμερον ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ἐβόα λέγων.

78. *Ibidem*, p. 81<sup>62-64</sup>: Οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐορτὴν ἐν χειμῶνι τελοῦσι τὸν κυβερνήτην τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθετήσαντες. By this he refers to the feast established by the Maccabees and celebrated in November-December (1 Macc. 4:59), also called Hanukkah.

79. In Jer. Saba 98 (11th c.) the heading is ἀναγνώσματα ἐγκαίνιων πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως, in Par. gr. 372 (16th c.) εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ. For an interpretation of *CPG* 4927

The remaining sources used by Kovalchuk all relate to Jerusalem, not Constantinople, and need not concern us here. Instead of assuming that a very hypothetical *encaenia* feast on 13 September in Constantinople was suppressed at some point, I suggest that it did not exist in the capital before the 11th century, when it makes its first appearance in the lectionaries and in the later manuscripts of the *Typicon*.

## 2. *The Anastasis encaenia in Constantinople*

The *encaenia* feast seems to have been a local feast in Jerusalem. It is not present in the tenth-century *Typicon* of Hagia Sophia, which naturally enough has the dedication of Hagia Sophia itself on 22 and 23 December,<sup>80</sup> nor is it found in early *prophetologia*, nor in early New Testament lectionaries.

Even though the Anastasis *encaenia* feast appears in most of the *prophetologia* involved (38 out of 66 manuscripts), it is not present in the early manuscripts, but only makes its appearance in manuscripts from the 11th century onwards. Indeed, the feast seems to be a later addition to the repertoire of the cathedral. The headings range from the laconic εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεως, “For the *encaenia* of the Holy Anastasis” in Par. gr. 243 (1133 AD), to the florid τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ ἁγίου ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως, “The *encaenia* of the holy church of the holy Anastasis of Christ our Lord”, in Athens 24 (1575 AD).

Twenty-nine New Testament lectionaries from the 9th to the 12th centuries, chosen at random,<sup>81</sup> show the same pattern as the *prophetologia*. The older manuscripts do not have the Anastasis *encaenia*, but the feast turns up in manuscripts from the 11th century onwards. Of the nine manuscripts from the 9th and 10th centuries, only one has a dated *encaenia* feast: Sinai 215 which mentions the *anoixia* of Hagia Sophia on 22 December. However, all but one of these early manuscripts<sup>82</sup> have the New Testament readings of Hagia Sophia for *encaenia* as the first entry in the part of the

similar to mine, see V. PERMIKOV, “*Make this the Place where Your Glory Dwells*”, p. 163-165.

80. *Typicon*, I, p. 144 and 146.

81. Twenty-seven *evangelia* and two *apostoloi*: four manuscripts from the 9th century: Sinai 211, 214, 215, Vat. gr. 2144; five from the 10th century: Jer. Saba 236, Sinai 204, 213 (967 AD), 284 (*apostolos*), Jer. Taph. 33; fifteen from the 11th century: Jer. Meg. Panag. (1061 AD), Jer. Saba 12, 23, 64, 82 (“1027 AD”), 84, 152, 266 (*apostolos*), 360, Jer. St. 26 and 44, Sinai 205, 217, 219, Vat. gr. 1156; five from the 12th century: Jaharis ms, Par. gr. 286, Par. suppl. gr. 1096 (“1070 AD”), Sinai 220 (1157 AD) and 221 (1175 AD). All have lectionary (*ekphonic*) notation, except Jer. Saba 82.

82. Sinai 204 does not have the generic *encaenia*.

lectionary that contains “generic readings” (διάφορα), towards the end of the manuscript. Of the twenty later manuscripts (11th and 12th c.) eleven have the September *encaenia* of Anastasis and fourteen the December *encaenia* for Hagia Sophia, which means that most of them have both dedication feasts.<sup>83</sup> In the case of the Hagia Sophia feast they have both the *anoixia* on 22 December and the *encaenia* proper on 23 December. The reading for the Anastasis is not written out, but the reader is referred to 22 December for the full text, even though the month of September comes before that of December in the manuscripts. Clearly the *encaenia* feast of Hagia Sophia is the primary, and that of Anastasis the secondary feast which re-uses the lections created for the Great Church. Like the earlier, so all the later manuscripts of the sample have the generic readings for *encaenia* as well, indicated with an *incipit* and a reference to the place in the manuscript where they are written out.<sup>84</sup> But even these “generic lections” are presented as belonging to the cathedral rite in some manuscripts, where the heading of the generic section is longer than usual: “Gospels read for different commemorations, and processions, and liturgies, and all-night vigils of the Great Church, (and of any church, Par. suppl. gr. 1096) such as they are often (?) celebrated”.<sup>85</sup>

The Anastasis *encaenia* feast makes its first appearance in the later *Typicon* manuscripts such as Par. gr. 1590 from 1063 AD,<sup>86</sup> which for the eve on 12 September prescribes the three Old Testament lections L 50abc followed by the *kontakion* (here called *troparion*) for the second *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia, Ὡς τοῦ ἄνω στερεώματος. On the next day, 13 September, the same *troparion* was sung, followed by the *prokeimenon* *Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever* (Ps. 92:5), the epistle reading Hebrews 3:1ff., the halleluia verse *His foundation is in the holy mountains* (Ps. 86:1), and the Gospel lection John 10:22-28, all elements taken from the *anoixia* of Hagia Sophia on 22 December and the *encaenia* on 23 December. The opening ritual with the singing of *Lift up our gates* (Ps. 23) did not

83. Jer. Saba 266 and 360, Sinai 205 and Vat. gr. 1156 have only the Hagia Sophia dedication, Sinai 221 only that of the Anastasis church.

84. Due to lacunae in some manuscripts, one cannot know whether they originally contained the generic section of the lectionary: Jer. Saba 64, 82, 84, 266, and Jer. St. 44.

85. The heading is found in the *evangelia* Par. suppl. gr. 1096, f. 328<sup>v</sup> (1070 AD), Sinai 219, f. 264<sup>v</sup> and Jer. Saba 152, f. 293<sup>v</sup> (11th c.), and Par. gr. 286, f. 253 (12th c.), and it reads: εὐαγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς διαφόρους μνήμας· καὶ λιτάς· καὶ λειτουργίας· καὶ παννυχίδας τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας· (καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· Par. suppl. gr. 1096) ἄς πολὺ λάμψῃ. Par. suppl. gr. 1096 omits the words καὶ λιτάς.

86. Mateos' manuscript Fa, see *Typicon*, I, p. 24-27, the critical apparatus.

take place because, obviously, there could be no *anoixia* ceremony in Constantinople for a church situated in Jerusalem.

The biblical readings for the feast in Jerusalem and Constantinople, respectively, do not have much in common. The Georgian sources for the early rite of Jerusalem<sup>87</sup> prescribe five Old Testament readings in Jerusalem for 13 September, pericopes which are completely different from those of the *prophetologion*. The same is true for the epistle readings, whereas the Gospel reading from John is similar to that of Hagia Sophia, only longer: John 10:22-37 (42) versus John 10:22-28 (30) in Constantinople. In the case of the *encaenia* on 20 November of Justinian's church in Jerusalem for the Theotokos, as well as the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia itself on 23 December, no Old Testament readings were prescribed in the Georgian sources, just the two New Testament pericopes from Hebrews 3:1-6 and Matthew 16:13ff., obviously a Constantinopolitan element in the context of the Jerusalem lectionary. It is only the generic "Dedication of a church", found in the appendix of the Georgian manuscripts, which prescribes the reading of the Solomon pericope from 3 Kings, perhaps inspired from Constantinople, although in a longer version than L 50a: 3 Kings 8:1-67.<sup>88</sup>

In Jerusalem, as Egeria tells us, the *encaenia* feast on 13 September celebrated the two churches of the Martyrium and the Anastasis, but at the same time it also remembered the Finding of the Holy Cross: "The *Encaenia* of these holy churches is a feast of special magnificence, since it is on the very date when the cross of the Lord was discovered".<sup>89</sup>

It is therefore not strange that the readings in Jerusalem for the *encaenia* and the octave deal with both the church and the Cross,<sup>90</sup> because dedication and Cross were intertwined here from the beginning. This does not happen in Constantinople. The *encaenia* feast on 13 September reuses the rite for the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia, where the Cross is totally absent, and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September does not refer to any church dedication, but exclusively to the Cross. The way the two feasts are structured also differs. In Jerusalem both *encaenia* and Cross are celebrated

87. M. TARŠNICHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (v<sup>e</sup>-viii<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (CSCO 204-205, iber. 13-14), II, Louvain 1960, p. 36-38.

88. *Ibidem*, II, p. 52 and 59; appendix, p. 71-74.

89. Egeria's *Travels*, cited n. 22, p. 146.

90. Cf. *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie, le Čaşoc'*. II, *Édition synoptique des plus anciens témoins*, ed. C. RENOUX (PO 214 [48.2]), Turnhout 1999, p. 42: "Quant aux périopes des célébrations de cette octave (i.e. of 13 September), il faut noter que figurent parmi elles des textes bibliques qui ont pour thème tantôt l'Église, ce qui convient à l'anniversaire d'une dédicace d'églises, tantôt la Croix que l'on vénérât à Jérusalem, aux iv<sup>e</sup>-v<sup>e</sup> siècles, dans les jours qui suivaient le 13 septembre."

during eight days starting on 13 September.<sup>91</sup> In Constantinople the Exaltation of the Cross is prepared with forefeasts on Saturday and Sunday before 14 September and adoration of the Cross from 10 to 13 September, and closed on the Sunday after Exaltation. Into this orderly scheme the *encaenia* feast on 13 September is clearly an intruder.<sup>92</sup>

The above supports the idea that the September *encaenia* feast is a late-comer to the cathedral rite, and this finds corroboration in a note found in two Georgian manuscripts, both from the 11th century and both probably written on Mt Athos.<sup>93</sup> Both mention, at the date 13 September, that the Greeks did not celebrate the *encaenia* of the Anastasis church. The manuscript Sinait. iber. 4/O contains, on f. 6<sup>v</sup>, the somewhat mysterious heading “*Encaenia* of Sion and Jerusalem” and the comment “The Greeks here do not celebrate it, which is why it is not written here”.<sup>94</sup> The corresponding note in Tifl. A 193 is longer: “*Encaenia* in Jerusalem [...] Except for Hagia Sophia, the feast of *encaenia* in Jerusalem is not celebrated as a great feast in the Greek Church. But the order of Hagia Sophia is followed, if not here [i.e. on Mt Athos], then in other places, which is the reason why we have briefly described the *akolouthia* of this feast”.<sup>95</sup> Both manuscripts also mention the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia 23 December, apparently without liturgical material.

This was written at a time when 13 September was not known to the “Greek” churches, at least not on Mt Athos, but was celebrated as a great feast in the cathedral of Constantinople, which is consistent with a scenario where the Anastasis *encaenia* were a new feast in Hagia Sophia and had not yet spread to other areas. Of course, the fact that it makes its appearance in 11th century *prophetologia* only indicates that it was a great feast at this time, with an eve (*paramone*) and Old Testament readings, and it does not in itself preclude the previous existence of a simple, one-day Anastasis commemoration in Hagia Sophia; however, the evidence of the *Typicon* supports the theory that the Anastasis *encaenia* were not part of the cathedral rite before the 11th century.

91. For a survey of the structure of the feast in Jerusalem, based on the Georgian sources, see V. PERMIKOV, “*Make this the Place where Your Glory Dwells*”, p. 239-247.

92. A similar observation in D. GALADZA, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford 2018, p. 244-246. In Jerusalem, the *encaenia* is the principal feast, while the Exaltation of the Cross on the second day of the *encaenia* octave is a “concomitant feast”, but in Constantinople, it is the other way round and the Exaltation is the principal feast (paraphrased by me).

93. I am grateful to Tinatin Chronz for kindly making this material available to me.

94. Z. CHANKIEVI and L. DJGAMAIA (ed.), [*Description of the Georgian Manuscripts. Sinai Collection 2*], Tbilisi 1979, p. 133.

95. Quoted from K. KEKELIDZE, *Литургические грузинские памятники в отечественных книгохранилищах и их научное значение*, Tiflis 1908, p. 232.

Normally, a church would only celebrate its own dedication feast, not that of a different church. A *prophetologion* would only contain one *encaenia* feast, which in five of the manuscripts is that of a local church.<sup>96</sup> The reason why so many *encaenia* are mentioned in the *Typicon* of the Great Church, is that the clergy of Hagia Sophia were involved in the service of the churches in question, not that the commemorations were celebrated in the Great Church itself. An example is the 9 July *encaenia* feast of the Theotokos church ἐν τῇ πηγῇ which was celebrated on the day itself by the patriarch and the clergy of the cathedral, first in the church of St Mokios and then in the Theotokos church where the *anoixia* and the *encaenia* took place. The *encaenia* of Chalkoprateia, which in some ways was an annex to Hagia Sophia, were a great feast of two days, including Old Testament readings on the eve, and here the preparatory service on the eve and the *orthros* on the next day happened in Hagia Sophia, while the *anoixia* and *encaenia* proper were celebrated in Chalkoprateia.<sup>97</sup> Even so, the *encaenia* of Chalkoprateia are nowhere mentioned in the *prophetologion* manuscripts. Having *encaenia* feasts, other than its own, celebrated in Hagia Sophia is in itself an anomaly, and only two such “foreign” commemorations ever found their way into the repertoire of the *prophetologion*: the *encaenia* of Romanos’ church for the *Mandilion* over the Chalki gate on 16 August and the Anastasis *encaenia* on 13 September.

The appearance of the September *encaenia* in the cathedral rite of Hagia Sophia as late as the 11th century is probably due to the fact that the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos paid for the rebuilding of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem after its destruction by Caliph al-Hakim, a restoration which was finished in the year 1048, according to William of Tyre.<sup>98</sup> The emperor marked his achievement in the same way as had Romanos in 944 AD, that is, by having a feast established in Hagia Sophia (on 13 September) with an evening service the day before, including Old Testament readings identical to those of Hagia Sophia’s own *encaenia*. It should be noted that this feast is always for the Anastasis church alone, and not for “the churches”, as it was in Jerusalem, because Constantine only rebuilt the Rotunda and not the Basilica.

Among the numerous churches and monasteries that received generous gifts from this emperor was Hagia Sophia, where Constantine and his wife

96. See above, I.1.

97. *Typicon*, I, p. 334 and 136-138.

98. WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon*, I, 6, PL 201, 219-220; see also R. OUSTERHOUT, Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, 1989, p. 66-78, here p. 68.



Zoe were portrayed in the mosaic panel in the south gallery. In Chios' Nea Moni, of which Monomachos was the principal benefactor, he was indirectly portrayed in the Anastasis scene, where Solomon is represented with the emperor's features, perhaps a discreet allusion to his restoration of the Anastasis church.<sup>99</sup> In a parallel, indirect way, Constantine Monomachos is referred to in the "Solomon lection" from 3 Kings (L 50a) of the *encaenia* feast, the pericope chosen for Hagia Sophia and reused for the Anastasis *encaenia*. Between the lines, Monomachos is compared to both Solomon the temple builder and Justinian the church builder, since the congregation of Hagia Sophia would have known that these lections were specific for their church and its builder.

### 3. *Afterlife*

The Anastasis *encaenia* feast is found in the *prophetologia* in an unbroken line, once it has entered the reading program in the 11th century.

Anastasis *encaenia*, 13 September, found in *prophetologion* manuscripts:

11th c.	5 mss
12th c.	9 mss
13th c.	7 mss
14th c.	5 mss
15th c.	1 ms
16th c.	9 mss
17th c.	2 mss

The great majority of the manuscripts have the generic readings, that is, those of Hagia Sophia. However, eight manuscripts have the longer Solomon lection here, that of the Chalke church (L 73c), instead of the shorter, Hagia Sophia reading (L 50a). The two could easily be confused because

99. D. MOURIKI, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, Athens 1985, here I, p. 137-138 and II, pl. 52 and p. 53. See also R. OUSTERHOUT, *Rebuilding the Temple*, cited n. 98, p. 78. Unfortunately, some misunderstandings have crept into R. OUSTERHOUT, *New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture*, in P. MAGDALINO and R. NELSON (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington, DC 2010, p. 223-253, here p. 250-251. *Encaenia* are ceremonies (not readings). All but one of the 66 *prophetologion* manuscripts have identical readings, viz. the three Old Testament pericopes created for the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia. These three pericopes are never associated with 14 September or with the Exaltation of the Cross. In the *Prophetologium* they are printed under the date 13 September only because this is their placement in the *dux* manuscript, Laud 36, whereas other manuscripts have them under different dates (see *Prophetologium*, II, p. 16-20 and 212). These three Old Testament readings were associated with Hagia Sophia exclusively, but over time they came to be used for other *encaenia*, including that of the Anastasis Rotunda.

they had the same *incipit*, but four of the manuscripts mark the end of the shorter reading with the note τέλος (end), and all four manuscripts make it clear that the shorter lection is the correct one. The longer reading appears at the Anastasis *encaenia* in both printed editions of the *prophetologion*, in 1545 and 1596, but in the *Menaion* printed in Rome in 1888, the shorter version has replaced it. The *Προφητολόγιον* of 2008 also has the short Solomon lection of Justinian. Strangely, the St Petersburg edition from 1890-93 does not contain the Anastasis *encaenia*.

The Anastasis *encaenia* feast in Hagia Sophia was from the outset a “virtual” feast, celebrating the emperor’s achievement in a distant land. Whereas the dedication feast of Hagia Sophia itself became irrelevant, even painful, when the church was turned into a mosque, the Anastasis never suffered the same fate but remained a church. It is not surprising that the celebration of this church, so important to the Orthodox world, not least because of the yearly miracle of the Easter light, was the one to survive.

#### V. – SYMEON OF THESSALONIKI

Symeon, archbishop of Thessaloniki 1416/7-1429, wrote the commentary “The Holy Church Building and its Consecration”,<sup>100</sup> in which he states, in chapter 125 before describing the rite of consecration, that “In Constantinople, the Great Church (that once was) used to celebrate its *encaenia*; this ought to happen today as well [...] and it is necessary to renew both this, the first [of churches] and these [other churches], that is, both Hagia Sophia and all other churches should again celebrate their own *encaenia*.” This repeats what he has already said in chapter 121, “The rite of *encaenia* must be celebrated every year in all churches”, and again in chapter 122: “Every church must celebrate the *encaenia* of its consecration on the [proper] day”,<sup>101</sup> a practice that had stopped in Hagia Sophia because of the Frankish occupation of Constantinople 1204-1261, as Symeon states in chapter 122:

I have researched the matter and found this: after Constantinople was enslaved by the Latins and the men of the church were driven out and settled elsewhere, this practice stopped. And since they returned after a very long time, during

100. *De sacro templo*, PG 155, 305-365. The translations from this text are mine.

101. “Ὅτι τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐτελεῖτο πάλαι τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μεγάλης τότε ἐκκλησίας· ἔδει οὖν τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίνεσθαι [...] καὶ δεῖον ἀνακαινίζειν καὶ καίειν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ταύτας, PG 155, 329<sup>A</sup> (ch. 125); “Ὅνπερ δὴ καὶ τύπον τῶν ἐγκαίνιων ἀναγκαῖον τελεῖσθαι κατ’ ἔτος ἐν παντὶ ναῷ, PG 155, 324<sup>D</sup> (ch. 121); καὶ ἐκάστου δὲ ναοῦ χρὴ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τελεῖσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως τὰ ἐγκαίνια, PG 155, 325<sup>B</sup> (ch. 122).

which this was ignored, so that they got used to not exercising it, the practice stopped; and from this church (i.e. Hagia Sophia), as from a mother, the habit <of not celebrating *encaenia*> spread to the other churches as well. That <the *encaenia* feast> from the very beginning was obligatory and dictated by tradition appears from the fact that the church of the holy and life-giving Grave of Christ celebrates its *encaenia*. And one should not say, as an excuse, that all churches may be content with <celebrating> this feast, since it is the *encaenia* of <just> one church; for all churches alike are holy temples, and the grave and dwelling place of Christ. Therefore *encaenia* used to be celebrated in all churches, and this we can read in the synaxaria.<sup>102</sup>

Symeon referred to the *encaenia* of the church of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem as proof that the custom itself is old and dictated by tradition. Whether or not he himself celebrated the Anastasis *encaenia* in Thessaloniki is a little unclear, but it is likely that he did. The Anastasis *encaenia* feast was celebrated by Hagia Sophia in the 11th century, as appears from the liturgical books as well as from the Georgian manuscripts discussed above, which also reveal that other churches followed the *Typicon* of Hagia Sophia, even if they did not do so on Mt Athos. Consequently this new feast of Hagia Sophia was adopted wide and far, and the *encaenia* feast on 13 September spread from “the mother church” to the other Chalcedonian churches and must have entered Symeon’s *typikon* as well.

Symeon then proceeds to explain that his city, Thessaloniki, has maintained the ancient rite of the *encaenia* feast, which is celebrated on the eve (ἑσπέρας) and in the morning of the feast itself (ἐν τῷ ὁρθρῳ), and which includes a procession bringing the relics of the church in question to “the old church” and later again back to the celebrating church, the ceremony of *anoixia*, the entry into the church while singing the hymn of Hagia Sophia Ὡς τοῦ ἄνω στερεώματος, and also the New Testament readings for *encaenia* which, Symeon says, “you can find in old *evangelia* on the 22nd and 23rd December”, that is, the *anoixia* and *encaenia* dates of Hagia Sophia. He does not mention the Old Testament readings.

As already said, three *prophetologia* before 1100, two of which were used in Constantinople, contain the *encaenia* feast, each for their own church and with the Old Testament readings of Hagia Sophia (L 50abc), and thus prove Symeon right: this was indeed the custom before the Frankish occupation. Two Grottaferrata manuscripts from the 13th century also have the *encaenia* of their own church, which would not have been influenced by the Fourth Crusade and the liturgical changes in Hagia Sophia in the late

102. PG 155, 325<sup>B-D</sup> (ch. 122). See also O. STRUNK, The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia, DOP 9-10, 1956, p. 177-202, here p. 177-179.

13th century.<sup>103</sup> Whether or not Symeon in the 15th century may have contributed to reviving the custom of celebrating the *encaenia* of local churches, needs further investigation.

## CONCLUSION

The *prophetologion* manuscripts reveal that Hagia Sophia had three *encaenia* feasts with Old Testament readings commemorating the consecration of a church in the 6th, 10th and 11th centuries, although it should be noted that the tenth-century feast was only partly *encaenia*. All three feasts were closely connected to an emperor who wished to be remembered as a church builder, and this was achieved by different liturgical means, one of which was a series of Old Testament readings chosen for the occasion.

### 1. Sixth century

Relatively little is known about the first *encaenia* ceremony of Justinian's Hagia Sophia, which took place on 27 December 537, according to Theophanes, but it seems to have been similar to that of the reconsecration in 562. We do not know whether there was a yearly commemoration of the first *encaenia* between the years 538 and 557, when the church was badly damaged by earthquake, but it seems likely that there was. However, an *encaenia* feast on the date 27 December has apparently left no trace in the liturgical manuscripts, so it must have been replaced by the second consecration feast, which continued as a yearly commemoration feast.

As to the second consecration, on 24 December 562, we are on firmer ground: the *kontakion* Ὡς τοῦ ἔνω στερεώματος, probably written for the occasion, allows us to deduce that the Solomon reading and the two readings from Proverbs were in place, and the historians, as well as Paul Silentiarios' poem illuminate for us the two-day ecclesiastical feast with *pannychis*, procession and *anoixia*. They also tell us about the sumptuous secular feast, prolonged until Epiphany, during which Justinian had tens of thousands of livestock slaughtered each day to feed the emperor's subjects in a massive, multi-day propaganda event. Myths and anecdotes surrounding the building

103. Trier ms, Sinai 17, and Princeton 112 (before 1100); also Grot. A.8.4 and 6 (13th c.), see above, I.1.

process of Hagia Sophia have survived in the *Diegesis*, and also in the *Patria*, where Justinian several times is given the proud epithet “the builder of Hagia Sophia” and becomes connected to Solomon through the anecdote of his famous exclamation of having surpassed him. Also in the *Patria* one finds the story of the statue of Solomon put up by Justinian in such a position that the temple builder must watch Hagia Sophia and be reminded of his inferiority to Justinian, whose church surpassed his temple in size and beauty.<sup>104</sup>

Justinian could not be mentioned explicitly in the church, but the Solomon reading recited in his church every December ensured that the congregation would be reminded of him and his great achievement for many years, probably even centuries. The *kontakion* composed for the occasion and perhaps sung during the *pannychis*, would also be a reminder of “the imperial ideology of Justinian, beautifully encapsulated in the last verse with its prayer for peace through the banishment of heresies and the defeat of the barbarians and for the unanimity of the Orthodox emperor and the church hierarchy.”

O Saviour, born of a virgin, preserve this house until the consummation of the world! May thine eyes be always turned towards it! Heed the cries of the servants of thine house and grant peace to thy people by banishing heresies and crushing the strength of the barbarians! Keep the faithful priest[s] and the Basileus safe and adorned with all piety! And save our souls, since thou art God: The life and resurrection of all!<sup>105</sup>

The dates for the *anoixia* (22 December) and *encaenia* (23 December) of Hagia Sophia remain the same from the earliest appearance in a ninth-century *evangelion* manuscript<sup>106</sup> and until the feast fades away in the 13th century. There seems to have been just one *encaenia* feast of Hagia Sophia, viz. that of 562 AD, which means that no other emperor instituted a new, different *encaenia* feast, even though there were earthquakes and repairs to the Great Church during these centuries. This could be because no repairs were so extensive that Hagia Sophia had to be closed down or, alternatively, that the reconsecration was made to coincide with the already existing feast on 22 and 23 December. However, the simplest explanation is that Justinian’s spectacular consecration in 562 was indeed remembered and maintained,

104. *Scriptores*, II, p. 231-232: Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ κτίτωρ τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας (see also p. 65 and 219); for the statue of Solomon, see p. 171<sup>9-12</sup>.

105. Quote and translation of stanza 18, the poem’s last, from A. PALMER, *The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa*, cited n. 42, p. 144-145.

106. Sinai 215 has only the *anoixia* date 22 December, but the *encaenia* must have been on the next day.

until the Frankish occupation in the 13th century put an end to the traditional liturgy of Hagia Sophia, including its *encaenia* feast.

## 2. Tenth century

In the year 944, the emperor Romanos Lekapenos set out to emulate Justinian with his small church above the Chalke gate. Hagia Sophia had been consecrated with the holy *megaleion*, the Gospel lectionary, as the symbol of Christ Logos, but the church of the Saviour at the Chalke gate was consecrated with a relic even closer to Christ himself, the image on a cloth miraculously created by the living Jesus. The transfer of the relic from Edessa to Constantinople was spectacular, and the reception by the imperial family in Blachernae, the protective circle drawn by the *Mandilion* around the city on the 15th and 16th August, the triumphal entry through the Golden Gate and the second reception of the *Mandilion* in both Hagia Sophia and the imperial palace must have offered a splendid show to the population. Even though the sources do not give details about the final deposition of the *Mandilion*, there may have been an evening service on 15 August 944 in Hagia Sophia, before the relic was brought on 16 August to Hagia Sophia, where a service was held, and from there via the imperial throne to the tiny<sup>107</sup> Chalke church built for it and now consecrated by it.

The three Old Testament readings were selected specially for this feast, two for the *Mandilion*, while the third was a manipulated version of the original Solomon reading of the Hagia Sophia *encaenia*, but with additional text stating that God answered the prayer of Solomon/Romanos and promised that He would consent to dwell in the church that held His relic. In this way Romanos referred back to Hagia Sophia, but at the same time he claimed to surpass, not only Solomon but also Justinian. However, Romanos' imprint on the liturgy was short-lived; he was deposed only a few months later and Constantine Porphyrogennetos stole his achievement and rewrote history.<sup>108</sup>

The transfer of the *Mandilion* from Edessa had an impact on the reading program: the Solomon reading was changed to include God's answer to Solomon and thus indirectly point to Romanos Lekapenos. This case is sufficiently well documented to prove the point that the emperor had a direct influence on the lectionary and the liturgy.

107. *Scriptores*, II, p. 282<sup>8</sup> : μικρὸν πᾶν.

108. For the roles of Romanos and Constantine Porphyrogennetos, see also B. FLUSIN, L'image d'Édesse, Romain et Constantin, cited n. 64.



### 3. *Eleventh century onwards*

The Anastasis *encaenia* feast made its first appearance in the lectionaries in the 11th century,<sup>109</sup> and it should be remembered that the series of Old Testament readings of Hagia Sophia is identical for all other *encaenia*, including that of the Anastasis church, something which in itself indicates that the feast of the cathedral church is the original, and that of the Jerusalem church secondary. In Hagia Sophia, the 13 September *encaenia* feast was not an imitation of the *encaenia* feast in Jerusalem, but was created to celebrate – indirectly – the emperor who had restored the Anastasis church, and it was modelled on the centuries-old *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia itself. It is also worth noting that the feast is always called “of the Anastasis church”, in singular, which tallies with the fact that only the Anastasis Rotunda was restored by the Byzantine emperor, whereas the *encaenia* feast in Jerusalem was for “the churches”, both the Rotunda and the Martyrium. Constantine IX Monomachos was eager to have his achievements in church building and restoration seen and appreciated, and a yearly reminder, on 13 September, of his restoration of the Anastasis church would fit the bill quite well.

After the Fourth Crusade, with the impoverishment of the empire and the degradation of the rite of Hagia Sophia, the *encaenia* of Hagia Sophia disappeared from its liturgy, as well as from the manuscripts, whereas the Anastasis *encaenia* on 13 September remained, according to the manuscripts and the testimony of Symeon of Thessaloniki. Already in the 11th and 12th centuries the feast would have spread from “the mother church” to all the Chalcedonian churches and could thus survive even after Hagia Sophia had been turned into a mosque in 1453. The fact that it was a “virtual” feast for a faraway church in Jerusalem, which continued to serve as a church, may have helped keep it alive in churches spread over a large area, now predominantly Muslim. Maybe this is what Symeon meant by saying that churches were satisfied to celebrate just one *encaenia* feast, that of the Anastasis, representing all churches of Christianity, because the feast had changed into something else by this time: no longer the commemoration of the achievement of a Byzantine emperor, but a celebration of the church in Jerusalem which originally held the True Cross, to be elevated the next day in all churches of the orthodox world. In this way, the Byzantine *encaenia* for the first time became connected to the Elevation of the Cross on the next day, an interpretation of

109. D. GALADZA, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, cited n. 92, p. 246: “The enkainia of the Anastasis was initially a local Hagiopolitan celebration, and was not commemorated in Constantinople until the tenth century”, a statement with which I wholeheartedly agree, except for the date, for which I have not seen any evidence.

the feast remarkably ill-suited to the Old Testament readings for 13 September. But presumably, by now most people paid little attention to these readings, which anyway were to disappear together with the *paramone* for the feast. The *encaenia* feast itself, on 13 September, is remembered by the Orthodox Church still today.

Far from being the background noise, spoken as prose (χύμα), to which the Old Testament lections were reduced in later times, in the Middle Ages they were ceremoniously recited (ἐκφώνωζ) and fraught with meaning, potentially political and highly sensitive to contemporaneous interpretation, as appears from the anecdote about the iconoclast emperor Leo the Armenian and the Isaiah lection.<sup>110</sup> That Heraclius left his imprint on the Lenten reading program in memory of his spectacular recovery of the True Cross is an assumption which finds support in manuscripts and comparative liturgical study. Justinian is remembered as the builder of Hagia Sophia and the superior of Solomon, and the readings for his Hagia Sophia survived for many centuries, although in the Palaeologan period they were used to celebrate the Anastasis church in Jerusalem, rather than Hagia Sophia. Of the anonymous *kontakion* of Hagia Sophia only the *prooimion*, Ὡς τοῦ ἁγίου στερεώματος, survives to this day, used as an *apolytikion* on the eve of the Anastasis *encaenia*.

One element that has survived, apparently even gained ground in recent years, is the dialogue between those outside and those inside which took place before the opening of the doors and the entry of the procession into the newly consecrated church. The dialogue, based on verses 7 and 8 of Psalm 23, where the priest proclaims *Lift up the gates* (ἄρατε πύλας), while knocking on the church door, and someone inside the church asks *Who is this King of glory?*, is still part of the *encaenia* of a new church, just as it once was part of the yearly commemoration of the *encaenia*. However, when the yearly *encaenia* were no longer performed, as lamented by Symeon of Thessaloniki, few people would get the chance to witness the opening ritual, so dramatic and appealing to popular imagination, but instead of being forgotten it found new life when it was transferred to Easter and re-interpreted. It is now normally celebrated on Good Friday in Greece, at the moment when the procession returns to the church with the *Epitaphios*, the symbol of Christ's grave, and the ritual has come to represent His descent into Hades when He breaks open its doors. The person inside the church, who holds the door and tries to keep the procession from entering, is understood

110. See above, n. 43.

as Death, the ruler of the underworld, or even Satan himself. In this form the ritual is known from Skiathos in the mid-19th century from Aristidis Moraïtidis' novel "*Ἀγατε πύλας...*", published in 1891 but describing a situation many years earlier.

In some places the ritual is performed after the Resurrection and the "Christ is risen", but still symbolizing the descent into Hades. With its great potential for noise and banging on the church doors, sometimes even with a hammer or with the procession cross, and with responding noise from the inside of the church symbolizing the angry forces of Hades, the ritual had the potential to become popular in recent years, even if somewhat frowned upon by clergy. One also finds it in Greek Orthodox churches of arberësh villages of Calabria,<sup>111</sup> which could indicate that this popular Easter ritual is relatively old. Today, the attending crowd and all those who upload videos of the ritual of *Lift up the gates* on YouTube would be astonished to learn that it goes back to the 6th century and the Great Church of Constantinople.

#### APPENDIX. CONTENTS OF THE *PROPHETOLOGIUM*

L number	Date	Feast
1	25 December	Nativity
2	6 January	Epiphany
<i>Triodion</i> part:		
3-4		Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week
5-34	Week 1-6 of Lent	
35		Palm Saturday
36-40	Holy Week	
41		Easter eve
<i>Pentekostarion</i> part:		
42		Midpentecost
43		Ascension
44		Sunday before Pentecost: Council in Nicaea (325 AD)
45		Pentecost
46		Monday after Pentecost; <i>gonyklisia</i>
47		Sunday after Pentecost: All Saints

111. I owe this information to the kindness of Oliver Gerlach.

*Menologion part:*

48	1 September	Symeon Stylites; Indiction
49	8 September	Nativity of the Virgin
50	13 September	Dedication of the Anastasis church (1048 AD?)
51	14 September	Exaltation of Cross
52	26 September	John the Evangelist ( <i>Metastasis</i> )
53	11 October	Seventh Council in Nicaea (787 AD)
54	26 October	Earthquake (740 AD); St. Dimitrios
55	8 November	Archangel Michael
56	13 November	John Chrysostom
57	21 November	Presentation of the Virgin ( <i>Eisodia</i> )
58	1 January	Circumcision; St. Basil
59	25 January	Gregory Theologos
60	27 January	<i>Translatio</i> of John Chrysostom (438 AD)
61	2 February	Presentation
62	17 March	Earthquake (between 780 AD and 797)
63	25 March	Annunciation
64	8 May	John Evangelist
65	11 May	Foundation of Constantinople
66	5 June	Enemy incursion (623 AD?)
67	24 June	Nativity of John the Baptist
68	29 June	Peter and Paul
69	16 July	Fourth Council in Chalkedon (451 AD)
70	20 July	Elijah
71	6 August	Transfiguration
72	15 August	Dormition of the Virgin
73	16 August	<i>Mandilion</i> of Edessa (944 AD)
74	29 August	Beheading of John the Baptist
75	August	Enemy incursion (7 August 626, 16 August 717/718)

*Abbreviations*

*Anecdota Cramer: Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, ed. J. A. CRAMER, II, Oxford 1839.

*Chronicon Paschale: Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. DINDORF, I (CSHB), Bonn 1832.

*CIMAGL: Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, Copenhagen 1969-.

*Diegesis: Διήγησις περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης ἀγίας σοφίας*, in *Scriptores*, I, p. 74-108.

GCS: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Berlin 1897-.

JOHN MALALAS, *World Chronicle*: JOHN MALALAS, *World Chronicle*, ed. H. THURN, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (CFHB 35), Berlin 2000.

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- Prophetologium: Prophetologium*, I-II, ed. C. HØEG, G. ZUNTZ and G. ENGBERG (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria 1), Copenhagen 1939-1981.
- Scriptores: Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I-II, ed. Th. PREGER, Leipzig 1901-1907.
- Septuaginta: Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. A. RAHLFS, I-II, Stuttgart 1935.
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- Athos, Esf. 46: Hagion Oros, Mone Esphigmenou, 46 (Lambros 2059; Diktyon 21677).
- Athos, Iviron 882: Hagion Oros, Mone Iberon, 882 (Lambros 5002; Diktyon 24477).
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- Athos, Laura 177: Hagion Oros, Mone Megistes Lauras, B 57 (Eustratiades 177; Diktyon 27109).
- Athos, Laura 190: Hagion Oros, Mone Megistes Lauras, B 70 (Eustratiades 190; Diktyon 27122).
- Athos, Vatop. 622: Hagion Oros, Mone Batopediou, 622 (Diktyon 18766).
- BL Add. 11841: London, British Library, Add. 11841 (Diktyon 38869).
- Christ Ch. 5: Oxford, Christ Church, Wake gr. 5 (Diktyon 48527).
- Dresden A 104: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, A. 104 (Diktyon 13455).
- Escorial y.III.2: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, y.III.2 (de Andrés 325; Diktyon 15538).
- Fir. X.27: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 10.27 (Diktyon 16149).
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- Grot. A.δ.4: Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, A.δ.4 (gr. 95; Diktyon 17494).
- Grot. A.δ.6: Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, A.δ.6 (gr. 367; Diktyon 17650).
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 Messina 102: Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria Giacomo Longo, S. Salv. 102 (Diktyon 40763).  
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 Patmos 213: Patmos, Mone tou Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou, 213 (Diktyon 54457).  
 Petrop. 482: Sankt-Peterburg Rossijskaja Nacional'naja biblioteka, Φ. 906 (Gr.), 482 (Diktyon 57554).  
 Petrop., NAUK Q 12: Sankt-Peterburg, Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Biblioteka, Inostrannyh rukopisej Q N° 12 (Diktyon 56854).  
 Princeton 112: Princeton (NJ), UL, MS. 112 (Diktyon 55701), formerly Istanbul, Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Hagia Trias 17.  
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 Sinai 9: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 9 (Diktyon 58384).  
 Sinai 10: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 10 (Diktyon 58385).  
 Sinai 13: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 13 (Diktyon 58388).  
 Sinai 17: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 17 (Diktyon 58392).



- Sinai 20: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 20 (Diktyon 58395).  
 Sinai 204: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 204 (Diktyon 58579).  
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 Sinai 213: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 213 (Diktyon 58588).  
 Sinai 214: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 214 (Diktyon 58589).  
 Sinai 215: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 215 (Diktyon 58590).  
 Sinai 217: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 217 (Diktyon 58592).  
 Sinai 219: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 219 (Diktyon 58594).  
 Sinai 220: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 220 (Diktyon 58595).  
 Sinai 221: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 221 (Diktyon 58596).  
 Sinai 284: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 284 (Diktyon 58659).  
 Sinai 927: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 927 (Diktyon 59302).  
 Sinai NE M 173: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, NE gr. M 173 (Diktyon 61000).  
 Trier ms: Trier, Domschatz, fonds principal Hs. 72 (143F) (Diktyon 64060).  
 Vall. D 62: Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, D 62 (Diktyon 56318).  
 Vat. Barb. 233: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 233 (Diktyon 64779).  
 Vat. Barb. 336: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 336 (Diktyon 64879).  
 Vat. Barb. 446: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 446 (Diktyon 64779).  
 Vat. gr. 155: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 155 (Diktyon 66786).  
 Vat. gr. 768: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 768 (Diktyon 67399).  
 Vat. gr. 1156: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156 (Diktyon 67787).  
 Vat. gr. 2144: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2144 (Diktyon 68774).  
 Vat. Reg. gr. 75: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. gr. 75 (Diktyon 66245).  
 Venezia 13: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 13 (coll. 380; Diktyon 69484).

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# LES MATHÉMATIQUES DE MICHEL D'ÉPHÈSE

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## INTRODUCTION

Michel d'Éphèse est un prolifique commentateur byzantin d'Aristote ; il a vécu pendant la première moitié du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle et a collaboré, avec Eustrate de Nicée et dans l'entourage d'Anne Comnène, à la rédaction d'un commentaire à l'*Éthique à Nicomaque*<sup>1</sup>. Il est aussi célèbre par sa manière de travailler en recyclant les exégèses d'autres commentateurs<sup>2</sup>, souvent à la

\* Nous remercions Inmaculada Pérez Martín et Michele Trizio pour leur lecture critique. Voir la liste des abréviations à la fin de l'article.

1. Pour une orientation sur Michel et ses écrits, voir la notice de P. GOLITSIS dans R. GOULET (éd.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, VII, Paris 2018, p. 609-616, avec la bibliographie. La littérature sur les commentateurs byzantins d'Aristote est vaste, et ses acteurs (Michel Psellos, Jean Italos, Michel d'Éphèse, Eustrate, Léon Magentinos, Sophonias, Georges Pachymérès, d'innombrables scholiastes anonymes, etc.) sont plus ou moins bien étudiés ; pour une première orientation, voir les entrées du *Dictionnaire* cité *supra*, et aussi la synthèse de M. TRIZIO, *Reading and Commenting on Aristotle*, dans A. KALDELLIS et N. SINIOSOGLU (éd.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2017, p. 397-412 ; deux recueils d'études en lien direct avec la nôtre sont : K. IERODIAKONOU (éd.), *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, Oxford 2002 ; Ch. BARBER et D. JENKINS (éd.), *Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics* (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 101), Leyde-Boston 2009 ; deux éditions remarquables : S. EBBESEN, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi*, I-III (Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum 7), Leyde 1981 (un véritable chef-d'œuvre) et S. KOTZABASSI, *Byzantinische Kommentatoren der aristotelischen Topik. Johannes Italos & Leon Magentinos*, Thessalonique 1999. Plus généralement, sur les activités savantes au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, voir A. KALDELLIS, *Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, dans Ch. BARBER et D. JENKINS (éd.), *Medieval Greek Commentaries*, cité *supra*, p. 1-43. L'étude pionnière sur le cercle d'Anne Comnène est celle de R. BROWNING, *An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena*, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 8, 1962, p. 1-12. Sur Eustrate et sur ledit cercle, voir plus récemment la mise au point de M. TRIZIO, *Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea* (Biblioteca filosofica di Quaestio 23), Bari 2016.

2. C'est Michel lui-même qui le dit dans son commentaire à l'*EN*, V, 10 (éd. G. Hayduck [voir *infra*]), p. 50<sup>6-10</sup>. Pour une mise au point récente sur la question, avec bibliographie, voir

limite du plagiat. On ne lui connaît pas d'autres écrits structurés en dehors de ses commentaires aux ouvrages d'Aristote.

À leur tour, les prolégomènes, abrégés, paraphrases ou commentaires aux œuvres d'Aristote, souvent rédigés dans un contexte didactique, constituent une bonne partie de la production philosophique byzantine. Dans leur travail exégétique, les savants byzantins se sont concentrés sur le corpus *logique* et sur des traités du Stagirite qui n'avaient apparemment pas reçu d'attention de la part des commentateurs de l'Antiquité tardive. Michel appartient à cette deuxième catégorie : il a commenté, comme nous venons de le dire, quelques livres d'*EN*, mais aussi des traités biologiques et d'autres écrits inclus dans les *parva naturalia*.

Afin de mieux définir l'horizon intellectuel de Michel, nous présentons deux traces de ses activités savantes qui ont pour objet les mathématiques et qui ne se réduisent pas à remâcher les scholies des autres : le fait qu'il a possédé un manuscrit des *Éléments* d'Euclide qui faisait autorité (Sect. I) et des indices de lecture de l'*Introduction arithmétique* de Nicomaque (Sect. II). Une brève conclusion esquissera une vision d'ensemble.

#### I. – LE « LIVRE DE L'ÉPHÉSIE » DES *ÉLÉMENTS* D'EUCLIDE : UN EXEMPLAIRE DE RÉFÉRENCE ?

Le manuscrit Wien, ÖNB, phil. gr. 31 (V) est un corpus euclidien composé vers 1100 à Constantinople<sup>3</sup> ; il contient les *Éléments* en treize livres, suivis des livres additionnels dits XIV-XV et de l'une des deux recensions conservées de l'*Optique* et des *Phénomènes*, dites respectivement **A** et **a**. Il est le plus ancien témoin, voire le seul indépendant, de ces recensions<sup>4</sup>.

Les *Éléments* ont également été transmis en deux versions complètes distinctes, l'une procédant de la réédition faite par Théon d'Alexandrie vers l'an 350 de notre ère, l'autre, transmise dans un seul exemplaire, le

G. ARABATZIS, Michel d'Éphèse, commentateur d'Aristote et auteur, *Peitho. Examina Antiqua* 1, 2012, p. 199-209. Les commentaires byzantins à *EN* (Michel d'Éphèse, Eustratios de Nicée, un ou plusieurs scholiastes anonymes) sont publiés dans G. HEYLBUT, *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in Ethica Nicomachea commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 20), Berlin 1892 ; G. HAYDUCK, *Michaelis Ephesii in librum quintum Ethicorum Nicomacheorum commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 22.3), Berlin 1901.

3. Pour une description détaillée du codex de Vienne, de ses copistes et de ses annotateurs, voir I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El Vindob. Phil. gr. 31, un manuscrito de Euclides anotado por Máximo Planudes*, *Estudios Bizantinos* 5, 2017, p. 109-130.

4. Sur les deux recensions de l'*Optique*, voir en dernier lieu F. ACERBI, *Euclide. Tutte le Opere*, Milan 2007, p. 587-610, avec la bibliographie.

manuscrit Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 190 (ca 830-850 ; *P*), indépendante de la réédition théonine<sup>5</sup>. Le dernier éditeur d'Euclide, Johan Ludvig Heiberg<sup>6</sup>, la définit comme *la* version préthéonine. Prudemment, nous dirons qu'elle est non théonine.

Le codex *V* transmet quant à lui la version théonine ; les collations partielles que nous avons réalisées sur son texte<sup>7</sup> suggèrent même qu'il porte ce que l'on pourrait appeler une « recension byzantine »<sup>8</sup> de la réédition théonine. La composition du codex semble avoir été un peu mouvementée. Sans pouvoir entrer ici dans les détails<sup>9</sup>, plusieurs caractéristiques du manuscrit montrent que cette composition a constitué à la fois une entreprise intellectuelle ambitieuse et a connu certaines difficultés de réalisation pratique, ce qui fait de *V* un exemplaire quelque peu paradoxal : d'un côté le grand format (323 × 245 mm) et, pour la majeure partie du codex, une mise en page permettant de disposer de marges considérables autour du texte principal pour y insérer une très abondante annotation<sup>10</sup> ; de l'autre, le changement de support (242 feuillets de parchemin [cahiers 1-29], puis 51 de papier oriental [cahiers 30-36]), l'alternance des mains, sept au total, toutes à dater de fin 11<sup>e</sup>-début 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont :

5. Il existe également une troisième recension distincte des deux autres, mais partielle (Propositions, XI, 36-XII, 17) qui ne nous concerne pas ici. Existente aussi des témoins partiels du texte non théonin (voir *infra*).

6. Voir *EHM*, dont les volumes I-V contiennent les *Éléments* (I-IV), les scholies à l'ouvrage euclidien et les *Prolegomena critica* de Heiberg (V). Les scholies seront indiquées par le numéro du livre des *Éléments*, suivi par leur place dans la numérotation de Heiberg relative à ce livre, par exemple « IX n° 34 ».

7. Dans le cadre de notre projet de nouvelle édition critique des *Opera omnia* d'Euclide dans la Collection des Universités de France des Belles Lettres.

8. Sur cette notion, voir F. ACERBI, Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: a Survey, *Estudios Bizantinos* 4, 2016, p. 133-213.

9. On trouvera ces détails dans l'édition mentionnée *supra*, n. 7.

10. Si nous prenons en compte le rapport  $r$  entre la surface de la portion écrite dévolue au texte principal et la surface de la page et regardons tous les manuscrits des *Éléments* antérieurs au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous constatons que ce rapport est plutôt modeste, car la plupart de ces exemplaires ont sans doute été conçus dès le départ pour recevoir une annotation importante. Nos dix manuscrits se répartissent en trois groupes (voir ci-dessous pour les sigla ; *M* désigne le 23<sup>e</sup> cahier dans le Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV, 232, 270 × 208 mm, fin 9<sup>e</sup>-début 10<sup>e</sup> siècle ; voir H. OMONT, Fragments d'un manuscrit perdu des *Éléments* d'Euclide, 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, *REG* 7, 1894, p. 373-379) :  $43\% \leq r \leq 53\%$ , 7 manuscrits (*P*, *B*, *M*, *F*, *b*, *p*, *q*) ;  $r > 53\%$ , 1 manuscrit (*O*) ;  $r < 43\%$ , 2 manuscrits (*V*, *I*), *V* désignant ici la portion copiée par les copistes « principaux » sur parchemin (sauf les cahiers 25 et 30) dans laquelle  $r = 42,3-42,7\%$  ; dans le cahier 25, pour la partie copiée par (*f*)  $r$  varie entre 58 et 69 %, dans celle copiée par (*g*),  $r = 63,8\%$  ; le copiste (*a*) maintient davantage les marges :  $r = 52\%$  dans la toute fin des *Éléments*,  $r = 60\%$  dans l'*Optique* et  $r = 58\%$  dans les *Phénomènes*. Les diagrammes et la place qu'ils requièrent n'interviennent pas vraiment ici puisque, dans ces exemplaires anciens, les diagrammes sont pour l'essentiel insérés dans des indentations prises sur le texte.

- un maître d'œuvre (**a**) qui copie les cahiers 30-36 + 2 feuillets, soit toute la fin du codex, ff. 235<sup>r</sup>-292<sup>v</sup> ;
- un copiste principal (**b**) pour les cahiers 1-2, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup> ; cahier 3 (en partie), ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup> ; cahiers 5-11, ff. 33<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 et 54<sup>v</sup>, l. 19-f. 88<sup>v</sup> ; cahiers 13-23, ff. 97<sup>r</sup>-183<sup>v</sup> ; cahiers 26-29, ff. 203<sup>r</sup>-234<sup>v</sup> ;
- et cinq collaborateurs de l'un et/ou de l'autre :
  - (**c**) au début du cahier 3, ff. 17<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>, en collaboration avec (**b**) ;
  - (**d**) cahier 4, ff. 25<sup>r</sup>-32<sup>v</sup> ;
  - (**e**) cahier 12, ff. 89<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>, et début du cahier 24, ff. 184<sup>r</sup>-189<sup>r</sup>, l. 16 ;
  - (**f**) deux derniers feuillets du cahier 24 et la majeure partie du cahier 25, ff. 189<sup>r</sup>, l. 17-200<sup>r</sup> ;
  - (**g**) fin du cahier 25, ff. 200<sup>v</sup>-202<sup>v</sup> ;

et l'utilisation de différents modèles (au moins trois, probablement davantage) avec, par conséquent, plusieurs raccords imparfaits, des variations dans l'insertion des titres et des diagrammes, toutes ces disparités traduisant soit une réalisation qui a rencontré des difficultés, soit la contrainte de l'urgence.

La grande masse des scholies attachées à la composition du codex (autrement dit celles qui ne sont pas dues à des mains postérieures) sont les scholies dites *Vindobonensia*<sup>11</sup>, insérées dans leur grande majorité par le maître d'œuvre (**a**) et, dans une moindre mesure, par le copiste (**f**). On doit donc admettre que la composition de cette collection faisait partie des objectifs majeurs de la constitution de **V**. Quant à celle-ci, le scénario qui harmonise au mieux les données codicologiques, paléographiques et philologiques est le suivant : à Constantinople, vers 1100, un érudit – le copiste (**a**) – décide de produire une version annotée des *Éléments*, de l'*Optique* et des *Phénomènes*. Il s'adresse à un (atelier de) copiste(s) professionnel(s), celui du copiste (**b**), en lui donnant comme indication de laisser d'importantes marges (selon une évaluation a priori et donc approximative). D'où la production par (**b**) et ses collaborateurs – (**c**) sans aucun doute, peut-être (**d**), voire (**e**) – de ce que nous pourrions appeler *Ur-V*. Il pouvait être prévu qu'un des collaborateurs ([**e**] ou [**c**] ou [**d**]) copie la portion correspondant

11. Sur les collections de scholies aux *Éléments*, voir J. L. HEIBERG, Om Scholierne til Euklids Elementer, *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter*, 6te Række, historisk og filosofisk 2.3, 1888, p. 229-304 ; Heiberg identifie deux collections principales : les *scholia vaticana* (liste aux p. 233-234), qui remontent à l'Antiquité tardive, et les *scholia vindobonensia* (liste aux p. 244-248), d'origine byzantine. Voir plus récemment B. VITRAC, Les scholies grecques aux *Éléments* d'Euclide, *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 56, 2003, p. 275-292 ; F. ACERBI, Types, Function, and Organization of the Collections of Scholia to the Greek Mathematical Treatises, *Trends in Classics* 6, 2014, p. 115-169, ici p. 117-127. Nous revenons sur les *scholia vindobonensia* à la fin de cette section.

aux cahiers 24-25, pendant que (b) travaillait sur la suite du texte, pour accélérer le processus de copie. La même raison (gagner du temps) justifiait que (e) emploie un autre exemplaire que (b) et (c). Pour une raison que nous ne connaissons pas : mort de (b), non-respect des délais de livraison, etc., cette copie n'a pas été achevée. On peut ici spéculer à l'infini.

Le maître d'œuvre (a) récupère ce qui a été fait – dans cette hypothèse : les cahiers 1-23, le début du cahier 24, les cahiers 26-29 – et entreprend de finir le travail, autrement dit d'achever la copie et d'annoter l'ensemble. Lui aussi fait appel à des collaborateurs ([f] et [g]). Il n'y a aucune raison que (a) + (f) + (g) aient eu accès aux mêmes modèles que (b) + (c) + (d) + (e), sauf si (a) les leur avait précédemment confiés. Dans ce scénario, malgré ses incertitudes<sup>12</sup>, nous identifions bien un unique maître d'œuvre (a) animé d'une intention discernable.

Le manuscrit viennois contient aussi en sa fin une collection séparée de scholies (dite V<sup>c</sup>), portant sur les livres X à XIII des *Éléments*, et ses marges contiennent une grande quantité d'annotations, pour les trois textes euclidiens susnommés, écrites par différentes mains et ce, sur une période de plusieurs siècles<sup>13</sup>.

Parmi ces innombrables scholies, nous en avons retenu une poignée, exactement cinq, qui mentionnent un « livre de l'Éphésien » (ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου)<sup>14</sup>. Puisqu'elles apparaissent en marge des Propositions IX, 19 (*bis*) et IX, 30 – en contexte arithmétique –, deux fois en marge des ajouts au Porisme (corollaire) à la Proposition X, 23 – dans le contexte de

12. La composante spéculative de ce scénario n'échappe à personne. Il s'agit simplement de faire tenir ensemble les différentes données, pas toujours consonantes, que nous avons recueillies en étudiant le codex. Il y a bien d'autres façons de le faire. Il se pourrait que l'atelier de (b) ait produit un exemplaire de luxe des *Éléments*, initialement complet, mais dont nous ne pouvons pas connaître l'extension initiale (*Optique*, *Phénomènes* inclus ?), exemplaire conçu pour recevoir une annotation importante qu'il n'a cependant pas reçue ! Le manuscrit en question subit ensuite moult vicissitudes avec perte de cahiers médians (cahiers 12, 24-25 correspondant au début d'un deuxième volume ?) et perte de la fin du codex ; il tombe dans les mains de l'érudit (a) qui conçoit alors son projet de réaliser une version annotée des *Éléments*, de l'*Optique* et des *Phénomènes*. Dans ce scénario alternatif, il est probable qu'il faille rattacher (e) au groupe des restaurateurs, car la scission interne au cahier 24 ([e]/[f]) serait inexplicable sinon. Ce qui entraîne aussi le cahier 12, le cahier 4 de (d) restant un cas difficile à trancher. La suite du scénario se déroule ensuite de la même manière. Le principe d'économie – il faudrait postuler un commanditaire pour l'entreprise initiale de (b) –, la prise en compte de la qualité des supports employés, le respect de la mise en page majoritaire par le copiste (e), mais pas par (f)-(g), nous font préférer la variante exposée dans le texte. Le lecteur comprendra aisément que la position du copiste (e) est la plus difficile à déterminer.

13. Cf. *EHM*, V, p. XXIX-XXXIII, et I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El Vindob. Phil. gr. 31*, cité n. 3.

14. Une recherche dans le *TLG* montre que cette manière de se référer à un manuscrit bien déterminé n'a pas de parallèles dans le *corpus grec*.



la classification des lignes « irrationnelles » –, il ne saurait s'agir d'une monographie due à un mystérieux Éphésien. Bien plus probablement, il s'agit de désigner un exemplaire des *Éléments* identifié de cette façon par son propriétaire. Celui-ci était donc soit un familier de l'un des auteurs de ces remarques – nous allons revenir sur l'identité de ces annotateurs –, soit un personnage suffisamment célèbre pour être identifié par ce sobriquet, personnage auquel on attribuait sans doute une certaine autorité en ces matières pour juger bon de se référer à son exemplaire. Il est tout à fait naturel d'identifier ce personnage à Michel d'Éphèse<sup>15</sup>.

*Mentions 1 et 2.* Parcourons brièvement ces scholies. Les deux premières occurrences se trouvent en marge de la Proposition IX, 19. Celle-ci est certainement la plus clivante des livres arithmétiques dans la tradition directe des *Éléments*. Elle est démontrée en considérant successivement différents cas de figure, selon que les trois nombres proposés dans son énoncé sont ou non premiers entre eux et en proportion continue ou pas. Ces distinctions sont inutiles, mais elles ont cependant été mises en œuvre et il existe des manuscrits avec une preuve qui envisage les quatre cas résultant de cette double distinction – c'est notamment le cas du codex *P* (et donc de l'édition de Heiberg) –, d'autres qui n'en traitent que deux, un codex qui en possède trois et certains exemplaires qui cumulent deux preuves, l'une à quatre, l'autre à deux cas.

La preuve qu'en propose *V* était initialement exposée en deux cas de figure, mais trois ajouts marginaux ont été portés :

- *V*<sup>mg</sup> 1, f. 120<sup>v</sup> marg. ext., ajout de sept lignes coïncidant à très peu près avec la formule de présentation des quatre cas de figure envisageables (= *EHM*, II, p. 384<sup>8-14</sup>) ;
- *V*<sup>mg</sup> 2, f. 121<sup>r</sup> marg. sup. et ext., ajout de treize lignes correspondant au cas de figure énuméré en premier dans *P* (mais démontré en deuxième = *EHM*, II, p. 384<sup>18</sup>-386<sup>15</sup>), cas non pris en considération dans la preuve de *V*, suivi de la formule introduisant le cas suivant (elle aussi absente de *V* = *EHM*, II, p. 386<sup>16-19</sup>) ;
- *V*<sup>mg</sup> 3, f. 121<sup>r</sup> marg. ext., ajout de onze lignes correspondant au cas de figure énuméré en troisième dans *P* (mais démontré en dernier = *EHM*, II, p. 388<sup>10-15</sup>), cas non pris en considération dans la preuve de *V*.

15. L'indication toponymique est la manière canonique de se référer à Michel dans les scholies qui contiennent des textes qui lui sont attribués : voir la Section II *infra* et les scholies étudiées en dernier lieu dans P. GOLITSIS, Trois annotations de manuscrits aristotéliques au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle : les *Parisini gr.* 1901 et 1853 et l'*Oxoniensis Corp. Christi* 108, dans D. BIANCONI (éd.), *Storia della scrittura e altre storie* (Supplemento al *Bollettino dei Classici* 29), Rome 2014, p. 33-52.

Ces ajouts permettent de compléter le texte principal de *V*, théonin, pour produire une preuve en quatre cas comme dans *P*. Malgré cette finalité partagée simple à identifier, nos trois ajouts ne sont pourtant à mettre sur le même plan :

- les ajouts *V*<sup>mg</sup> 2-3 (f. 121<sup>r</sup>) sont écrits par le copiste (**a**), l'un des deux copistes principaux lequel, comme nous l'avons vu, s'avère être le maître d'œuvre de la composition du codex *V* ;
- en revanche, *V*<sup>mg</sup> 1 (f. 120<sup>v</sup>) est copié par une main postérieure.

En outre, chacun des ajouts *V*<sup>mg</sup> 2-3 (f. 121<sup>r</sup>) est précédé de l'indication ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου οὐ κεῖται / οὐχ εὐρέθη, également écrite par le maître d'œuvre (**a**). Ses ajouts produisent une preuve en quatre cas (comme dans *P*), mais dépourvue de formule adéquate de présentation des cas (d'où l'ajout postérieur *V*<sup>mg</sup> 1). Cette « excursion » du côté de la version non-théonine reste ponctuelle. Dès la Proposition IX, 20 jusqu'à la fin du livre IX et dans la plus grande partie du livre X, le codex *V* reste théonin.

La chose n'est pas anodine, car d'autres exemplaires théonins ont éprouvé le même besoin de complétion (inutile) de leur preuve de IX, 19, mais cela les a conduits à adopter un modèle non théonin sur une portion plus importante, parfois jusqu'à la fin du livre IX, parfois même jusqu'à la fin des *Éléments*. Pour pondérer ce qui a été dit en commençant sur les deux recensions complètes du texte, il existe donc une famille de manuscrits que nous disons *mixtes* et qui sont théonins dans leur première partie (jusqu'en IX, 18), puis non théonins. C'est par exemple le cas du El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Φ.III.5 (gr. 224 ; 2<sup>nde</sup> moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> s. ; *S*) et par conséquent de ses descendants<sup>16</sup>. On notera, et ce fait nous sera utile à la fin de cette section, que les données philologiques montrent qu'un tel exemplaire mixte semble bien avoir été employé dans la « récupération », par le copiste (**e**), du cahier 12 et du début du cahier 24.

*Mention 3.* La troisième mention du « livre de l'Éphésien » (f. 123<sup>r</sup> marg. sup.) a été adjointe *a posteriori*, par le maître d'œuvre (**a**), à la scholie IX n° 34, scholie qui porte sur la Proposition IX, 30 et qui appartient à la collection dite *Vindobonensia*. Cette scholie a la particularité d'exister en deux versions :

16. Pour davantage de détails sur cet événement de la transmission des *Éléments*, voir B. VITRAC, *À propos de l'histoire du texte des Éléments d'Euclide : préalables à une nouvelle édition critique*, 2022 (<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-03328161v1>), section 3, § 4 et Annexe 7. Pour le *Scorialensis* et les deux manuscrits de la Laurentienne mentionnés ci-dessus, voir F. ACERBI et A. GIOFFREDA, *Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante*, *Scripta* 12, 2019, p. 9-52. Quant au *Laur. Plut.* 28.2, les *Éléments* sont copiés par plusieurs mains du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle.

- l'une, éditée par Heiberg (*EHM*, V, p. 408<sup>2-8</sup>), se trouve dans les Paris, BNF, Grec 2344 (1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 12<sup>e</sup> s. ; *q*)<sup>17</sup> et Firenze, BML, Plut. 28.2 (12<sup>e</sup> et 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> s. ; *l*), et a été ajoutée dans *P* par une main postérieure (11<sup>e</sup>-12<sup>e</sup> s.) ;
- l'autre se trouve dans *V* et dans sa copie directe le Firenze, BML, Plut. 28.6 (2<sup>nd</sup>e moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> s. ; *f*), et encore dans le Paris, BNF, Grec 2466 (3<sup>e</sup> quart du 12<sup>e</sup> s. ; *p*).

Surtout, elle se retrouve dans le *texte principal* d'un certain nombre d'exemplaires, notamment *f* et *p* (dans la version *V*), où elle représente alors une sorte de preuve alternative *partielle* plus précise que le texte habituellement retenu.

Dès lors, comment comprendre la remarque (τοῦτο ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου οὐκ ἔνι) du maître d'œuvre (*a*) ? Faut-il comprendre que la dite scholie n'existe pas dans le livre de l'Éphésien en tant que scholie ou en tant que portion du texte principal ? Il faut remarquer que la scholie est précédée d'un signe, également placé au-dessus de la dernière ligne du texte, suggérant donc qu'il s'agit d'un ajout au texte principal. C'est d'ailleurs ainsi que l'a compris le copiste du codex *f*.

*Mention 4.* La quatrième et dernière occurrence (f. 138<sup>v</sup>) due au maître d'œuvre (*a*) commence par citer la fin d'un premier ajout au Porisme à la Proposition X, 23 : μόνον λέγονται μέσαι δυνάμει μόνον σύμμετροι (= *EHM*, III, p. 68<sup>12-23</sup>) et ajoute τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἧς οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου καὶ ἐπατήθη, « ce qui suit ne se trouve pas dans le livre de l'Éphésien et s'avère trompeur » (en corrigeant ἐπατήθη en ἡπατήθη). Or ce qui suit est un second ajout au Porisme à X, 23 (rejeté en annexe par Heiberg, *EHM*, III, p. 384<sup>18</sup>-386<sup>12</sup>) dont la fin (*EHM*, III, p. 386<sup>9-12</sup>) est effectivement fausse, un bon point pour le maître d'œuvre (*a*).

La chose pourrait paraître décevante car les quatre mentions du livre de l'Éphésien que nous venons de parcourir relèvent à chaque fois des absences (οὐ κεῖται, οὐχ εὐρέθη [*bis*], οὐκ ἔνι). Cela dit, un érudit byzantin du début du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle avait sans doute bien perçu que le devenir d'un texte technique comme les *Éléments*, abondamment lu et commenté, était l'amplification, ce que montrent d'ailleurs ses propres ajouts à IX, 19. Dès lors, se référer à un exemplaire qui ne possédait pas certains ajouts – surtout quand il s'agit de portions mathématiquement discutables (2<sup>e</sup> ajout au Porisme à X, 23 par exemple) – c'est consulter un manuscrit dont on reconnaît une certaine « pureté » et autorité.

17. Sur ce manuscrit voir F. ACERBI et A. LAMI, Una pagina di antropologia filosofica nel codice matematico *Par. gr.* 2344, *Galenos* 8, 2014, p. 133-148.

Est-il possible d'identifier un tel manuscrit parmi les exemplaires conservés plus anciens que (ou contemporains de) **V** ? Il ne peut s'agir de **P** ni de **p** qui possèdent la totalité des ajouts visés par les gloses ; il ne peut s'agir du célèbre Firenze, BML, Plut. 28.3 (*ca* 960 ; copiste Éphrem ; **F**)<sup>18</sup> qui, s'il est dépourvu de la scholie IX n° 34 et du second ajout au Porisme à X, 23, possède l'un des deux cas additionnels de IX, 19. Inversement, l'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.6.23 (fin 11<sup>e</sup>-début 12<sup>e</sup> s. ; **O**) n'a ni les cas additionnels à IX, 19, ni la scholie IX n° 34, mais présente le second ajout au Porisme à X, 23. L'autre célèbre exemplaire de la Bodléienne, l'Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 (a. 888 ; possédé par Aréthas ; **B**)<sup>19</sup> est pour ainsi dire dans la même situation : en effet, le second ajout au Porisme à X, 23 y a été inscrit par une main postérieure (2<sup>nde</sup> moitié du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle selon Inmaculada Pérez Martín, *per litteras*). Ce codex est donc exclu à moins d'admettre que le maître d'œuvre (**a**) ne regardait pas les insertions marginales, ce qui, vu la nature de son travail, est très peu probable.

On pourrait aussi penser au modèle employé par l'autre copiste principal (main **[b]**) du codex **V**, mais d'une part il n'est pas sûr que le maître d'œuvre (**a**) ait eu accès à ce modèle, d'autre part le second ajout au Porisme à X, 23 existe bel et bien dans **V** par la main (**b**). Parmi les autres exemplaires anciens conservés, il semble bien que **q** et **l** soient plus récents que **V**, et donc un seul exemplaire satisfait les trois critères (négatifs) explicités par nos annotations, le Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A 18-19 (2<sup>nde</sup> moitié du 10<sup>e</sup> s. ; **b**)<sup>20</sup>. Nous n'avons aucun indice positif à faire valoir pour l'instant, mais un exemplaire localement apparenté à **b** a été employé dans la « récupération », par le copiste (**f**), du début du livre XI dans les cahiers 24-25 de **V**. Il se pourrait donc que ce soit ce codex de la même famille (donc de même structure), sinon **b** lui-même, qui ait été le « livre de l'Éphésien ». On notera d'ailleurs que les ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup> du tome A 18 de ce manuscrit<sup>21</sup> contiennent une liste de tous les principes et les énoncés des *Éléments* et des *Données* (environ 600 éléments). Un *excerptum* de ce type

18. L. PERRIA, Aspetti inediti dell'attività del copista Efre. L'uso delle abbreviazioni nel Laur. 28.3, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 53, 1999, p. 97-101.

19. Sur les manuscrits d'Aréthas, voir le classique E. FOLLIERI, Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato, il *Vat. Urb. gr.* 35, *Archeologia classica* 25-26, 1973-1974, p. 262-279.

20. Pour la date du *Bononiensis*, voir F. ACERBI et I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, Les études géométriques et astronomiques à Thessalonique d'après le témoignage des manuscrits : de Jean Pédiasimos à Démétrios Kydonès, *Byz.* 89, 2019, p. 1-35, ici p. 19 et n. 72.

21. C'est la première unité codicologique (signatures de  $\alpha'$  à  $\epsilon'$ ) ; la deuxième (signatures de  $\alpha'$  à  $\mu'$ ) complète le manuscrit et contient le *prooemium ad Elementa* (*immo excerpta e Proclo*), et ensuite les *Éléments* et les *Données*. Le collage d'extraits du commentaire de Proclus se trouve aussi dans d'autres manuscrits, et notamment dans le *Par. gr.* 2344, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>.

du contenu mathématique d'un traité n'a pas de parallèles dans d'autres manuscrits mathématiques grecs ; sa présence nous semble corroborer la possibilité d'envisager **b** comme manuscrit de référence.

*Mention 5.* Nous avons temporairement laissé de côté la cinquième mention du livre de l'Éphésien, la seconde en marge du second ajout au Porisme à X, 23. Elle est due à une autre main, celle que Heiberg désigne par le sigle *V*<sup>1</sup>, main qu'Inmaculada Pérez Martín rapporte (avec la main *V*<sup>2</sup>) à la seconde moitié du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>22</sup>, donc à une période sensiblement postérieure à la composition du codex *V*. Cette ultime mention ouvre la scholie X n° 177 (*EHM*, V, p. 496<sup>3-14</sup>) : καλῶς οὐκ ἐτέθη τοῦτο ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου· οὐ γὰρ αἱ μέσαι, καθ' ὃ μέσαι, σύμμετροι... « Ceci n'a pas sa place – et c'est une bonne chose – dans le livre de l'Éphésien, car les médiales, en tant que médiales, ne sont pas <toutes> commensurables ».

La suite de la scholie donne un argument convaincant de la fausseté de la dernière assertion du second ajout au Porisme à X, 23, fausseté seulement affirmée par le maître d'œuvre (**a**) juste au-dessus. Il s'agit donc d'une annotation portant sur une annotation (notez le petit changement : οὐχ εὔρέθη → οὐκ ἐτέθη) et il n'est pas certain que le scholiaste *V*<sup>1</sup> ait consulté le livre de l'Éphésien.

Que l'on puisse reproduire « aveuglément » ce genre de remarques, c'est précisément ce qui s'est passé dans le codex *f* (copie directe de *V*) : son copiste a justement reproduit la quatrième occurrence (f. 155<sup>r</sup>, dans Porisme X, 23) et la scholie X n° 177. S'il n'a pas repris la mention relative à la scholie IX n° 34 (rappelons que ladite scholie a été insérée dans son texte principal), les deux occurrences attachées aux cas additionnels de IX, 19 l'ont été (ff. 131<sup>r</sup>, 132<sup>r</sup>) et, selon Inmaculada Pérez Martín (*per litteras*), il s'agit cette fois d'une main passablement postérieure à la copie de *f*. Là encore il n'est pas sûr que ces scribes aient consulté le livre de l'Éphésien. En revanche, il faut envisager que les *codices V* et *f* soient restés en un même lieu pendant un certain temps pour permettre les mentions (tardives) contenues dans les folios 131<sup>r</sup> et 132<sup>r</sup> de *f*.

Nous ne connaissons pas d'autres mentions du livre de l'Éphésien dans les manuscrits des *Éléments*. Difficile d'en dire davantage sur ce codex au-delà de l'autorité que lui reconnaît le maître d'œuvre (**a**). Le copiste (**f**) du *Vindobonensis* signale à plusieurs reprises l'existence, dans d'autre(s) copie(s) (κατ' ἄλλην γραφήν), d'exemples numériques différents ; ces exemples font l'objet de scholies supplémentaires apposées encore par (**f**). Il s'agit d'annotations portant sur des annotations et non pas de divergences dans le

22. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El Vindob. Phil. gr. 31*, cité n. 3, p. 118.

texte d'Euclide ; aucun exemplaire, aucune autorité n'est alors invoquée et le cas du livre de l'Éphésien est unique<sup>23</sup>.

Il n'est pas indifférent non plus que ce soit celui que nous avons désigné à maintes reprises comme le maître d'œuvre de la réalisation (compliquée) de *V* qui ait inséré les mentions de l'« Éphésien ». Si l'identification de celui-ci avec le célèbre commentateur byzantin de plusieurs traités d'Aristote est correcte, peut-être pourrait-on même envisager un lien entre le copiste (**a**) et l'entourage érudit d'Anne Comnène, où il devait en effet être possible de trouver plusieurs exemplaires d'un texte comme les *Éléments*<sup>24</sup>. Être commanditaire d'un manuscrit « de luxe » comme *Ur-V* supposait un haut statut social et intellectuel, et ce statut justifiait de connaître d'autres exemplaires prestigieux et/ou leur(s) propriétaire(s). Cette reconstruction du profil du maître d'œuvre (**a**) est corroborée par deux remarques.

En premier lieu, comme nous l'avons dit au début, le *Vindobonensis* est le plus ancien témoin conservé, voire le seul indépendant de recensions fortement caractérisées, notamment par des variantes structurelles de taille, de l'*Optique* et des *Phénomènes* d'Euclide, variantes possiblement perçues comme des améliorations. Si le maître d'œuvre (**a**) connaissait l'autre recension de ces ouvrages – plutôt répandue et plus « banale » –, la divergence des deux textes ne pouvait pas lui échapper : il aurait donc pu privilégier la copie de la recension moins commune pour des raisons « patrimoniales ».

La deuxième remarque porte sur les très nombreuses scholies que (**a**) et (**f**) ont inscrites tout au long de *V*. Comme nous l'avons dit, Heiberg en avait fait un sous-ensemble important de la collection qu'il avait appelée *scholia vindobonensia*, qui compte 450 éléments et dont il faisait remonter l'origine au 11<sup>e</sup> siècle et (très prudemment) à Michel Psellos. Cette collection est en effet une intersection ensembliste *sui generis* des scholies de (**a**) et (**f**) dans *V* (ce sont les mains *V<sup>a</sup>* et *V<sup>b</sup>* de Heiberg) et de celles apposées par les copistes principaux de *q* et *l*, c'est-à-dire les deux autres témoins du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle qui contiennent un riche appareil exégétique. Or les scholies *ql* qui ne se trouvent pas dans *V* (113 éléments) sont incluses par Heiberg dans les *scholia vindobonensia*, tandis que l'inverse n'est pas vrai. Si nous ajoutons

23. Cela est même vrai dans l'ensemble de la tradition directe, si l'on excepte les mentions (d'un autre registre) qui se réfèrent à l'édition ou aux lectures de Théon (pour désigner sa réédition).

24. Si l'on en croit Georges Tornikès, Anne fut initiée, grâce au cercle comprenant les plus éminents savants de son temps, non seulement aux doctrines du Stagirite et de Platon, mais aussi à Euclide et à Ptolémée : J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Dèmétrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Le monde byzantin), Paris 1970, p. 301<sup>14-17</sup>.



à ce critère asymétrique de sélection le fait que – comme nous le savons maintenant – *l* est une copie de *q* à partir du livre VI, nous sommes amenés à mettre en question l’existence même de cette collection dans les termes indiqués par Heiberg.

En effet, si l’intersection entre les scholies (a) + (f) (=  $V^a + V^b$ ) et *ql* est loin d’être vide (337 éléments), ce qui présuppose évidemment une source commune<sup>25</sup>, il reste que Heiberg exclut de la collection 98 + 160 scholies de (a) + (f), dont 54 + 136 se trouvent dans le livre X. Or il arrive que bon nombre de ces annotations propres à *V* et qui portent sur les livres II et X proposent des exemples numériques. Le copiste (f) surtout en est friand<sup>26</sup> : dans le cas du livre II, ses scholies coïncident presque toujours avec celles du codex *b*<sup>27</sup> ; dans le cas du livre X, il en entreprend une lecture numérique suivie, en employant des lettres numérales grecques (79 éléments) et/ou des chiffres indo-arabes du type oriental (55 éléments)<sup>28</sup>. Il s’agit là du premier emploi *systématique* des chiffres indo-arabes dans un manuscrit mathématique grec<sup>29</sup>.

25. La source commune *pour certaines scholies* est aussi confirmée par les données philologiques : J. L. HEIBERG, *Om Scholierne*, cité n. 11, p. 243 et 298-299.

26. Voici les listes, qui corrigent tacitement celles de J. L. HEIBERG, *Om Scholierne*, cité n. 11, p. 256. Les scholies soulignées sont communes avec la première main de *q*, celles en italique ont l’indication  $\kappa\alpha\tau’\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\ \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\nu$ , celles en italique et gras une indication semblable. Nous donnons aussi les scholies du même type attestées dans d’autres combinaisons de témoins ou de mains : la prédominance de  $V^b$  = (f) est écrasante. Lettres numérales grecques : livre II :  $V^b$  II n<sup>os</sup> 17, [21 non apposée par (f)], 23, 28, **35**, 44, 49, 57, 63, 67, 79, 85 ; livre X :  $V^b$  X n<sup>os</sup> 67, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 90, 91, 112, 126, 128, 138, 139, 154, 156, 163, 167, 176, 193, 206, 209, 210, 214, 215, 216, 219, 220, 221, 229, 238, 239, 241, 242, 250, 255, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, **268**, 296, 297, 298, 302, 303, 304, 305, **306**, 307, 308, 312, 313, 318, 321, 322, 323, **324**, 325, 326, 331, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 344, 346, 350, 351, 355, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 367, 393, 395, 396, 397, 399 ;  $V^a$  *q* X n<sup>os</sup> 81, 98, 99, 149, 162, 198, 200, 201, 205, 224, 246, 249, 251, 275, 327, 330, 478 ;  $V^a$  X n<sup>os</sup> 102, 103, 104, 153, 172, 181, 190 ; *q* X n<sup>os</sup> 183, 191, 247, 254, 272, 293, 294, 295, 333. Chiffres indo-arabes :  $V^b$  X n<sup>os</sup> 91, 152, 155, 184, 217, **243**, 259, 266, 267, 268, 289, 314, 356, 362, 366, 369, 372, 374, 380, 382, 384, 386, 389, 390, 396, 397, 399, 404, 409, 415, 419, 422, 424, 426, 427, 430, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 449, 453, 460, 468, 471, 473, 475 ;  $V^a$  *q* X n<sup>o</sup> 93 ;  $V^a$  X n<sup>o</sup> 170 ; *q* X n<sup>o</sup> 183. Certaines scholies contiennent à la fois des lettres numérales grecques et des chiffres indo-arabes. On notera aussi le renvoi dans la scholie X n<sup>o</sup> 148.

27. Par ailleurs, la coïncidence avec des scholies dans *q* vient du fait qu’elles sont ici partiellement compilées par une main de la fin du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle (*q*<sup>1</sup> de Heiberg).

28. Voir N. G. WILSON, *Miscellanea palaeographica*. III, Arabic Numerals, *GRBS* 22, 1981, p. 400-404, et Ch. BURNETT, Indian Numerals in the Mediterranean Basin in the Twelfth Century, with Special Reference to the “Eastern Forms”, dans Y. DOLD-SAMPLONIUS, J. W. DAUBEN, M. FOLKERTS et B. VAN DALEN (éd.), *From China to Paris: 2000 Years Transmission of Mathematical Ideas* (Boethius 46), Stuttgart 2000, p. 237-288.

29. On trouve en effet des exemples numériques avec des chiffres indo-arabes dans tous les manuscrits du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle que nous avons mentionnés, mais aucun d’eux ne fait partie d’une entreprise systématique comme celle menée par (f) dans le codex *V*.

Le copiste (**f**) réagit même à des scholies de ce type (dont la plupart sont en effet écrites par lui-même) en déclarant, comme nous l'avons vu, avoir trouvé un exemple numérique différent κατ' ἄλλην γραφήν (15 éléments).

Tout en admettant une intersection de taille avec les scholies *qI*<sup>30</sup>, nous pouvons donc restituer entièrement la dénomination *scholia vindobonensia* à la collection fruit de l'activité savante des copistes (**a**) et (**f**) dans son manuscrit éponyme. Cette nouvelle perspective historiographique permet en même temps de renforcer les liens du travail de récupération de (**a**) (+ [**f**]) avec le manuscrit **b** (que celui-ci soit le « livre de l'Éphésien » ou non, peu importe) et de donner une mesure de l'ampleur de leur entreprise et de celle des autres copistes : rien que pour les scholies, on doit supposer l'existence d'un exemplaire de référence et de deux copies de contrôle, justement le « livre de l'Éphésien » et le porteur des ἄλλαι γραφαί de (**f**) ; quant aux textes euclidiens, il y a bien sûr *Ur-V*, et en outre, comme nous l'avons dit, au moins trois modèles qui ont été mis à contribution<sup>31</sup>, en supposant qu'*Optique* et *Phénomènes* étaient contenus dans l'exemplaire qui a servi de modèle pour les livres XIII et « XIV-XV ». S'il est vrai que certains manuscrits du premier groupe pourraient coïncider avec certains du deuxième, il reste que des ressources considérables ont été mobilisées pour la réalisation de *V*<sup>32</sup>.

Michel d'Éphèse est aussi lié de manière explicite à la lecture et à l'exégèse de l'autre classique des mathématiques grecques élémentaires : l'*Introduction arithmétique* de Nicomaque de Gérasa (*Ar.*). Dans la prochaine section, nous allons voir comment.

30. La présence de cette intersection est tout à fait normale. Les *scholia vindobonensia* de Heiberg ont d'ailleurs une intersection non négligeable avec les *scholia vaticana*, bien plus anciennes, qu'elles compilent partiellement : liste dans J. L. HEIBERG, *Om Scholierne*, cité n. 11, p. 249.

31. Nous avons déjà mentionné l'exemplaire localement apparenté à **b** employé par (**f**) dans les cahiers 24-25 et l'exemplaire « mixte » utilisé par (**e**) dans les cahiers 12 et 24.

32. La lecture de l'*in EN*, V de Michel afin d'y trouver des résonances euclidiennes ne donne pas de contribution à notre dossier. On notera tout de même, dans *in EN*, V, 6, la petite précision lexicale *ισότης* → *ὁμοιότης*, qui aligne la définition aristotélicienne d'*ἀναλογία* sur une des formulations des *Éléments* (p. 21<sup>8-10</sup> éd. HAYDUCK ; la définition euclidienne n'est pas authentique mais nous la lisons dans plusieurs manuscrits théonins, et notamment dans **bV**), et la définition κατὰ τοὺς γεωμέτρους du rapport ἐναλλάξ, qui enrichit celle d'*Éléments*, V, déf. 12, avec une tournure typiquement « philosophique » (p. 22<sup>16-18</sup> éd. HAYDUCK). On notera aussi que la variante ἐλαχίστοις, dont *V* est le seul témoin ancien, dans la définition de proportion en moindre nombre de termes d'*Éléments*, V, déf. 8, aboutit à la rendre conforme à la définition aristotélicienne que nous lisons dans *EN* ; est-ce un signe des fréquentations aristotéliciennes du copiste (**b**) ou de son commanditaire ?

## II. – MICHEL ET LES DEUX NICOMAUQUE

Michel d'Éphèse a en effet bien lu son Nicomaque<sup>33</sup>. Il a certainement dû le faire pour commenter le livre V de l'*Éthique à Nicomaque*, à cause de la célèbre conception aristotélicienne de deux types fondamentaux de justice comme ἀναλογίαι (géométrique et arithmétique), et nous verrons qu'il reste des traces liées à cet ouvrage d'Aristote : deux d'entre elles se trouvent justement dans le commentaire de Michel à l'*EN*, V, une autre, quoique hypothétique, peut se déduire de la structure de deux témoins manuscrits d'*EN*. Mais Michel a aussi laissé une trace de sa lecture de l'*Ar.* : il s'agit d'une scholie, et c'est par celle-ci que nous allons commencer.

Pour comprendre le contenu de l'annotation de Michel, il faut expliquer brièvement le contexte mathématique. Dans *Ar.*, I, 17, 8-23, 3, Nicomaque présente la classification canonique des rapports arithmétiques. Ceux-ci sont partagés en cinq espèces, que nous écrivons comme partie entière + partie fractionnaire, suivant la convention selon laquelle chaque rapport a le terme le plus grand au numérateur<sup>34</sup> :

- multiples, de la forme  $\frac{n}{1} = n$  ;
- épimores, de la forme  $1 + \frac{1}{n}$  ;
- multiple-épimores, de la forme  $k + \frac{1}{n}$ , avec  $k > 1$  ;
- épimères, de la forme  $1 + \frac{m}{n}$ , avec  $1 < m < n$  ;
- multiple-épimères, de la forme  $k + \frac{m}{n}$ , avec  $k > 1$  et  $1 < m < n$ .

Il est clair que cette classification est exclusive et exhaustive, car on peut toujours écrire un rapport qui a le terme le plus grand au numérateur sous la forme  $k + \frac{m}{n}$ , avec  $k \geq 1$  et  $0 \leq m < n$ .

Dans *Ar.*, I, 23, 6-II, 2, 2, Nicomaque montre comment engendrer chaque espèce de rapport à partir d'un rapport de base, à savoir celui d'égalité  $\frac{1}{1}$ . Le but, comme le déclare Nicomaque lui-même dans la cheville de transition *Ar.*, I, 23, 4-5, est de réduire la multiplicité indéfinie des rapports à un principe d'égalité et d'identité. Pour ce faire, il met en œuvre une notion mathématique qui généralise celle de proportion : la médiété (μεσότης)<sup>35</sup>. Celle-ci est une triade de nombres entiers ( $w, v, u$ ) tels que  $u \geq v \geq w$  et que  $v$  est déterminé de manière univoque par  $u$  et  $w$  ;  $v$  est le terme moyen (μέσος). La manière dont  $v$  est déterminé par  $u$  et  $w$  identifie le type de médiété. Par

33. Sur cette coïncidence onomastique, nous allons revenir *infra*.

34. Ici,  $n, m$  et  $k$  sont des nombres entiers. Nous écrivons aussi chaque espèce sous forme irréductible. Nous identifions également rapports et fractions pour simplifier.

35. Cette notion remonte au moins à Archytas : PORPHYRE, in *Harmonica Ptolemaei* (éd. I. DÜRING, Göteborg 1932), I, 5, p. 93<sup>5-17</sup> = fr. 47 B 2 Diels-Kranz.

exemple, une médiété arithmétique est telle que  $u - v = v - w$ , comme dans  $(w, v, u) = (1, 2, 3)$  ; une médiété géométrique est telle que  $\frac{u}{v} = \frac{v}{w}$ , comme dans  $(1, 2, 4)$  ou  $(4, 6, 9)$ <sup>36</sup>. Une médiété géométrique est donc un ensemble dont les éléments sont trois nombres en proportion continue<sup>37</sup> : comme une proportion est une identité de rapports, une médiété géométrique identifie par conséquent un rapport de manière univoque. Dans les deux cas ci-dessus, le rapport associé à la médiété  $(1, 2, 4)$  est le rapport double  $\frac{4}{2} = \frac{2}{1}$ , celui associé à  $(4, 6, 9)$  est le rapport hémiole  $\frac{9}{6} = \frac{3}{2}$ . Quant à leurs espèces, il s'agit là respectivement d'un rapport multiple et d'un rapport épimore. On notera aussi que, sauf si le dénominateur est 1, aucun des rapports associés à une médiété spécifique n'est irréductible. La raison en est qu'une médiété géométrique « irréductible » a nécessairement la forme  $(b^2, ab, a^2)$  avec  $a \geq b$  premiers entre eux<sup>38</sup>. Le rapport irréductible associé à cette médiété géométrique est donc  $\frac{a}{b}$ , que nous écrirons aussi  $(a, b)$ .

Armés de ces définitions, voyons comment Nicomaque fait dériver tous les rapports du rapport d'égalité  $\frac{1}{1}$ , c'est-à-dire de la médiété géométrique d'égalité  $(1, 1, 1)$ <sup>39</sup>. La méthode engendre en effet des médiétés géométriques à partir de celle-ci, selon une prescription ( $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ ) récursive qui se compose de deux sous-prescriptions. Ou bien les termes de la médiété « qui engendre » ( $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\omega\nu$ ) sont pris dans leur ordre direct ( $\delta\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ), qui est  $(b^2, ab, a^2)$ , et alors la médiété « qui résulte » ( $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ ) est  $(b^2, b^2 + ab, b^2 + 2ab + a^2)$ <sup>40</sup> ; ou bien ils sont pris dans leur ordre inverse ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ ),

36. Sur la classification des médiétés rien n'est mieux que P. TANNERY, *L'arithmétique des grecs dans Pappus, Mémoires de la Société des sciences physiques et naturelles de Bordeaux* 3, 1880, p. 351-371 [= IDEM, *Mémoires scientifiques*, I, Toulouse-Paris 1912, p. 80-105, ici p. 90-98]. Il y a onze médiétés en tout : le principe de définition pose en effet une contrainte très rigide. Nous simplifions ici afin d'alléger notre exposé ; le lecteur pourra toujours se référer à l'article de P. Tannery.

37. Elle est donc l'ensemble dont les éléments sont les « termes » ( $\theta\rho\omicron\iota$ ) de la proportion continue.

38. Cela est démontré en *Éléments*, VIII, 11. Il va de soi que Nicomaque n'emploie jamais une formulation avec les carrés et le produit de deux nombres, comme nous le faisons ici.

39. Nous trouvons aussi cette dérivation dans les autres sources canoniques pour la théorie ancienne des nombres : THÉON DE SMYRNE, *Expositio*, éd. E. HILLER, Leipzig 1878, p. 106-111 et 113-119 ; naturellement JAMBLIQUE, in *Nicomachi Arithmetica*, éd. N. VINEL, Pise-Rome 2014, III, 36-7 ; PAPPUS, *Collectio*, éd. F. HULTSCH, Berlin 1876-1878, III, 44-57, qui mentionne « Nicomaque le Pythagoricien ».

40. Nicomaque appelle les trois termes de la médiété (en ordre croissant) « premier », « deuxième » et « troisième ». Il formule donc la prescription de la manière suivante : « rendre le premier égal au premier, le deuxième au premier avec le deuxième, le troisième au premier et à deux deuxièmes avec le troisième » (*Ar.*, I, 23, 8) ; l'absence de l'article dans le texte grec est une manière de conférer de la généralité à la formulation. On notera aussi que Nicomaque emploie toujours  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  au pluriel, en se référant aux trois membres de la phrase ci-dessus. Nous emploierons le singulier « prescription » pour simplifier.

qui est  $(a^2, ab, b^2)$ , et alors la médiété « qui résulte » est  $(a^2, a^2 + ab, a^2 + 2ab + b^2)$ . En formules, et notant par  $\curvearrowright$  l'« inversion » des termes et éliminant pour simplifier les parenthèses les plus externes,

$$\begin{aligned} b^2, ab, a^2 &\rightarrow b^2, b^2 + ab, b^2 + 2ab + a^2 = b^2, (b + a)b, (b + a)^2 \\ b^2, ab, a^2 &\curvearrowright a^2, ab, b^2 \rightarrow a^2, a^2 + ab, a^2 + 2ab + b^2 = a^2, (a + b)a, (a + b)^2 \end{aligned}$$

Il en résulte, pour les rapports associés à ces trois médiétés (celle « qui engendre » et les deux « qui résultent »)

$$\begin{aligned} (a, b) &\rightarrow (b + a, b), \text{ c'est-à-dire, } \frac{a}{b} \rightarrow \frac{(b + a)}{b} = 1 + \frac{a}{b} \\ (a, b) &\curvearrowright (b, a) \rightarrow (a + b, a), \text{ c'est-à-dire, } \frac{a}{b} \curvearrowright \frac{b}{a} \rightarrow \frac{(a + b)}{a} = 1 + \frac{b}{a} \end{aligned}$$

Un exemple est nécessaire. Prenons la médiété  $(1, 1, 1)$  et appliquons une fois la prescription ; le résultat est dans les deux cas  $(1, 1, 1) \rightarrow (1, 1 + 1, 1 + 2 + 1) = (1, 2, 4)$ , qui est le rapport double. Itérons la prescription en l'appliquant au rapport double lui-même :

$$\begin{aligned} (1, 2, 4) &\rightarrow (1, 1 + 2, 1 + 4 + 4) = (1, 3, 9) \\ (1, 2, 4) &\curvearrowright (4, 2, 1) \rightarrow (4, 4 + 2, 4 + 4 + 1) = (4, 6, 9) \end{aligned}$$

Le premier est le rapport triple, le deuxième est le rapport hémiole. En général, la sous-prescription « directe » transforme un rapport de l'espèce X en un rapport de l'espèce multiple-X puisqu'elle ajoute une unité au rapport de départ ; par contre, la sous-prescription « inverse » transforme un rapport de l'espèce X en un rapport d'une espèce différente de celle multiple-X puisqu'elle ajoute une unité à l'*inverse* du rapport de départ. L'application répétée de la prescription finit par transformer chaque rapport soit en rapport multiple soit en rapport épimère soit en rapport multiple-épimère, mais chaque espèce de rapport est engendrée à une étape convenable de la prescription. Il va de soi que Nicomaque explique tout cela sans aucune notation symbolique ; il ne peut donc avoir recours qu'à des exemples.

Si nous regardons la prescription de près – la voici encore :

$$\begin{aligned} b^2, ab, a^2 &\rightarrow b^2, b^2 + ab, b^2 + 2ab + a^2 = b^2, (b + a)b, (b + a)^2 \\ b^2, ab, a^2 &\curvearrowright a^2, ab, b^2 \rightarrow a^2, a^2 + ab, a^2 + 2ab + b^2 = a^2, (a + b)a, (a + b)^2 \end{aligned}$$

– il est clair que les termes extrêmes des trois médiétés sont des nombres carrés, que le terme le plus grand des deux médiétés « qui résultent » est le même (et il est un carré comme on vient de le voir), ici  $(b + a)^2 = (a + b)^2$ , que le terme le plus grand  $a^2$  de la médiété « qui engendre » devient le terme le plus petit dans la médiété « qui résulte » de la sous-prescription « inverse » ; enfin, si nous faisons abstraction du passage d'inversion des termes, dans les deux cas le terme le plus petit reste le même :  $b^2$  dans la sous-prescription « directe »,  $a^2$  dans celle « inverse ».

Nicomaque semble bien avoir pris note de ces propriétés, car en plein milieu d'une série d'exemples il intercale la remarque suivante (*Ar.*, I, 23, 15) : « Dans le cas de toutes les <relations> qui sont disjointes <de cette manière>, et pour celle dont les deux <qui sont disjointes sont dérivées>, le dernier carré demeure le même ; le premier <terme> se transforme en le plus petit <terme>, et les extrêmes sont en tous cas des carrés » (ἐπὶ πασῶν δὲ τῶν διαζευχθεισῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἀμφοτέραι, ὁ μὲν ἔσχατος τετράγωνος ὁ αὐτὸς μένει, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος εἰς τὸν ἐλάττονα μεταβαίνει, πάντως δὲ οἱ ἄκροι τετράγωνοι).

Or, cette phrase est trop concise, ambiguë (il n'y a aucune mention ni de ἔσχατος ni de relations ou médiétés διαζευχθεῖσαι dans ce qui précède<sup>41</sup> ; les pronoms πρῶτος et ἐλάττονα n'appartiennent pas à des niveaux descriptifs homogènes ; la signification de la phrase « le premier <terme> se transforme en <le terme> le plus petit » n'est pas claire du tout) et mal formulée (les mêmes objets sont d'abord identifiés avec πασῶν, ensuite avec ἀμφοτέραι), au point de défier la syntaxe (voir ἀφ' ἧς<sup>42</sup>). On ne lit rien chez Nicomaque qui soit aussi mal écrit, aussi ambigu et qui interrompe de manière aussi abrupte le fil de son argumentation. Il en résulte un problème exégétique majeur, qui a été abordé par plusieurs commentateurs, comme en témoignent les « Recensions » des notes d'un cours du philosophe néoplatonicien Ammonius, ainsi que plusieurs scholies<sup>43</sup>. Une de ces scholies est

41. Dans ce contexte, on rencontrera de nouveau le premier terme dans *Ar.*, II, 2, 2.

42. Il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une scholie qui est entrée dans le texte assez tôt, et presque sûrement en conséquence de la remarque dans JAMBLIQUE, in *Nicomachi Arithmetica* (éd. N. VINEL, cité n. 39), III, 68, p. 120<sup>9-10</sup>.

43. Voir F. ACERBI, *The Textual Tradition of Nicomachus' Introductio Arithmetica and of the Commentaries Thereon: A Thematic Cross-Section*, *Estudios Bizantinos* 8, 2020, p. 82-148. Des quatre « Recensions » des notes de cours d'Ammonius nous lisons : a) la Recension I, rédigée par Jean Philopon, dans R. HOCHÉ, *Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως (τοῦ Φιλοπόνου) εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῆς Νικομάχου Ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς*, Wesel 1864-1865, et R. HOCHÉ, *Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως (τοῦ Φιλοπόνου) εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τῆς Νικομάχου Ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς*, Berlin 1867 ; b) les variantes de la Recension II – une recension byzantine – par rapport à la Recension I dans la première des éditions de Hoche mentionnées à l'instant (livre I) et dans A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, II, *Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences*, Liège-Paris 1939, p. 129-187 (livre II) ; c) la Recension III, rédigée par Asclépius de Tralles, dans L. TARÁN, *Asclepius of Tralles, Commentary to Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 59.4), Philadelphie 1969. Pour la Recension IV, qui est en fait une composition originale byzantine, voir F. ACERBI, *The Textual Tradition*, cité *supra*, et IDEM, *La tradition manuscrite de la « Recension IV » du commentaire à l'Introductio Arithmetica de Nicomaque*, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 18, 2023, à paraître. Pour la structure des commentaires néoplatoniciens, voir l'excellente synthèse de Ph. HOFFMANN, *What was Commentary in Late Antiquity? The Example of the Neoplatonic Commentators*, dans M. L. GILL et P. PELLEGRIN (éd.), *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy*, Malden, MA 2006, p. 597-622. Sur la manière de publier ces notes de



attribuée à Michel d'Éphèse<sup>44</sup> et est bien enracinée dans la tradition manuscrite d'Ar. Lisons donc cette scholie, où la citation d'Ar., I, 23, 15 est en italique<sup>45</sup> :

Διαζευχθείσας λέγει τὴν μονάδα καὶ δυάδα καὶ τετράδα τὰς ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μονάδων γεννηθείσας κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τὸ λέγον «πρῶτον πρῶτω ἴσον ποίησον», καὶ πάλιν τὰς γεννηθείσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῆς τε μονάδος καὶ δυάδος καὶ τετράδος, αἰτνέες εἰσιν α γ θ, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν τῆς δ β α, αἰτνέες εἰσι δ ς θ. ἐπὶ πασῶν οὖν τούτων τῶν διαζεύξεων καὶ ἀφ' ἧς πρώτης διαζεύξεως, τουτέστι τῶν τριῶν μονάδων, ὁ μὲν ἔσχατος τετράγωνος (οἶον ὁ δ) ὁ αὐτὸς μένει, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος (ῆτοι ἡ μονάς· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πάντα δυνάμει) εἰς τὸν ἐλάττωνα μεταβαίνει, ῆτοι τὸν θ· ὁ γὰρ θ ἡμιόλιος, ὁ δ' ἡμιόλιος λόγος ἐλάττων τοῦ διπλασίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπίτριτος τοῦ ἡμιολίου.

tit. [τοῦ] φιλοσόφου Ἐφεσίου σχόλιον εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος... Α<sub>1</sub> Ἐφεσίου φιλοσόφου σχόλιον BV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ πασῶν δὲ τῶν διαζευχθεισῶν ἐξήγησις Εὐστρατίου Νικαίας Ε τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ἐφεσίου σχόλιον M<sub>3</sub> om. A<sub>2</sub>M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>5</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>

**1** δυάδα καὶ τετράδα : καὶ τὴν δυ. καὶ τὴν τε. M<sub>5</sub> δυάδα καὶ τριάδα B || **3** ποίησον : ποιῆσαι M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>5</sub> des. ποιῆσαι M<sub>5</sub> des. ποίησον E || αὐτῶν τῆς τε : αὐτῆς τῆς A<sub>1</sub>EM<sub>3</sub> || δυάδος : τριάδος C || **4** θ : ἔννεα V<sub>1</sub> || **4** καὶ τὰς – **5** δ ς θ om. A<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub> || **4** δ β α : δ β β V<sub>1</sub> || **6** οἶον ὁ δ : τουτέστιν ὁ δ V<sub>1</sub> || **8** ἐλάττωνα : ἐλάττω V<sub>1</sub> || δ' : δὲ CA<sub>2</sub>BV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> || **9** διπλασίου, ὥσ- dein legi nequit A<sub>2</sub> || ὁ om. M<sub>3</sub> || ἡμιολίου : ἐλάττωνος C

Il appelle « disjointes » l'unité et la dyade et la tétrade engendrées à partir de trois unités en accord avec la prescription qui dit « rends le premier égal au premier », et de nouveau celles engendrées à partir de l'unité et de la dyade et de la tétrade elles-mêmes, qui sont 1 3 9, et celles par leur inversion 4 2 1, qui sont 4 6 9. Donc, dans le cas de toutes ces disjonctions, et pour la première disjonction « dont »<sup>46</sup>, c'est-à-dire les trois unités, le dernier carré (soit 4)

cours, reste fondamental M. RICHARD, ΑΠΟ ΦΩΝΗΣ, Byz. 20, 1950, p. 191-222 [= IDEM, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout 1976, n° 60].

44. C'est Paul Tannery qui a en premier signalé cette scholie (dans notre premier témoin) : P. TANNERY, Rapport sur une mission en Italie du 24 janvier au 24 février 1886, *Archives et missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, 13, 1888, p. 409-455 [= IDEM, *Mémoires scientifiques*, II, Toulouse-Paris 1912, p. 269-331, ici p. 329]. P. Tannery ne pouvait pas lire l'épithète d'auteur complet, qui est donnée dans le catalogue de Martini et Bassi. Ces informations sont aussi compilées dans I. NESSERIS, *Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Ioannina 2014, I, p. 286-289.

45. Les témoins sont, dans l'ordre : Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 62 sup. (14<sup>e</sup> s., A<sub>1</sub>), f. 65<sup>v</sup> ; I 8 sup. (fin 12<sup>e</sup>-début 13<sup>e</sup> s., A<sub>2</sub>), f. 33<sup>r</sup> ; Athènes, EBE, 1115 (fin du 14<sup>e</sup> s., B), p. 58 ; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 309 (milieu du 14<sup>e</sup> s. ; composite, copié en partie par Philothéos de Sélymbria [PLP, n° 29896 : I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, El "estilo Hodegos" y su proyección en las escrituras constantinopolitanas, *Segno e Testo* 6, 2008, p. 389-458, ici p. 445], M<sub>1</sub>), f. 193<sup>v</sup> ; gr. Z. 318 (2<sup>nde</sup> moitié du 14<sup>e</sup> s., M<sub>3</sub>), f. 20<sup>v</sup> ; gr. Z. 333 (ca 1426 ; copiste Bessarion, M<sub>2</sub>) f. 61<sup>r</sup> ; München, BSB, Cod.graec. 482 (2<sup>nde</sup> moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> s., C), f. 132<sup>v</sup> ; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.T.8.14 (14<sup>e</sup> s., E), f. 27<sup>v</sup> ; Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 186 (13<sup>e</sup> s., V<sub>1</sub>), f. 243<sup>r</sup> ; Vat. gr. 256 (début du 14<sup>e</sup> s., V<sub>2</sub>), f. 316<sup>r</sup>.

46. C'est le ἀφ' ἧς du texte grec.

demeure le même, le premier (à savoir l'unité : et en effet celle-ci est tout en puissance) se transforme en le plus petit, à savoir 9, car 9 est hémiole, et le rapport hémiole est plus petit que le <rapport> double, de la même manière que l'épitríte l'est de l'hémiole.

Deux témoins, l'*Ambros.* G 62 sup. et le *Marc. gr.* Z. 318, sont caractérisés par une omission et par une variante distinctive ; ces témoins sont en effet très proches, et ce, sur l'ensemble du texte d'*Ar.* et de son apparat exégétique. On notera que l'*Athen.* 1115 est une copie conforme (avec une faute) du *Vat. gr.* 256<sup>47</sup> ; sinon, tous les autres témoins du texte entier sont indépendants ; le *Vat. gr.* 186 offre une version encore retouchée, avec une faute de chiffre. Le copiste du *Monac. gr.* 482 introduit deux véritables fautes, celui du *Marc. gr.* Z. 318 se permet une distraction à la fin. On notera aussi que la scholie est anonyme dans les deux témoins les plus anciens. Enfin, le manuscrit de Modène et sa copie *Marc. gr.* Z. 333 proposent un extrait très bref, caractérisé pour le premier par une indication d'auteur erronée.

Ce qui suit dans ces deux manuscrits est en effet une scholie presque aussi bien enracinée que celle de Michel (et consignée en partie dans les mêmes manuscrits)<sup>48</sup> et ayant pour objet la même phrase de Nicomaque ; la scholie est anonyme dans le *Mutin.* α.T.8.14 mais elle est attribuée ailleurs à Eustrate de Nicée (d'où, lors du montage, la faute d'attribution justement mentionnée). Puisque les deux savants se sont partagé le travail d'exégèse sur *EN*, on ne s'étonnera pas trop de les retrouver parmi les scholiastes de l'ouvrage de Nicomaque ; on sera un peu plus étonné du fait que ce sont là les deux seules scholies que la tradition attribue l'une à Michel, l'autre à Eustrate<sup>49</sup>. Lisons donc la scholie d'Eustrate.

«ἀφ' ἧς ἀμφοτέραι» λέγοιτο ἂν ἡ ἐξ ἐαυτῆς ἔχουσα δύο ἀποτελουμένας τῶ ὁρθῶς τε κεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, «διεzeugμέναι» δὲ αἱ γεννώμεναι ἐξ

47. Sur les relations de filiation entre les témoins manuscrits mentionnés, voir F. ACERBI, *Eliminazioni diagrammatiche*, *Scripta* 13, 2020, p. 9-37, et F. ACERBI, *The Textual Tradition*, cité n. 43.

48. Dans les manuscrits suivants : *Ambros.* G 62 sup., f. 66<sup>r</sup> (A<sub>1</sub>) ; *Marc. gr.* Z. 318, f. 21<sup>r</sup> (M<sub>3</sub>) ; *Marc. gr.* Z. 333, f. 61<sup>r</sup> (M<sub>5</sub>) ; *Mutin.* α.T.8.14, f. 27<sup>v</sup> (E) ; et en plus dans les Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 316 (1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 14<sup>e</sup> s., M<sub>2</sub>), f. 61<sup>r-v</sup> ; gr. Z. 319 (milieu du 13<sup>e</sup> s., M<sub>4</sub>), ff. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup> ; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, X.I.9 (a. 1544, S<sub>1</sub>), ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>, d'ailleurs une copie conforme du *Marc. gr.* Z. 316.

49. Aucun des deux n'a écrit de commentaire à *Ar.* qui ait survécu ou dont il reste des témoignages ; en supposer un, désormais disparu, sur la base d'une seule scholie (qui témoigne plutôt d'un débat savant autour d'une phrase cryptique), n'est pas de bonne méthode ; le seul candidat possible serait ce qu'on appelle la « Recension IV » des notes de cours d'Ammوني, qui est en effet un ouvrage d'origine byzantine. Or ce que nous y lisons sur *Ar.*, I, 23, 15 est totalement différent du point de vue de la formulation, et au moins en un point crucial quant à l'exégèse : voir F. ACERBI, *La tradition manuscrite*, cité n. 43.

- αὐτῆς· οἷον ἡ α β δ διπλασία οὖσα σχέσις καὶ ἐκ πρώτης γεγонуῖα τῆς ἰσότη-  
 5 τος, ὁρθῶς μὲν κειμένη τὴν α γ θ τριπλασίονα σχέσιν ἀπεκύησεν ἀναστραφεῖσα  
 δὲ τὴν δ ε θ ἡμιόλιαν. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν «ἀφ’ ἧς ἀμφοτέραι», αὐταὶ δὲ «αἱ  
 διαζευχθεῖσαι»· «διαζευχθεῖσαι» δὲ ὀνομάζονται ὡς ἐναντίων γινόμεναι  
 θέσεων· ἐναντίον γὰρ ὁρθότης τε καὶ ἀντιστροφή, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία διέστηκε  
 καὶ διέζευκται – ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι. συμβαίνει οὖν τῇ «ἀφ’  
 ἧς ἀμφοτέραι», ὅποταν γενῶσα ληφθῇ, τὸν μὲν ἔσχατον ὅρον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 10 λόγῳ τηρούμενον ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον εἰς τὸν μετ’ αὐτὸν ἀποβαίνοντα, εἴτε ὁ  
 ἐλάττων πρῶτος ἐστὶν ὁρθῶς κειμένης αὐτῆς, εἴτε ὁ μεῖζων πρῶτος τῶν ὅρων  
 ὁ δ’ ἐλάττων ἔσχατος ἀναστρεφομένης τῆς σχέσεως. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ  
 ταῖς διεζευγμέναις συμβαίνει, ὅποταν ὡς γενῶσαι ληφθεῖεν ἑτέρας. «εἰς τὸν  
 ἐλάττονα» οὖν φησι «μεταβαίνειν τὸν πρῶτον ὅρον» τὸν ὑστερογενέστερον  
 15 ὅρον ὀνομάζων «ἐλάττονα», οἷον τὸν ἡμιόλιον τὸν τριπλασίον· οὗτοι γὰρ  
 ὑστερογενέστεροι τοῦ διπλασίου ἀπεδείχθησαν. ὥσως δὲ βιαίως δόξει «ἐλάττον»  
 καλεῖσθαι τὸ ὑστερον, καίτοι «μεῖζων» ἂν μᾶλλον δικαίως ὀνομασθήσεται ὁ  
 τριπλάσιος τοῦ διπλασίου. ἀλλὰ σκόπει πῶς λέγομεν· ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ὅρων τῇ  
 ὑστερογενεστέρῃ οἰκειούμενος σχέσει ὑπόλογος ἐν αὐτῇ γίνεται, εἴθ’ ὁ μεῖζων  
 20 εἴθ’ ὁ ἐλάττων εἴη. ἢ οὖν ἐκ προλόγου ὑπόλογος γίνεται, εἰ ὁ μεῖζων ἐν τῇ  
 προτέρᾳ εἴη καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἕλαττον μεταβέβηκεν, ἢ καὶ ὁ ἐλάττων τῆς  
 προτέρας ὑπάρχων σχέσεως ὑπόλογος μὲν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐστί, μεῖζονος δὲ  
 ἀριθμοῦ ἐν τῇ μετ’ ἐκείνην σχέσει γεγεννημένος ὑπόλογος, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ  
 ἕλαττον· ὅ τε γὰρ δ – πρόλογος ὢν ἐν τῇ ἀντεστραμμένη διπλασίᾳ, ἅτε τοῦ  
 25 δύο ὑπερέχων διπλασίων – ἐν τῇ ἡμιολίᾳ ὑπόλογος γίνεται ὑψημιόλιος τοῦ ε  
 ἀποκαθιστάμενος, ἢ τε μονάς – ὑπόλογος οὖσα ὑποδιπλασία – ὑποτριπλασία  
 ἐν τῇ μετ’ αὐτὸν γίνεται, ὥσθ’ ἐκατέρωθεν συνῆκται τὸ ἕλαττον.

tit. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξήγησις Εὐστρατίου τοῦ Νικαίας Α<sub>1</sub> Εὐστρατίου τοῦ Νικαίας  
 Μ<sub>2</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Εὐστρατίου τοῦ Νικαίας ἐξήγησις Μ<sub>3</sub> εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ  
 Νικαίας Εὐστρατίου Μ<sub>4</sub> ἄλλως ἢ ἀρχὴ Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε

1 ἑαυτῆς : αὐτῆς Μ<sub>2</sub> αὐτῶν Μ<sub>4</sub> || 2 τε om. Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || post καὶ add. τῷ Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> ||  
 3 τῆς om. Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 4 τὴν α : τῶν πρῶτον Μ<sub>4</sub> || τριπλασίονα : τριπλασίαν  
 Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 5 δὲ<sup>2</sup> om. Μ<sub>4</sub> || 6 ὀνομά- om. in lac. Α<sub>1</sub> || post ὡς add. ἐξ Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> ||  
 ἐναντίων : ἐναντίον Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || 7 ἀντιστροφή : ἀναστροφή Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || διέστηκε :  
 διέστραπται Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || 8 ἀρκεῖ – παρόντι om. Μ<sub>3</sub>ΕΜ<sub>2</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || τῇ : τῆς Σ<sub>1</sub> || 9 ἀμφοτέραι  
 ὅποταν : ἀμφοτέρα ὅποτε Μ<sub>4</sub> || -θῇ, τὸν om. in lac. Α<sub>1</sub> || 10 τηρούμενον :  
 τυρούμενον Σ<sub>1</sub> || 12 καὶ om. Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 13 ἑτέρας : ἑτέrais Μ<sub>4</sub> || 14 ὅρον : λόγον  
 Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 15 τὸν ἡμιόλιον – 16 ὑστερογενέστεροι : τὸν [ἡμιόλιον Ε] τριπλάσιον  
 τὸν ἡμιόλιον· οὗτοι γὰρ (ὁ ἡμιόλιος λέγω καὶ ὁ τριπλάσιος) ὑστερογενέστεροι  
 Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || 16 δὲ : δ’ ἂν Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || βιαίως : βίαιον Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || δόξει : δόξη Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> ||  
 17 δικαίως ὀνομασθήσεται : ὁ. δ. transp. Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 19 αὐτῇ : αὐτῷ Α<sub>1</sub>Μ<sub>3</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε  
 || εἴτε bis Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε || 20 προλόγου : προλήψεως Μ<sub>4</sub> || 22 ἐκείνη : ἐκείνῳ Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε ἐκείνους  
 Σ<sub>1</sub> || 23 ἐκείνην : ἐκείνων Σ<sub>1</sub> || ἔχει : ἔσχει Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 24 δ : τέταρτος Σ<sub>1</sub> || τῇ  
 ἀντεστραμμένη διπλασίᾳ : τῷ ἀντεστραμμένῳ διπλασίῳ Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 25 ὑπερέ-  
 χων διπλασίων : ὑπερέχων διπλάσιον Μ<sub>3</sub>Ε ὑπάρχων διπλάσιος Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> lege  
 ὑπερέχων δύο || τῇ : τῷ Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> || 26 ὑποδιπλασία ... ὑποτριπλασία : ὑποδιπλά-  
 σιος ... ὑποτριπλάσιος Μ<sub>2</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub> ὑποδιπ<sup>3</sup> ... ὑποτριπ<sup>3</sup> Μ<sub>4</sub> || 27 τῇ : τῷ Μ<sub>2</sub>Μ<sub>4</sub>Σ<sub>1</sub>

Serait dite « celle dont les deux » la <relation> qui se trouve en réaliser deux à  
 partir d’elle-même, étant placée tant en ordre direct qu’en ordre inverse, tandis

que les <relations> « disjointes » sont celles engendrées à partir d'elle ; par exemple, la relation 1 2 4, qui est double et qui résulte à la première <génération> de l'égalité, a produit, placée en ordre direct, la relation triple 1 3 9, en ordre inverse, l'hémiole 4 6 9. Celle-là est donc « celle dont les deux », celles-ci sont « celles qui sont disjointes ». Elles sont appelées « disjointes » parce qu'elles se trouvent en des dispositions contraires, car direct et inverse sont contraires, et les contraires sont séparés et disjoints – et que cela suffise pour l'instant. Il arrive donc à « celle dont les deux », tant qu'elle est prise comme <relation> qui engendre, de garder son dernier terme dans le même rapport, tandis que le premier se déplace vers celui qui est après, aussi bien si le plus petit <terme> est le premier, la <relation> étant placée en ordre direct, que si le plus grand terme est le premier et le plus petit est le dernier, la relation étant placée en ordre inverse. Cette même chose arrive aux <relations> disjointes, tant qu'elles sont prises comme <relations> qui en engendrent d'autres. Il dit donc « le premier terme se transforme en le plus petit », en appelant le terme engendré en dernier « plus petit », par exemple l'hémiole <ou> le triple, car ceux-ci ont été démontrés être engendrés en dernier par le double. Il pourrait sembler forcé d'appeler « plus petit » le dernier, même si le <rapport> triple serait plus justement appelé « plus grand » que le double. Mais fais attention à la manière dont nous nous exprimons : le premier terme qui se trouve placé dans la relation engendrée en dernier lieu en devient le conséquent, qu'il soit le plus grand ou le plus petit, peu importe. Donc, ou bien, d'antécédent qu'il était, il devient conséquent s'il était le plus grand dans la première et se trouve transformé de la sorte en le plus petit, ou bien, tout en se trouvant à même d'être le plus petit de la première relation, il est aussi le conséquent dans celle-ci, mais il est engendré comme conséquent du nombre le plus grand dans la relation après celle-ci, et il reste de la sorte le plus petit : en effet, 4 – qui est l'antécédent dans la <relation> double prise en ordre inverse, puisque il dépasse deux de deux – devient le conséquent dans le <rapport> hémiole car il revient comme hémiole de 6, et l'unité – qui est le conséquent <dans le rapport> sous-double – devient sous-triple dans la <relation> après celle-ci, de sorte que le plus petit se déduit de part et d'autre.

Nous lisons donc trois versions de la scholie d'Eustrate, les deux dernières résultant probablement d'une légère réécriture de la première. La première est consignée dans l'*Ambros.* G 62 sup. et le *Marc. gr.* Z. 318, la deuxième dans les *Marc. gr.* Z. 316 (et dans sa copie, le *Scorial.* XI.9) et *Marc. gr.* Z. 319, la troisième dans le *Mutin.* α.T.8.14 et dans sa copie, le *Marc. gr.* Z. 333. Cette répartition confirme celle établie dans le cas de la scholie de Michel.

La lecture de ces deux scholies montre que Michel a interprété de manière erronée tout ce qu'il pouvait dans *Ar.*, I, 23, 15<sup>50</sup> : selon lui, ce qui est « disjoint » (δι᾽ ἀζευχθέν) ne correspond pas aux deux médiétés/rapports/

50. Les deux emploient le même exemple numérique que nous avons présenté ci-dessus. C'est l'exemple naturel, et la coïncidence ne prouve rien.

relations « qui sont engendrés » (γεννηθεῖσαι), mais à leurs termes ; les deux autres assertions sont apparemment appliquées à la prescription inverse seulement<sup>51</sup> : le « dernier carré » (ὁ ἔσχατος τετράγωνος) est le terme le plus grand, après inversion des termes, de la médiété « qui engendre » (γεν-νῶσα), et par conséquent le terme le plus petit de la médiété « qui est engendrée » ; le « premier <terme> » (ὁ πρῶτος <ῥος>) y est donc le plus petit ; les termes étant identifiés de la sorte, la « transformation » (μετά-βασις) n'a pas lieu entre les termes mais entre les rapports, car les rapports « qui sont engendrés » sont chaque fois plus petits que ceux « qui engendrent »<sup>52</sup>. En revanche, si Eustrate partage avec Michel cette lecture de la « transformation » (noter la variante textuelle cruciale ῥον vs. λόγον) et précise que le « dernier carré » est le terme le plus petit de la médiété « qui engendre » (et donc le « premier <terme> » y est le plus grand) mais en même temps le plus grand après l'inversion des termes, il identifie correctement ce qui est « disjoint » comme les deux médiétés/rapports/reliations « qui sont engendrés ». On notera aussi qu'Eustrate ne reproduit pas la phrase de Nicomaque comme le fait Michel, qui l'enrichit avec des petites gloses. Cette manière de faire crée parfois des difficultés pour définir exactement la position d'Eustrate. Il est aussi vrai que ces commentateurs savaient bien comment interposer des écrans de fumée dialectiques afin de masquer des incertitudes exégétiques.

Quant aux relations entre les deux textes, la méprise consistant à penser que la « transformation » n'a pas lieu entre les termes mais entre les rapports est commune à d'autres scholies et à la « Recension IV » des notes de cours d'Ammonius ; il n'y a aucune trace non plus de dialogue entre Michel et Eustrate sur le terrain d'*Ar.*, I, 23, 15. Le style des deux scholies est aussi très différent : celle de Michel a vraiment tout l'air d'une annotation ponctuelle, tandis qu'Eustrate intercale l'expression ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι (mais tous les témoins ne l'ont pas), qui peut faire penser à des notes prises ἀπὸ φωνῆς ; dans la même perspective, on notera la manière d'introduire une aporie : ἴσως δὲ βιαίως δόξει « ἔλαττον » καλεῖσθαι. On est toutefois loin de pouvoir considérer ces caractéristiques comme des indices qu'Eustrate a rédigé un commentaire à *Ar.*

Si Michel a donc dû étudier son Nicomaque pour commenter le livre V d'*EN*, il se devait de remercier sa bonne étoile, car il a seulement eu besoin de notions arithmétiques très élémentaires. Deux de ces notions sont centrales

51. Nous écrivons « apparemment » car la position de Michel est aussi ambiguë que celle d'*Ar.*, I, 23, 15.

52. Ce qui est d'ailleurs faux en général.

dans la théorie de la justice aristotélicienne, et ce sont celles de « proportion » arithmétique et géométrique. Or il semble bien que les définitions qu'en donne Michel dans le commentaire s'inspirent de celles d'*Ar.*, comme le montre le tableau comparatif suivant<sup>53</sup> :

*Ar.*, II, 23, 1, p. 124<sup>1-5</sup> et 24, 1, p. 126<sup>15-20</sup>

*in EN*, V, p. 15<sup>27-30</sup> et 16<sup>22-26</sup>

ἔστιν οὖν ἀριθμητικὴ μεσότης, ὅταν  
τριῶν ἢ πλείονων ὅρων ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλοις  
κειμένων ἢ ἐπινοουμένων ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ  
ποσότητα διαφορὰ εὐρίσκηται μεταξὺ  
τῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑπάρχουσα, μὴ μέντοι λόγος  
ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
γίνεται

ἔστι δὲ ἀριθμητικὴ ἀναλογία, ὅταν  
τριῶν ἢ καὶ πλείονων ὅρων ἐφεξῆς κειμέ-  
νων ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰ κατὰ  
τὸ ποσὸν ἡ αὐτὴ ὑπάρχῃ, τουτέστιν ἐν  
ισότητι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν τῶν  
λόγων ποιότητα μὴ <ἢ> αὐτὴ ἀλλ' ἑτέρα

γεωμετρικὴ μεσότης κυρίως ἀναλο-  
γία μόνη καλουμένη διὰ τὸ ἀνὰ τὸν  
αὐτὸν λόγον θεωρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ὅρους· ἔστι δέ, ὅταν τριῶν  
ὅρων ἢ πλείονων ὡς ἔχει ὁ μέγιστος  
πρὸς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτόν, οὕτως αὐτὸς πρὸς  
τὸν ὑποβεβηκότα ἔχῃ, ἐὰν δὲ πλείονες  
ὅροι εἴεν, καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ὑπ'  
αὐτόν, ποσότητι μέντοι μὴ τῇ αὐτῇ δια-  
φέρῳσιν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ λόγου ποιότητι  
τῇ αὐτῇ

γεωμετρικὴ δὲ ἀναλογία, ἡ καὶ κυρίως  
ἀναλογία ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται, ἐστὶν ὅταν  
τριῶν ἢ καὶ πλείονων ὅρων ὡς ἔχει ὁ  
μέγιστος κατὰ τὸ ποῖον πρὸς τὸν μέσον ἢ  
τὸν ἐφεξῆς, οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέσος ἢ ὁ ἐφεξῆς  
πρὸς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτόν. ὅταν τοίνυν τῇ μὲν  
ποιότητι διαφέρῳσι τῇ αὐτῇ, τῇ δὲ ποσό-  
τητι μὴ τῇ αὐτῇ, ἡ τοιαύτη ἀναλογία  
γεωμετρικὴ καλεῖται

L'exemple numérique qui suit chez Michel est identique à celui de Nicomaque, même si, comme nous l'avons dit, cela peut être accidentel.

Nous n'avons pas repéré d'autres traces d'*Ar.* dans les commentaires de Michel à *EN*. Nous allons en revanche discuter deux indices d'activité possible de Michel sur ces deux textes. Le premier est très conjectural, et consiste en ce que certains manuscrits d'*Ar.* datés du 13<sup>e</sup>-14<sup>e</sup> siècle foisonnent de scholies en forme de diagrammes syllogistiques<sup>54</sup>, qui formalisent certains arguments de Nicomaque. Un annotateur à l'aise avec la logique aristotélicienne est requis en ce cas, mais évidemment Michel n'était pas le

53. On lit des formulations différentes dans JAMBLIQUE, *in Nicomachi Arithmeticam* (éd. N. VINEL, cité n. 39), V, 16 ; THÉON DE SMYRNE, *Expositio* (éd. E. HILLER, cité n. 39), p. 107<sup>7-8</sup>. Comme il est clair que Michel a remanié ces définitions, il est vain de chercher des congruences avec les variantes de tel ou tel manuscrit d'*Ar.*

54. Ces diagrammes ont la même forme en arcs emboîtés que ceux qui représentent les médiétés. Sur ces diagrammes, voir tout dernièrement F. ACERBI et D. BIANCONI, *L'Organon a fisarmonica di Giovanni Cortasmeno, Segno e Testo* 18, 2020, p. 223-281, ici sect. 8, et I. MORRESI, *Testo e immagine a Vivarium: i diagrammi ΦΔ delle Institutiones saeculares e le loro fonti*, *Scripta* 13, 2020, p. 103-121.



seul à l'époque ; on retiendra donc cette connexion comme une simple possibilité.

Hormis une poignée de tels diagrammes au début d'*Ar.*, deux manuscrits importants d'*Ar.* en sont à l'inverse dépourvus, mais livrent un lien inattendu avec *EN* et avec Michel. Les deux manuscrits sont le Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, philol. 88 (*ca* 1294)<sup>55</sup>, qui contient *Ar.* aux ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>, et le Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 2387 (2<sup>nd</sup>e moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> s.)<sup>56</sup>, qui contient le traité aux ff. 32<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup>. De manière intéressante, ils transmettent aussi (de la même main que *Ar.* dans les deux cas), le premier, deux extraits d'*EN* avec des scholies tirées du commentaire d'Eustrate (début et fin du livre I, ce dernier au recto d'un feuillet isolé) précédés par le début du prologue du commentaire du même Eustrate à *EN*, I (ff. 52<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>), le deuxième, *EN* en entier, précédé par le même prologue et encadré par l'ensemble des commentaires byzantins au traité (ff. 67<sup>v</sup>-127<sup>v</sup>, *des. mut.* 1172<sup>b19</sup> λύπην καὶ θ'). Comme un petit nombre de manuscrits seulement associent *Ar.* et Aristote<sup>57</sup>, on peut se demander si le couplage *Ar.* + *EN* dans ces deux codex est le fruit du hasard (hypothèse que nous trouvons invraisemblable), le reflet postérieur d'un travail conjoint des savants de l'entourage d'Anne

55. Le manuscrit est copié par Alexios *ca.* 1294 : M. MOLIN PRADEL, Note su alcuni manoscritti greci della Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek di Amburgo, *Codices manuscripti et impressi* 34-35, 2001, p. 15-27, ici p. 15-17, et M. MOLIN PRADEL, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg* (Serta Graeca 14), Wiesbaden 2002, p. 154-157. Toutefois, on ne peut accepter l'hypothèse que ce manuscrit soit *ab origine* la continuation du Vaticano, BAV, Barb. gr. 164 (Aristote, *Organon*) – sur lequel voir A. TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi 28), Cité du Vatican 1964, p. 86-87 et pl. 52 – justement achevé par Alexios le 27 mars 1294. Il suffit de constater que le *Barberinianus* possède justement une souscription, que le numéral λ est ajouté par une main postérieure à la numérotation des cahiers du codex de Hamburg, que la main aux ff. 6<sup>v</sup> et 17<sup>v</sup> peut difficilement être celle de Georges Scholarios (sur lequel voir *RGK* I 71 ; II 92 ; III 119 ; M.-H. BLANCHET, *Georges Gennadios Scholarios [vers 1400-vers 1472] : un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* [AOC 20], Paris 2008) : entre autres, Scholarios annote le Barb. gr. 164 avec une encre différente.

56. Voir P. CANART, Manuscrits d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs sur papier occidental ancien, dans J. WIESNER (éd.), *Aristoteles Werk und Wirkung Paul Moraux gewidmet. II, Kommentierung, Überlieferung, Nachleben*, Berlin 1987, p. 418-433, ici p. 428.

57. Voici ceux qu'offrent les bases de données *pinakes* (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>) et *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina* (<https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/>) : *Athen.* 1115 (*De mundo* ; un seul copiste) ; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Σ.II.15 (fin du 13<sup>e</sup> s. ; *Ph.*, *Parties des animaux*, *De l'âme*, avec lacunes ; un seul copiste) ; *Hamb. philol.* 88 (*EN*) ; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPG 74G (1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 16<sup>e</sup> s. ; *Ph.*, I-IV, VII-VIII, du copiste qui complète *Ar.*) ; Voss. gr. Q<sup>o</sup> 23 (1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 14<sup>e</sup> s., début 15<sup>e</sup> s. ; *Ph.*, I-V, 6 ; copistes différents) ; *Vat. gr.* 256 (*Métaphysique*, *Ph.*, *Partie des animaux*, *De l'âme* ; composite) ; *Vat. gr.* 2387 (*EN*) ; Wien, ÖNB, phil. gr. 220 (1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 15<sup>e</sup> s. ; *De l'âme*, de courts extraits).

Comnène<sup>58</sup>, ou une ruse de copiste reposant sur l'homonymie de l'auteur d'*Ar.* et du dédicataire d'*EN*.

## CONCLUSION

Les données que nous venons de recueillir s'articulent naturellement avec des intérêts mathématiques dans le cadre d'un cercle érudit, dont Michel (le pivot de l'équipe, dans notre reconstruction), Eustrate et le maître d'œuvre euclidien (a) sont les personnalités majeures. Aucune surprise ne vient du fait que ces intérêts se focalisent sur les deux ouvrages de référence de la littérature mathématique grecque, les *Éléments* et *Ar.* Au même cercle – qu'on serait tenté d'appeler « cercle d'Anne Comnène »<sup>59</sup> – pourraient appartenir les deux savants dont les interprétations d'*Ar.*, I, 23, 15 sont transmises par l'*Ambros.* G. 62 sup. et (seulement la première) par les *Marc. gr.* Z. 309, 318 et 319 : un anonyme originaire de la ville de Dyrrachion (l'actuelle Durrës) et un juge, Nicholas Dishypatos, sur l'identité desquels il est impossible d'émettre une quelconque hypothèse raisonnable<sup>60</sup>. Dishypatos mentionne l'anonyme de Durrës en lui appliquant l'épithète ἀριστοτελικώτατος « aristotélissime » (évidemment significatif dans notre perspective)<sup>61</sup>, mais c'est toute l'information disponible quant à leurs interactions.

S'agissant de Michel d'Éphèse en particulier, on lui assignera un profil de savant byzantin assez typique eu égard à ses relations avec les mathématiques : possesseur et lecteur actif de manuscrits qui ont fort probablement joué un rôle majeur dans la transmission d'ouvrages techniques de référence, il mène un combat sans espoir avec les mathématiques grecques, qui sont évidemment hors de sa portée dès lors qu'elles se placent à un niveau qui n'est plus élémentaire. Aucun indice n'autorise à penser que Michel ait écrit de commentaire aux *Éléments* ou à *Ar.*, dont il a pourtant interprété une phrase cryptique. Il se peut bien qu'on lui ait confié la tâche de commenter le livre V d'*EN* en tant que μαθηματικώτατος dans son cercle érudit. Et ce n'est pas peu dire.

58. Même s'il est bien vrai que les scholies de Michel et d'Eustrate à *Ar.*, I, 23, 15 ne se lisent pas dans ces deux manuscrits.

59. Sur l'existence même de ce cercle, voir la discussion et les fortes réserves émises par M. TRIZIO, *Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea*, cité n. 1.

60. Sur ces deux personnages et leur contribution à l'exégèse d'*Ar.*, voir encore F. ACERBI, *The Textual Tradition*, cité n. 43.

61. Une recherche dans le *TLG* montre qu'il s'agit de la seule occurrence de ce superlatif dans le *corpus* grec.

*Liste des abréviations*

*Ar.* : *Nicomachi Geraseni pythagorei Introductionis Arithmeticae libri II*, éd. R. HOCHÉ, Leipzig 1866.

*EHM* : *Euclidis opera omnia*, éd. J. L. HEIBERG et H. MENGE, I-VIII, Leipzig 1883-1916.

*EN* : ARISTOTE, *Éthique à Nicomaque*.

*in EN* : MICHEL D'ÉPHÈSE, *Commentaire à l'Éthique à Nicomaque*, éd. G. HAYDUCK, *Michaelis Ephesii in librum quintum Ethicorum Nicomacheorum commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 22.3), Berlin 1901.

*Ph.* : ARISTOTE, *Physique*.

*Liste des manuscrits mentionnés*

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Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio A 18-19 (Diktyon 9695)	<b>b</b>
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Vat. gr. 186 (Diktyon 66817)	<b>V<sub>1</sub></b>
Vat. gr. 190 (Diktyon 66821)	<b>P</b>
Vat. gr. 256 (Diktyon 66887)	<b>V<sub>2</sub></b>
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Φ.III.5 (gr. 224 ; Diktyon 15178)	<b>S</b>
X.I.9 (gr. 351 ; Diktyon 14967)	<b>S<sub>1</sub></b>
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I 8 sup. (gr. 451 ; Diktyon 42887)	<b>A<sub>2</sub></b>

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria α.T.8.14 (Puntoni 105 ; Diktyon 43425)	<b>E</b>
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod.graec. 482 (Diktyon 44930)	<b>C</b>
Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.6.23 (Misc. 117 ; Diktyon 47105) D'Orville 301 (Diktyon 47906)	<b>O</b> <b>B</b>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Grec 2344 (Diktyon 51976) Grec 2466 (Diktyon 52098)	<b>q</b> <b>p</b>
Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana gr. Z. 309 (coll. 300 ; Diktyon 69780) gr. Z. 316 (coll. 670 ; Diktyon 69787) gr. Z. 318 (coll. 994 ; Diktyon 69789) gr. Z. 319 (coll. 1029 ; Diktyon 69790) gr. Z. 333 (coll. 644 ; Diktyon 69804) lat. XIV, 232 (coll. 4257 ; Diktyon 70696)	<b>M<sub>1</sub></b> <b>M<sub>2</sub></b> <b>M<sub>3</sub></b> <b>M<sub>4</sub></b> <b>M<sub>5</sub></b> <b>M</b>
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek phil. gr. 31 (Diktyon 71145) phil. gr. 220 (Diktyon 71334)	<b>V</b>

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## «SOBRE LA DEMANDA QUE VOS E VUESTRAS HERMANAS HAVEDES EN EL EMPERIO DE GRECIA»

### Mujeres, poder y diplomacia en el Mediterráneo medieval: una mensajería de Fernando IV de Castilla a Bizancio en favor de Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia

Daniel DURAN DUELT

Cuando se piensa en una misión diplomática castellana a Bizancio viene rápidamente a la mente la visita que Ruy González de Clavijo hizo a la corte constantinopolitana en otoño de 1403, de camino al encuentro de Temūr(-i) Lang (Tamerlán), objetivo final de la misión enviada por Enrique III. Sin duda, la preservación de la relación escrita de dicha misión ha contribuido a la fama de este episodio<sup>1</sup>. Poco antes, pero esta vez en Castilla, embajadores

Véase la lista de abreviaturas al final del artículo.

1. La bibliografía sobre esta misión es abundantísima, por lo cual nos limitamos a señalar algunos de los títulos más recientes y/o destacados en lo referente al aspecto diplomático estricto y en relación con Bizancio: *Embajada a Tamerlán*, ed. F. LÓPEZ ESTRADA, Madrid 1943<sup>1</sup> (Madrid 1992<sup>2</sup>); *Historia del gran Tamorlán: de itinerario y narración del viaje y relación de la embajada que Ruy González de Clavijo hizo [...]*, ed. R. ALBA, Madrid 1999; *La Route de Samarkand au temps de Tamerlan, Relation du voyage de l'ambassade de Castille à la cour de Timour Beg par Ruy González de Clavijo 1403-1406*, ed. L. KEHREN, París 1990<sup>1</sup> (2002<sup>2</sup>); J. FILGUEIRA VALVERDE, *Payo Gómez de Sotomayor, Mariscal de Castilla, Embajador de Enrique III al Gran Tamerlán*, Pontevedra 1976; M. Á. OCHOA BRUN, *Historia de la Diplomacia Española*, I, Madrid 1990, p. 229-245; F. LÓPEZ ESTRADA, *La relation de l'ambassade d'Henri III au Grand Tamerlan, Études de Lettres* 3, 1992, p. 5-51; F. SUÁREZ BILBAO, Una embajada de Enrique III en la Corte de Tamerlán, *Studia Carande: Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas* 2, 1998, p. 481-498; C. MONTORO JIMÉNEZ, *La diplomacia castellana bajo Enrique III: estudio especial de la Embajada de Ruy González de Clavijo a la corte de Tamerlán*, Madrid 2004; A. GARCÍA BRAVO, La Constantinopla que vieron González de Clavijo y Tafur: los monasterios, *Erytheia* 2, 1983, p. 39-47; IDEM, La Crónica de los Gattilusios y otras cuestiones de historia bizantina en la Embajada a Tamorlán, *Estudios Clásicos* 26, 1984, p. 27-37; IDEM, La imagen de Bizancio en los viajeros medievales españoles. Notas para un nuevo comentario a sus relatos (I), en I. PÉREZ MARTÍN y P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA (ed.),

bizantinos enviados por Manuel II Paleólogo visitaban la corte real y a algunos de sus máximos dignatarios en un intento de establecer alianzas y obtener ayuda material en la lucha contra los turcos. La primera misión, encabezada por Alejo Branás, llegó en el otoño de 1400-principios de 1401, y repetiría en el verano-otoño de 1402. La primavera de 1403 sería Constantino Rallis Paleólogo el que acudiría a Castilla<sup>2</sup>. La intensidad de los contactos diplomáticos por esos años no parece tener precedentes en la historia castellana y bizantina, a juzgar por la parquedad de datos de las centurias anteriores. La rica cronística castellana apenas alude a dichos intercambios y la escasa documentación cancilleresca generada por ambas cortes y conservada hasta la fecha no los menciona. Ello ha hecho pensar en una dinámica de contactos diplomáticos extremadamente escasos y anecdóticos, en comparación con los de otros poderes europeos. Las explicaciones que se han ofrecido a este hecho suelen girar en torno a la distancia geográfica y a los escasos intereses políticos y comerciales castellanos en el Mediterráneo oriental, y de los bizantinos en el Mediterráneo occidental.

Aunque no falta cierta razón en los argumentos esgrimidos en lo referente a la caracterización de los contactos diplomáticos castellano-bizantinos, no hay duda de que el factor heurístico ha contribuido a esa visión de los hechos. Los diezmados archivos castellanos y bizantinos no permiten dirimir hasta qué punto aquella imagen de alejamiento es del todo cierta o no, más aún cuando las informaciones recabadas por la investigación en colecciones y depósitos documentales generados por instituciones no vinculadas ni a Castilla ni al Imperio bizantino permiten incrementar el número de intercambios conocidos hasta la fecha<sup>3</sup>.

## I. — UNA MANDADERÍA DE FERNANDO IV A BIZANCIO

El trabajo en curso en diversos archivos custodiados en Barcelona, especialmente el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, está permitiendo arrojar luz a episodios diplomáticos desconocidos o largamente ignorados por la

*Bizancio y la Península Ibérica. De la Antigüedad Tardía a la Edad Moderna*, Madrid 2004, p. 381-436; IDEM, Viejo y nuevo sobre los viajeros a y desde Bizancio, en M. CORTÉS ARRESE (ed.), *Caminos de Bizancio*, Cuenca 2007, p. 13-46.

2. D. DURAN DUELT, Diplomacia de cruzada. Las misiones de Manuel II Paleólogo a la Península Ibérica y la recaudación de subsidios, en E. RAMÍREZ VAQUERO y R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH (ed.), *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media*, Pamplona 2010, p. 53-110 y la bibliografía allí contenida.

3. Sobre esta problemática Ó. VILLARROEL GONZÁLEZ, Corte y diplomacia en la Castilla bajomedieval, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45.2, 2015, p. 105-124.



investigación. Un buen ejemplo son tres documentos del último cuarto del siglo XIII dados a conocer por Stefano Maria Cingolani y procedentes de la cancillería de Pedro III, rey de Aragón, que parecen indicar una misión diplomática castellana a Constantinopla por aquellos años. En algún momento del año 1280 Pere de Rubí, ciudadano de Barcelona, había prestado en Constantinopla una suma de hipérperos correspondientes a 225 libras de reales de Valencia a Gonzalo Rodríguez de Isla, nuncio del infante Sancho de Castilla –futuro Sancho IV–, cantidad que no había podido recuperar aún el 21 de marzo de 1281, motivo por el cual el rey Pedro, a quien Rubí había mostrado diversos documentos concernientes a ese asunto, intervino a su favor ante el dicho infante. El 21 de noviembre de ese mismo año Pedro volvía a escribir a Sancho por aquella misma razón, y dos días más tarde, el 23, se dirigía a su padre, el rey Alfonso X<sup>4</sup>. Cingolani considera a Rubí un hombre del rey Pedro en base, sin duda, a las afirmaciones que hace el primer documento, que lo califica como *homo noster*, aunque no puede dar ninguna explicación cierta a su presencia en Constantinopla<sup>5</sup>. Hay que recordar, sin embargo, que nos encontramos en el contexto previo al estallido de las Vísperas Sicilianas. Volviendo a Rodríguez de Isla, ¿mantenía aquí alguna relación con los *spagnoli* mencionados en el testamento del catalán Nicolau de Palau hecho en Pera el 7 de julio de 1281? Entre sus deudores aparecen Pedro *Goxabis*, *spagnolo*, que le debía 9 hipérperos; Jimeno (*Xameno*), *spagnolo*, 1 hipérpero; Domingo, *spagnolo*, 6 hipérperos 12 caratos; un *spagnolo* de quien no recordaba el nombre, 4 hipérperos 8,5 caratos; y Pedro (de) Navarra, 20 caratos<sup>6</sup>. ¿Serían miembros de la comitiva de la embajada del infante Sancho? La calificación de Rodríguez de Isla como nuncio del infante no deja lugar a duda de la naturaleza político-diplomática de la visita a Constantinopla, aunque desconocemos el objetivo concreto de su misión. Con toda probabilidad se estaba produciendo una negociación o transacción entre castellanos y bizantinos porque un año más tarde, el verano de 1282 sabemos del paso por Portfangós, en Cataluña, de dos embajadores de Miguel VIII Paleólogo –el arzobispo de Sardi y Benedetto Zaccaria– de camino a Castilla, objetivo principal de su misión. El contexto

4. S. M. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran*. II, *Relacions internacionals i política exterior (1260-1285)*, Barcelona 2015, p. 353-354 (doc. 291), 394 (doc. 349), 394-395 (doc. 350).

5. *Ibidem*, p. 98.

6. G. I. BRĂTIANU, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)*, Bucarest 1927, p. 102-104 (doc. 48); G. PISTARINO, *Presenze catalane negli stabilimenti genovesi del Levante all'epoca del re Giacomo di Sicilia e d'Aragona, Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne* 20, 1995, p. 27-30.

general era complejo. Por un lado, la pugna entre paleólogos y angevinos en el Mediterráneo, entre angevinos y catalanoaragoneses, así como las antiguas aspiraciones imperiales de Alfonso X y el peligro de una posible alianza matrimonial de su hija Berenguela con Felipe de Courtenay, emperador titular latino de Constantinopla, el cual se estuvo barajando aquel 1281<sup>7</sup>. Fue un periodo de intensísima actividad diplomática a lo largo y ancho del Mediterráneo, actividad a la que hay que sumar ahora aquella mensajería castellana a Constantinopla, quizá en el marco de una búsqueda de alianzas matrimoniales anterior a la de la opción del emperador latino, y más en la línea de los intereses del rey de Aragón, su aliado. O quizá fue un intento de acercar posiciones entre Miguel VIII y Felipe de Courtenay, aunque también hay que tener en cuenta que por aquellas fechas la relación de Alfonso X y el infante Sancho se estaba deteriorando y, por lo tanto, aquella misión podría haber respondido a una iniciativa personal del infante quien sabe si contando con el apoyo del rey de Aragón<sup>8</sup>.

En esta ocasión quiero llamar la atención sobre un conjunto de documentos que, procedentes del mencionado Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, representa una nueva aportación que pone de relieve el camino que queda por recorrer en la investigación de la historia de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-bizantinas. La mencionada documentación nos informa de una mandadería o *nunciacione* que el rey Fernando IV (1285-1312) envía a la corte imperial al final de su reinado<sup>9</sup>. El interés del episodio es obvio, pues representa una misión diplomática totalmente inédita. Pero, más allá de esto, lo más interesante es el que parece haber sido su objetivo principal, que no atañería estrictamente a los intereses del reino. Se trata de la defensa y reivindicación de ciertos derechos de un grupo de mujeres descendientes de la familia imperial de los Láscaris que habían encontrado refugio inicial en la Corona de Aragón y con el tiempo fueron protagonistas de un fulgurante ascenso social y político en diversos reinos de la Península ibérica cristiana, gracias no solo al prestigio de sus orígenes, sino también a su buen quehacer, que les aseguraron el amparo de las tres principales

7. JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 43.

8. En general, lo conocido hasta ahora de las relaciones castellano-bizantinas de ese periodo se encuentra expuesto en D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, p. 252-254, 344-364.

9. En cuanto a los usos del término mandadería o *nunciacione* en la documentación de la Corona de Aragón para referirse a una misión diplomática, S. PÉQUIGNOT, *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*, Madrid 2009, p. 174-177. Para este autor en su práctica más cotidiana la cancillería usa indistintamente términos que solo la tratadística jurídica o en cronologías más posteriores parecen utilizarse para distinguir categorías y jerarquías.

monarquías ibéricas. Así pues, este episodio trasciende el ámbito de las relaciones castellano-bizantinas stricto sensu y permite ahondar en el papel de las mujeres en el ámbito de la alta política y la diplomacia, en la imagen de prestigio de lo bizantino en las cortes reales ibéricas, o en el devenir de las mujeres bizantinas en el mundo latino.

Aparentemente ignorada hasta ahora, la única información concerniente a esta mensajería procede por el momento de la documentación de la cancellería de la Corona de Aragón, puesto que ninguna otra fuente documental conocida parece consignarla<sup>10</sup>. Los documentos en cuestión nos informan, de hecho, del tramo final de la misión. Dos son cartas del rey Jaime II a diferentes personajes informándoles del paso por su corte del embajador en su camino de regreso a Castilla<sup>11</sup>. Un tercero es un salvoconducto a favor del embajador dirigido a sus propios súbditos y a los del rey de Castilla<sup>12</sup>, y aún hay que añadir un cuarto dirigido a una autoridad local que nos informa de algunos de los pormenores del viaje de regreso. Los cuatro documentos nos proporcionan la única información directa disponible sobre el episodio. El más antiguo es una orden enviada al veguer de Tarragona del 19 de diciembre de 1313<sup>13</sup>. Este, como los otros tres, fechados unos dos meses después, nos proporcionan el nombre del mensajero, Juan Ferrández (o Fernández), y nos indica que había llevado a cabo su misión por orden de Fernando IV, fallecido ya por aquellas fechas. Esta es una información clave, ya que nos ayuda a fijar una cierta cronología. El monarca castellano falleció el 7 de septiembre de 1312<sup>14</sup>. Por lo tanto, la organización y la partida de la misión debieron tener lugar con anterioridad a esa fecha, aunque posiblemente tampoco mucho antes, puesto que fue durante su transcurso cuando el embajador y la corte imperial tuvieron noticia de la muerte del rey, lo que presupone que no debió partir mucho antes de aquel deceso. Ello significa una misión de como mínimo un año y medio de duración, incluyendo los viajes de ida y vuelta, a lo sumo, dos años<sup>15</sup>.

10. Para el contexto general de las relaciones entre Bizancio y el mundo latino durante el reinado de Andrónico II Paleólogo continúa en vigencia el libro de A. E. LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II (1282-1328)*, Cambridge 1972.

11. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 241, f. 120<sup>r</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 3), 120<sup>v</sup> (véase Apéndice documental 4).

12. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 152, f. 245<sup>r</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 2).

13. *Ibidem*, f. 158<sup>rv</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 1).

14. Fernando IV murió en Jaén y fue sucedido por su hijo Alfonso XI, a la sazón menor de edad y fruto del matrimonio con Constanza de Portugal, hija de los monarcas portugueses Dionís e Isabel de Aragón y, por tanto, sobrina de Jaime II de Aragón.

15. Los estudios sobre la diplomacia castellana bajomedieval no han conseguido aún el grado de desarrollo alcanzado para otros ámbitos geográficos, especialmente en relación con

Las informaciones disponibles sobre la logística de la misión son escasas y a menudo no permiten sino conjeturar. Determinar el número exacto de integrantes de la misión resulta, por ahora, imposible. Las mensajerías no solían ser muy amplias, más teniendo en cuenta la distancia y los gastos que podía acarrear su llegada a tierras bizantinas. La carta que Jaime II envía al veguer de Tarragona habla de Juan Fernández y sus *familiares*, que posiblemente, en número muy reducido, debían ser poco más de un par de criados. En lo referente a su marcha hacia territorio bizantino, no parece que haya pasado por tierras de la Corona de Aragón en su camino de ida, o al menos no se ha podido rastrear su presencia. Aunque las comunicaciones entre la Corona de Aragón y el Mediterráneo oriental eran aparentemente más fluidas que las de los otros reinos ibéricos, gracias a los contactos comerciales, o que la vía terrestre desde Castilla priorizase a menudo el paso a través de tierras de Aragón y/o Cataluña para dirigirse a Génova o, especialmente, Venecia, un embajador o mensajero del rey de Castilla tenía otras opciones, especialmente embarcarse en una nave genovesa en algún puerto de Andalucía para dirigirse directamente a la Romania o vía Génova<sup>16</sup>. El camino de vuelta se produjo en varias etapas y fue bastante accidentado. Efectivamente, la mencionada carta al veguer nos relata que Juan Fernández había denunciado ante el rey que ese mismo año, estando de regreso de su misión y encontrándose en «una casa de los cristianos» en la Goleta de Túnez, con sus bienes y familiares, esperando para embarcarse en la nave de En Isarn, que se había dirigido a Cataluña, fue atacado y robado. El ataque de la mencionada casa fue protagonizado por un leño armado que ejercía la piratería bajo el comando del difunto Llobregat de Tortosa, en Domènec, en Daroquí, Tomàs Conill y Ximèn Valero<sup>17</sup>. Finalmente, el mandadero pasó a la península, posiblemente a Valencia, donde denunció la tropelía y donde permanecería un par de meses seguramente a la espera de la resolución de su reclamación. A mediados de febrero de 1314 recibió un salvoconducto para pasar a Castilla portando las cartas del emperador bizantino, pero también otras de Jaime II, entre las cuales alguna dirigida al rey de Portugal<sup>18</sup>.

el periodo que nos interesa aquí, por lo que no disponemos de demasiados elementos comparativos en lo referente a sus aspectos materiales. Por proximidad geográfica, la Corona de Aragón puede servir para establecer paralelismos y, en este sentido, véase S. PÉQUIGNOT, *Au nom du roi*, cit. n. 9, p. 171-251, 253-293.

16. D. DURAN DUELTT, El comercio entre España y Bizancio en los siglos XIII al XV, en I. PÉREZ MARTÍN y P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA (ed.), *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica*, cit. n. 1, p. 323-347.

17. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 152, f. 158<sup>r-v</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 1).

18. *Ibidem*, f. 245<sup>r</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 2).

¿Qué podemos decir a propósito de la persona del mensajero? Lo cierto es que su identificación resulta harto complicada. Los documentos que informan de la misión indican que Ferrández era de Sevilla. Esto último parecería limitar la búsqueda, pero lo común del nombre plantea problemas, pues por aquellas fechas hay diversas personas respondiendo a ese mismo nombre en dicha ciudad. Uno es el escribano público que vemos activo en las primeras décadas del siglo XIV. No podemos asegurar que dicho personaje se trate del coetáneo Juan Fernández, también escribano. Tampoco parece plausible que ninguno de los dos pueda identificarse con un Juan Fernández, criado del arzobispo don Juan, documentado allá por los años veinte, ni con un vecino sevillano homónimo, ni tenemos pruebas o indicios que alguno de ellos pueda ser identificado con el mandadero de Fernando IV<sup>19</sup>. Sea como fuere, la elección de un sevillano no debe extrañar. Se trataba de una de las ciudades más importantes de los dominios del rey de Castilla y posiblemente la de mayor proyección exterior en su condición de emporio comercial de primer orden. Pero más allá de esos condicionantes de tipo general hay que destacar que Vataza Láscaris que, como veremos a continuación, tuvo un papel protagonista en la misión, guardó una estrecha relación con dicha ciudad y su región, lo que podría explicar la elección de un sevillano, quizás un hombre de su confianza, puesto que la mensajería iba a tratar cuestiones que la incumbían directamente. Vataza, aya de Constanza de Portugal y a la que había acompañado a Castilla con ocasión de su matrimonio con el rey Fernando (1302), debió visitar la ciudad en diversas ocasiones y desarrolló vínculos diversos con ella. Vataza había hecho inversiones en Andalucía, comprando en 1310 el señorío sobre Huelva por 240.000 maravedíes, volviéndolo a vender por 300.000 dos años más tarde a la ciudad de Sevilla, aunque en 1316 aún continuaba bajo su control<sup>20</sup>. Su influencia y proyección en la zona y en la ciudad debía ser tal que, en 1306, la mencionada reina Constanza solicitó a su tío, el rey Jaime II de Aragón que nombrase cónsul de los catalanes en Sevilla a Arnau Cap, miembro de la casa de Vataza<sup>21</sup> y en 1311 los *consellers* municipales de Barcelona le escribieron

19. P. OSTOS SALCEDO y M. L. PARDO RODRÍGUEZ, *Documentos y notarios de Sevilla en el siglo XIV (1301-1350)*, Sevilla 2003, p. 67-68 (doc. 1), 126-127 (doc. 39), 163-165 (doc. 62), 228-229 (doc. 95), 324-327 (doc. 147), 331-335 (doc. 151), 378-379 (doc. 173).

20. M. Á. LADERO QUESADA, Los señores de Gibraltor, *Cuadernos de Historia* 7, 1977, p. 33-95, aquí p. 39; IDEM, *Niebla, de reino a condado. Noticias sobre el Algarbe andaluz en la Baja Edad Media*, Huelva 1992, p. 36-37.

21. *ad preces illustris et karissime neptis nostre, dompne Constancie, regine Castelle et Legionis, tradidimus et concedimus seu comendamus tibi, Arnaldo Cap, de domo nobilis dompne Vetaçe, care consanguinee nostre, officium consulatus Cathalanorum ad partes civitatis Sibilie regni Castelle*, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 231, f. 110r; J. MIRET Y SANS,

solicitando su intervención a favor de dos mercaderes barceloneses que habían perdido diversas mercancías en el naufragio en Gibraltar de una embarcación que se dirigía a Sevilla<sup>22</sup>.

Desafortunadamente, el hecho de no conservar documentación de aquel episodio ni por parte castellana ni por parte bizantina hace difícil precisar los términos y objetivos exactos de la misión. Sabemos que el padre de Fernando, Sancho, había mantenido relaciones diplomáticas con Bizancio al menos antes de su acceso al trono, lo que no permite descartar que Fernando hiciera lo propio en pro de los intereses de su familia y de Castilla<sup>23</sup>. El principal problema es que no resulta fácil discernir cuáles podrían haber sido dichos intereses en relación con Bizancio. El reinado de Fernando IV había sido harto complicado hasta entonces. Acuciado por las crisis familiares, sus enfrentamientos con la nobleza o los conflictos con Portugal y Aragón, solo a principios de 1312 el rey parecía haberse sobrepuesto a muchos de aquellos reveses y se había propuesto retomar la lucha contra los musulmanes<sup>24</sup>. ¿Estaría intentando forjar alianzas con potencias mediterráneas, visto que la ofensiva se iba hacer de forma particular, sin contar con el apoyo explícito de la Corona de Aragón como hasta entonces? ¿Estaría buscando el apoyo material bizantino? Aunque aquella mensajería difícilmente podría haber tenido por finalidad obtener ayuda en dicha empresa, no se puede descartar que se buscara algún tipo de proyección política mediterránea o de prestigio. Cabe recordar que su prima hermana Irene –Yolanda, antes de su cambio de nombre–, hija del marqués Guillermo VII de Montferrato y de Beatriz de Castilla, reinaba como emperatriz de Bizancio al haber esposado a Andrónico II Paleólogo en 1284, si bien se encontraba alejada de la corte constantinopolitana, habiéndose instalado en Tesalónica quizás ya en 1299<sup>25</sup>. Pero, sin descartar un movimiento diplomático dirigido

Tres princesas griegas, p. 682 (sin referencias documentales específicas); J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Projecció de Barcelona en l'àmbit peninsular: notícies sobre el consolat de catalans a Sevilla, 1282-1327*, en J. ROCA I ALBERT (ed.), *El municipi de Barcelona i els combats pel govern de la ciutat*, Barcelona 1997, p. 29-38, aquí p. 34 (quien identifica a dicha Constanza como la nieta de Jaime II y no como su sobrina, hija de Dionís e Isabel de Aragón, que casó con Fernando IV, y que además transcribe erróneamente «Urrace» por «Vetaçe»).

22. J. BAUCELLS I REIG, *L'expansió catalana. Fou vehicle d'irradiació cultural?*, en *Segundo Congreso Internacional de estudios sobre las culturas del Mediterráneo occidental*, Barcelona 1978, p. 247-269, aquí p. 266-267 (doc. 3).

23. Véase la n. 4.

24. Para este reinado véase C. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ, *Fernando IV, 1295-1312*, Palencia 1995 (Gijón 2017<sup>3</sup>); J. J. CORIA COLINO y S. FRANCIA LORENZO, *Reinado de Fernando IV (1295-1312)*, Palencia 1999.

25. D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine Lady. Ten Portraits, 1250-1500*, Cambridge 1994, p. 48-58; A. FAILLER, *Le second mariage d'Andronic II Palaiologos*, *REB* 57, 1999, p. 225-235;



a restaurar la imagen de Castilla como una potencia en el tablero mediterráneo, las cartas de Jaime II parecen apuntar a otros objetivos más precisos.

El 15 de febrero, además de escribir al infante Pedro, tío y tutor del nuevo rey Alfonso, informándole del próximo paso de Juan Ferrández a Castilla, Jaime envió otra misiva a «doña Vataza», es decir, Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia<sup>26</sup>. En ella le informaba de los resultados de la misión del sevillano «especialmente sobre la demanda que vos e vuestras hermanas havedes en el imperio de Grecia. E entendimos la respuesta de la carta que embia el emperador e la otras cosas que Johan Ferrández nos dixo en esta razon»<sup>27</sup>. Esta afirmación resulta crucial. Nos induce a sospechar que aquella cuestión, sino fue el único objetivo de la misión del sevillano, sí fue la principal. Ninguna de las otras misivas menciona alguna otra razón para aquel viaje. En este sentido, esta misión recordaría a la que tendrá lugar años más tarde, en 1316, pero enviada en este caso por Jaime II para reclamar los derechos que Constanza (Ana) de Hohenstaufen, viuda de Juan III Ducas Vatatzés, le había cedido en su testamento y correspondientes a su dote y las tres villas en Asia Menor asignadas por su marido al contraer matrimonio. El enviado real, el barcelonés Bonanat Reig, debía tratar de obtener su reintegración o llegar a un acuerdo para su cobro<sup>28</sup>. Pero, en el caso de Vataza y sus hermanas, ¿cuáles eran aquellos derechos?, ¿de naturaleza política?, ¿económica?, y ¿cómo es posible que un monarca organizase tal misión diplomática al servicio, básicamente, de unas mujeres que no eran miembros de la familia real estricta y de un negocio que no incumbía aparentemente al reino? Para responder a todos estos interrogantes es necesario volver sobre la figura de las interesadas y su madre.

## II. — LAS LÁSCARIS-VENTIMIGLIA: IMPLANTACIÓN Y FULGURANTE ASCENSO DE UN GRUPO FAMILIAR FEMENINO DE ORIGEN BIZANTINO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA...

La singularidad del personaje de Vataza ya ha sido puesto de relieve por la historiografía en diversas ocasiones. Su posición y relevancia política en las tres principales cortes cristianas ibéricas —portuguesa, castellana y

P. MELICHAR, *Empresses of Late Byzantium. Foreign Brides, Mediators and Pious Women*, Berlín 2019, p. 117-145.

26. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 241, f. 120<sup>r</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 3).

27. *Ibidem*, f. 120<sup>vv</sup> (véase aquí mismo Apéndice documental 4).

28. J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 692-697, 717-719; IDEM, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 117-121; C. MARINESCO, *Du nouveau*.

catalanoaragonesa–, prácticamente inauditas para una mujer no perteneciente a una familia reinante la han hecho merecedora de calificativos de lo más diverso<sup>29</sup>. Uno de los primeros semblantes y posiblemente uno de los más ajustados es el de Mercedes Gaibrois en su biografía sobre la reina María de Molina que afirma: «A la ilustre señora la tienen en gran predicamento Jaime II y don Dionís, con quienes mantiene correspondencia, propendiendo por la paz de los reinos hispanos. Se le confían misiones delicadas y ella se compenetra con la vida política peninsular. La aureola de su origen bizantino aumenta seguramente el prestigio diplomático de que goza. Mujer discreta, activa, bien reputada, va ganando terreno en lo que llamaríamos las cancillerías»<sup>30</sup>. Hija de una princesa imperial establecida en la Península ibérica, la condición de forastera no fue un inconveniente ni para ella ni para su madre o sus hermanas, ni mucho menos. El hecho de contar con probados orígenes imperiales que ellas, además, no cejaron de reivindicar, conexiones mediterráneas a larga escala, así como los intereses y entresijos de las políticas locales de cada uno de los territorios peninsulares a los cuales se ligaron, les permitieron alcanzar posiciones de gran relieve social y devenir actrices activas en el campo político y diplomático. Su caso debería ser analizado desde la perspectiva de los agentes de doble fidelidad, un fenómeno habitual en los sistemas de gobierno de los siglos XIV al XVIII, pero poco estudiados por la historiografía medieval ibérica. Deben ser entendidos como personas que no tenían lealtad hacia un solo señor o dinastía, sino en los que se asiste a una combinación de lealtades, es decir, a servidores de varios señores<sup>31</sup>.

29. La bibliografía sobre Vataza empieza a ser abundante, aunque muy desigual en naturaleza y calidad. Limitándose a la más reciente, véase F. de S. A. DE AZEVEDO, D. Vataça e as suas águia bicéfalas, *Armas e Troféus* 4, 1963, p. 178-180; F. de S. A. DE AZEVEDO, A Águia bicéfala bizantina em Portugal, *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 37, 1992, p. 101-109; M. CAS-SOTTI, *Infantas de Portugal, rainhas em Espanha*, Lisboa 2007; M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Vataça: uma dona; M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Os bens de Vataça; R. KULCZYCKI, Vataca Laskarys, księżniczka grecka na dworze portugalskim, *Studia historyczne* 40, 1997, p. 553-559; P. DA F. MACHADO, D. Vataça: Um Exílio, um Destino na Corte da Rainha Santa Isabel, *Munda* 8, 1984, p. 49-54; M. MACLAGAN, A Byzantine Princess; Á. MASÍÀ DE ROS, La emperatriz de Nicea; M. C. de MATOS, Cultura e língua grega em Portugal e outras regiões da península entre os séculos XV e XVIII (seis momentos para a compreensão e estudo da sua dinâmica), *Revista Portuguesa de História do Livro e da Edição* 12, 2009, p. 243-300; J. MIRET Y SANS, La princesa griega; IDEM, Tres princesas griegas, p. 668-720; IDEM, Nuevos documentos, p. 111-134; M. DA C. VILHENA, Vataça, a Comendadeira de Santiago do Cacém, en *Actas do 1º Encontro de História do Alentejo Litoral*, Sines 2009, p. 214-219; P. SCHREINER, Португалската графиня Ватаца де Совероса (около 1270-1337) – правнучка на цар Иван Асен II, *Родина* 4, 1996, p. 29-43; IDEM, Bisanzio e la Liguria, en L. BALLETTTO (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pitarino*, II, Génova 1997, p. 1097-1108. Para los trabajos de Josep Baucells i Reig véase la n. 34.

30. M. GAIBROIS, *María de Molina, tres veces reina*, Madrid 1967, p. 155.

31. M. P. CORREA, La creación de una facción aragonesa en Castilla durante la minoría de Alfonso XI (1312-1325): las relaciones exteriores como relaciones cortesanas, *Revista*

## 1. La identidad de sus miembros

A pesar de los diferentes estudios que se han consagrado a este grupo de mujeres, planea aún cierta confusión sobre ellas. Primero en lo referente a su identidad, a causa de problemas de homonimia y el intento de aunar informaciones aparentemente dispares. Casi todos los historiadores han destacado este hecho<sup>32</sup>. El principal problema ha sido la existencia de dos mujeres denominadas Láscara en la documentación y que algunos historiadores con gran prédica habrían reducido a una misma persona<sup>33</sup>. Que se trata de dos mujeres diferentes no dejan duda numerosos documentos, tal y como señaló Ángeles Masiá de Ros y confirmó posteriormente Josep Baucells i Reig. Una es la que aparece en la documentación como «Láscara, infanta de Grecia» y la otra es «Láscara, condesa de Pallars»<sup>34</sup>. En cuanto a la identidad de la primera, puede ser esclarecida gracias a diversos documentos que mencionan, por ejemplo, a *Velogia, alias vocata Laschara, infantissa Grecurum* o a *domine Laschare, vocate aliter Eulogie, quondam, filie super illustris imperatoris Grecurum*<sup>35</sup>. En cambio, la conocida como condesa de Pallars, que apócrifa y tardíamente ha recibido también el nombre de Lucrecia, sin ningún fundamento, sería la hija de

*Pelícano* 4, 2018, p. 119-138, aquí p. 131. A propósito de las dobles fidelidades en contexto europeo, véase J.-M. MOEGLIN y S. PÉQUIGNOT, *Diplomatie et «relations internationales» au Moyen Âge (IX<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, París 2017, p. 391-392.

32. Véase la detallada exposición de A. P. BRAVO GARCÍA, Documentos greco-bizantinos en España, *Erytheia* 7, 1986, p. 86-95. Si en la historiografía de la Corona de Aragón más reciente ya se ha ido poniendo fin a los problemas de identificación, no ha sucedido lo mismo con la referente a Bizancio, aún demasiado dependiente de los trabajos de Miret i Sans, *PLP*, nº 6234, 91888; M. MACLAGAN, A Byzantine Princess; A. FAILLER, Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère, *REB* 38, 1980, p. 5-87; D. ANGELOV, Theodore II Laskaris, Elena Asenina and Bulgaria, en A. NIKOLOV y G. NIKOLOV (ed.), *Средновековният Българин и „Другите“*. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. дин Петър Ангелов, Sofía 2013, p. 273-297; IDEM, *The Byzantine Hellene. The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge-Nueva York 2019, p. 226-227.

33. Zurita con sus *Anales de la Corona*, p. 24, 279, 415, 525-526, 531-534, 783-786, y Joaquín Miret i Sans con sus tres artículos consagrados a las Láscaris-Ventimiglia están en el origen de dicho equívoco.

34. Á. MASÍÁ DE ROS, La emperatriz de Nicea, p. 148-151; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, La successió dels comtes de Pallars en el dos-cents, en *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. III, *Jaime I y su época*, Zaragoza 1982, p. 21-36; IDEM, La infanta griega Láscara y sus hijas Beatriz y Violante, aragonesas de elección, en *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. IV, *La ciudad de Zaragoza en la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza 1984, p. 63-80; IDEM, Eudòxia Làscaris.

35. Respectivamente, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 148, f. 132<sup>v</sup>, y Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 8, f. 74<sup>v</sup>; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, Els monestirs del bisbat de Barcelona (durant el pontificat de Ponç de Gualba) de 1303 a 1334, en *II Colloqui d'Història del Moniquisme Català*, I, Poblet 1972, p. 65-198, aquí p. 132.

esta Eulogia, como también dejan claros diversos documentos que hablan de:

*Laschara, olim comitissa Pallariensis, nunc autem ordinis milicie Sancti Iacobi filiaque nobilis viri domini Guilliermi Petri, bone memorie comitis Vintimilii, et serenissime domine Eulogie, quondam, infantisse Grecorum, uxori eiusdem domini Guillelmi Petri, que fuit filia super illustris domini Laschari, quondam, veri imperatoris Grecorum, [...] Guillem Petri, filium quondam don Iohannis, fratris nostri, dicte Laschare [...] dominarum Vatasse et Violant, uxoris nobilis Petri de Ayerbio, sororum nostrarum*<sup>36</sup>

y de:

*Laschare, olim comitisse Pallariensis, nunc autem ordinis milicie Sancti Iacobi que fuit uxor nobilis viri Arnaldi Rogerii, bone memorie, comitis Palariensis, [...] filia serenissime domine Laschare, vocate aliter Eulogie, quondam, filie super illustris imperatoris Grecorum, et Violant, filia dicti nobilis Arnaldi Rotgerii, quondam, et dicte domine Laschare [...] que fuit uxor eiusdem*<sup>37</sup>.

Las referencias a *Velogia* / *Eulogie* permiten rechazar definitivamente el nombre de Irene, proporcionado por Nicéforo Gregorás y recogido por historiadores como Jerónimo Zurita, quien disponía de un ejemplar de su obra y de ahí su confusión. ¿Pero cómo encajan con la identificación propuesta por Albert Failler y que se había impuesto en las últimas décadas? Efectivamente, en base al testimonio de Jorge Acropolita, que membraba una Eudokia (Εὐδοκία) como hija de Teodoro II Láscaris que aún no se había casado a la muerte de su padre<sup>38</sup>, y de Paquimeres, que indicaba que una de las hijas del dicho Teodoro, sin facilitar su nombre, se había casado con Guillermo de Ventimiglia, Failler proponía identificar a la mujer de Guillermo de Ventimiglia con la Eudokia de Acropolita, que se casaría ya durante el reinado de Miguel VIII Paleólogo, punto este que confirmarían documentos cancllerescos bizantinos<sup>39</sup>. Parece quedar fuera de duda que los nombres Eulogia y Eudokia se refieren al mismo personaje. Pero, frente a una sola referencia a Eudokia en un único autor –ciertamente, contemporáneo al personaje, al que incluso pudo conocer–, se pueden identificar al menos dos fuentes diferentes –la cancillería real y el notario Bernat de Vilarrúbia– para el nombre Eulogia, también contemporáneas al personaje o muy cercanas cronológicamente

36. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 12, f. 110<sup>v</sup>.

37. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 8, f. 74<sup>v</sup>. El nombre Lucrecia aparece solo tardíamente en la historiografía.

38. JORGE ACROPOLITA, *Historia*, ed. A. HEISENBERG, ed. corr. P. WIRTH, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, I, Stuttgart 1978, p. 154<sup>1</sup>.

39. A. FAILLER, *Chronologie et composition*, cit. n. 32, p. 67; A. P. BRAVO GARCÍA, *Documentos greco-bizantinos*, cit. n. 32, p. 91.

y emanadas de su entorno familiar directo. A pesar de que en la Corona de Aragón la hija de Teodoro II será conocida mayormente como «Láscara, infanta de Grecia», una mutación de nombre que sin duda buscaba reforzar su condición de miembro de un linaje imperial, cabe destacar que los documentos que la mencionan como Eulogia están en relación con Génova y sus bienes en dicho lugar, donde, sin duda, era importante identificarla por su nombre real seguramente al tenerse constancia allí de la oficialidad de dicho nombre. No hay que olvidar, sin embargo, que en la tradición bizantina Eulogia era un nombre que solían adquirir las mujeres al profesar en religión. Es el caso de Irene, hermana de Miguel VIII Paleólogo, quien una vez viuda se haría monja. Pero no parecería ser el caso de nuestro personaje, quien no enviudará hasta años después de su llegada a la Corona de Aragón y de la que no se tiene constancia que ingresara en religión posteriormente. Si Eulogia no fuera su nombre real de bautismo, quizás pudo haber tomado los hábitos antes de su matrimonio, posiblemente forzada tras la usurpación de Miguel VIII Paleólogo, y haberse producido entonces ese cambio de Eudokia a Eulogia, canje que no se revirtió al ser relajada de sus votos y casada con el conde Guillermo Pedro.

El matrimonio de la hija de Teodoro II habría tenido lugar en 1261, a instancias de Miguel VIII Paleólogo que se había hecho con el poder y quien con aquel enlace, igual que con el de su hermana con un noble latino de Morea, el Nuevo Constantino neutralizaba la amenaza latente representada por las hijas de su predecesor –en cuanto a su hermano Juan IV, el nuevo emperador se había encargado de cegarlo– y sus posibles aspiraciones políticas, puesto que al casarlas con señores latinos acabaron alejadas de la corte y de tierras bizantinas<sup>40</sup>. El matrimonio de Eulogia, además, permitía a Miguel VIII reforzar su alianza con Génova, ya que el marido era un señor feudal de su entorno<sup>41</sup>. En 1262 la pareja estaría ya en Génova y posiblemente dirigió sus pasos a los dominios familiares del marido en Tenda. De esta unión nacieron varios hijos, aunque ha habido disensiones en cuanto al número exacto. La documentación localizada en la actualidad identifica amplia y claramente a Juan, Jaime, Yolanda o Violante, Beatriz, Vataza y la ya mencionada Láscara (véase el árbol genealógico adjunto a este artículo)<sup>42</sup>.

40. A. FAILLER, *Chronologie et composition*, cit. n. 32, p. 71.

41. G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia*, p. 129-130; S. ORIGONE, *Oriente e Occidente: Bisanzio e i Lascaris de Ventimiglia*, en *La storia dei genovesi: atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi sui Ceti Dirigenti nelle Istituzioni della Repubblica di Genova*, VIII, Génova 1988, p. 427-439, aquí p. 428.

42. Algunas historias y genealogías antiguas de la casa condal de Ventimiglia añaden a Otón, obispo de Ventimiglia, G. ROSSI, *Storia della città di Ventimiglia dalle sue origine sino ai nostri*

## 2. Las razones de su llegada

Otro de los equívocos historiográficos en relación con Eulogia y su prole es el del momento, las causas y circunstancias de su desplazamiento a la Corona de Aragón. Algunos historiadores habían hablado de finales del reinado de Jaime I<sup>43</sup>. Desafortunadamente, los defensores de dicha opción no suelen aportar pruebas para justificar tal afirmación. Hay que señalar que una carta del rey Alfonso III al procurador real de Valencia del 27 de marzo de 1287 sobre los derechos que los musulmanes del raval de Xàtiva pagaban a la dicha Eulogia podría dar pie a pensar que la concesión había sido hecha ya por Jaime I:

*Ex parte inclite domine infantisse Grechorum fuit nobis expositum quod necnon permitatis sarracenos ravalis Xative solvere et tribuere illa iura que dabant et solvebant tempori obitus [domini] regis inclite, etc., dicendo quod solvant sicut solebant tempori domini Regis Iacobi*<sup>44</sup>.

Sin embargo, otros documentos expedidos ese mismo día sobre la cuestión del pago de las rentas mencionan al rey Pedro III y no a Jaime, además de conocerse el documento de donación hecho por el dicho Pedro a favor de Eulogia, lo que hace pensar que la referencia al rey Jaime se deba interpretar en un sentido general de pago de rentas establecido con la conquista cristiana y no como una concesión de Jaime a Eulogia. En cualquier caso, en 1271 tenemos pruebas indirectas de que la familia –o parte de ella– aún se encontraría en Ventimiglia, puesto que Juan, el hijo, aparece mencionado como presente en una convención<sup>45</sup>.

La llegada debe situarse a finales de 1277, ya en el reinado de Pedro III el Grande, quien recibiría a la princesa por primera vez en su corte el 13 de enero de 1278, en Calatayud y le concedería un primer subsidio en forma de una alquería en Russafa, cerca de Valencia<sup>46</sup>. Acompañando a la condesa

*tempi*, Turín 1857, p. 98, 172. Esto es consecuencia, sin duda, de la interpretación que se hace del extracto de un documento de 1285 publicado en 1839. Dicho documento recoge el pacto alcanzado entre Carlos de Anjou, a través de su representante el senescal de Provenza, y Pietro Balbo, conde de Ventimiglia, en su nombre y en el de *Domini Guilelmi nepotis sui, Don Iohannis et Don Jayme, et Ottonis nepotum ipsius, et Belengariae sororis ipsius domini Guilelmi*, P. GIOFFREDO, *Storia delle Alpi Maritime*, II, Turín 1839, p. 545. Sin embargo, a juzgar por la información aportada por Vittorio Angius, parece que Otón fue, de hecho, hijo de Guillermo o Guglielmino, hermano de Guillermo Pedro y, por tanto, primo de los hijos de Eulogia, V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 251-252; F. SAVIO, *I conti di Ventimiglia nei secoli XI, XII e XIII, Giornale ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Letteratura* 20, 1893, p. 441-462, aquí p. 455, 461.

43. C. MARINESCO, *Du nouveau*, p. 454.

44. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 71, f. 29<sup>v</sup>.

45. V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 233.

46. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 40, f. 58<sup>r</sup>; S. GRAU TORRAS, E. BERGA SALOMÓ y S. M. CINGOLANI, *L'herètica pravitat a la Corona d'Aragó: documents sobre càtars, valdesos*



de Ventimiglia irían sus hijas Láscara, Beatriz, Vataza y Yolanda o Violante, que nunca regresarían al territorio paterno, pero también sus hijos Juan y, posiblemente, Jaime. Diversas evidencias parecerían confirmar el traslado de este último. En 1284 se registran dos órdenes de pago a favor de un cierto *Iacopo de Ventimiglia* para su quitación y por vestidos, y aún se registran más pagos en 1285 y 1286<sup>47</sup>. Ello coincide con referencias documentales ventimigliananas que parecen indicar que Jaime estaba ausente en 1283 y 1285. Posiblemente, pues, debía tratarse del otro hijo varón de Eulogia Láscaris y Guillermo Pedro de Ventimiglia. Jaime acabaría regresando a su tierra natal, puesto que se lo documentará en tierras ventimigliananas con posterioridad a aquellas fechas<sup>48</sup>, como también lo haría Juan, el heredero, tras permanecer durante algunos años bajo la protección real y tras las peticiones cursadas por su padre en ese sentido<sup>49</sup>.

Diversas son las causas que se han aducido para explicar aquella llegada. Se ha hablado de separación y divorcio entre Eulogia y Guillermo Pedro, o de la muerte del conde, pero, de hecho, la documentación disponible no menciona específicamente las razones de la llegada de Eulogia y su prole a la Corona de Aragón<sup>50</sup>. Se sabe que Guillermo Pedro no fallecerá hasta años después, probablemente en el segundo semestre de 1282<sup>51</sup>. Jamás se alude a una nulidad matrimonial y, en vida de su marido, cuando se añada alguna otra titulación además de la de infanta de Grecia, Eulogia siempre recibirá la de condesa de Ventimiglia<sup>52</sup>. Ello descartaría, a priori, una nulidad matrimonial oficialmente formalizada<sup>53</sup>. De hecho, hay que pensar fundamentalmente

*i altres heretges (1155-1324)*, II, Barcelona 2015, p. 515-516 (doc. 249); J. MIRET Y SANS, Nuevos documentos, p. 121-122; J. BAUCELLS I REIG, Eudòxia Làscaris, p. 23, 51 n. 8. Podemos sospechar que para Jerónimo Zurita aquel fue también el primer encuentro entre el monarca y la princesa, ya que es el primer episodio relacionado con ella que recoge en sus *Anales*, JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 24. Corregiría así la afirmación hecha en 1578 según la cual Eulogia habría llegado en 1269 junto a Constanza (Ana), JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Indices rerum ab Aragoniae Regibus gestarum ab initiis regni ad annum MCDX (1410)*, Zaragoza 1578, p. 149.

47. S. M. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari*, cit. n. 4, p. 716-717 (doc. 737); J. MIRET Y SANS, Nuevos documentos, p. 125.

48. V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 118-119.

49. El 5 de abril de 1280, desde Alzira, el rey Pedro escribía a Guillermo Pedro para comunicarle que aún no podía enviarle a su hijo Juan, tal como le había solicitado por carta, debido a la guerra vigente, J. MIRET Y SANS, Nuevos documentos, p. 122-123; S. M. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari*, cit. n. 4, p. 289 (doc. 205).

50. J. MIRET Y SANS, Nuevos documentos, p. 121-122; Á. MASÍ DE ROS, La emperatriz de Nicea, p. 147.

51. Guillermo Pedro moriría con posterioridad al 20 de agosto de 1282 y antes del 21 de enero de 1283, cuando ya se le da por muerto, V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 230, 233.

52. J. MIRET Y SANS, Nuevos documentos, p. 123.

53. J. BAUCELLS I REIG, Eudòxia Làscaris, p. 22.

en factores de orden político. Eulogia no era la primera mujer ligada a la familia imperial de los Láscaris en llegar a tierras de la Corona de Aragón. Ya lo había hecho en 1269 o incluso antes la viuda de Juan III Ducas Vatazes, su abuela antenada Constanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen, tía de la reina Constanza, esposa del infante y futuro rey Pedro III<sup>54</sup>. Aparentemente, la emperatriz viuda llegó aprovechando que su sobrina homónima estaba casada con el heredero al trono de Aragón y buscando refugio tras la conquista angevina del reino de Sicilia, donde se había retirado años antes<sup>55</sup>. También en el caso de Eulogia las ambiciones políticas angevinas serían determinantes para su traslado.

A lo largo del siglo XIII los Ventimiglia, vecinos de la República de Génova y de los condes de Provenza, se vieron sometidos a una pinza que fue laminando progresivamente sus dominios, a causa de las ansias expansivas de aquellas dos potencias regionales en creciente competencia entre ellas y favorecida por la tensión e inestabilidad política interna del condado de Ventimiglia. A pesar de bascular entre ambas potencias, una parte de la familia, de buen grado o forzada por las circunstancias, se fue alineando paulatinamente del lado genovés. Ese fue el caso de Guillermo, padre de Guillermo Pedro, posicionamiento que parece haber mantenido su hijo<sup>56</sup>. Es en ese contexto en el que Guillermo Pedro dirigió sus pasos al Mediterráneo oriental, un desplazamiento que ha suscitado diversas interpretaciones. Algunos autores lo pusieron en relación con la ayuda genovesa debida a los bizantinos por el tratado de Ninfes de 1261. Sin embargo, a la luz de la carta enviada en 1262 por Miguel VIII Paleólogo a los genoveses,

54. Zurita ya había señalado 1269 como el año de la llegada de Constanza (Ana) —véase n. 46— y diferentes anotaciones contables lo corroboran, H. WIERUSZOWSKI, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*, Roma 1971, p. 198-199. En cuanto a las diferentes fechas barajadas por otros historiadores, A. P. BRAVO GARCÍA, *Documentos greco-bizantinos*, cit. n. 32, p. 77-78.

55. G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Le tombeau d'une impératrice byzantine à Valence en Espagne*, París 1902; C. DIEHL, *Figures byzantines. Deuxième série*, París 1908, p. 207-225; C. MARI-NESCO, *Du nouveau*; J. MIRET Y SANS, *La princesa griega*, p. 458-460; IDEM, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 668-670, 680-682, 682-683, 690-702; IDEM, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 112-121; Á. MASÍÁ DE ROS, *La emperatriz de Nicea*, p. 145-147; L. RUIZ DOMINGO, *The Hohenstaufen Women and the Differences between Aragonese and Greek Queenship Models*, en E. WOOD-ACRE (ed.), *A Companion to Global Queenship*, Leeds 2018, p. 245-254.

56. E. HILDESHEIMER, *Tende et la Brigue sous les seigneurs de la maison de Vintimille, Nice Historique* 139, 1948, p. 11-19; N. CALVINI, *Relazioni medioevali tra Genova e la Liguria Occidentale (Secoli X-XIII)*, Bordighera 1950, p. 85-92; A. M. BOLDORINI, *Guglielmo Bocca-negra, Carlo d'Angiò e i conti di Ventimiglia (1257-1262)*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* n.s. 3, 1963, p. 139-200; G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia*, p. 143-153; R. PAVONI, *La frammentazione politica del Comitato di Ventimiglia*, en *Le Comté de Vintimille et la famille comtale*, Menton 1998, p. 119-130.

ofreciendo detalles de dicha estancia, otros se han decantado por pensar que Guillermo Pedro se habría desplazado a Oriente formando parte de los contingentes latinos que combatieron en Pelagonia en 1259 contra Miguel VIII y a favor de Guillermo de Villehardouin, Miguel de Épiro y Manfredo de Sicilia, que había enviado un contingente de cuatrocientos caballeros y del cual era estrecha aliada una rama de la familia asentada en Sicilia hacia 1258. Guillermo Pedro, tras haber pasado un tiempo en prisión habría sido liberado por intermediación genovesa –su familia era aliada o estaba en buenas relaciones con Génova– y casado con la hija del difunto emperador Teodoro II<sup>57</sup>. Una vez en casa, Guillermo Pedro se verá envuelto en el mayor conflicto de su época, el enfrentamiento entre güelfos y gibelinos, que entroncará con los afanes expansionistas de Carlos de Anjou. Como uno de los cabecillas del gibelinismo en el norte de Italia, se acercará primero a Alfonso X de Castilla, aspirante durante años a la corona imperial. Al menos ya en 1264 Guillermo Pedro recogía fondos en Génova y se ofrecía como aval en la restitución de préstamos de genoveses al rey de Castilla<sup>58</sup>, y en los años siguientes lo vemos desarrollar funciones negociadoras como mensajero del rey de Castilla en Lombardía<sup>59</sup>.

La liquidación del sueño imperial alfonsino y el final de su intervención en el norte de la Península italiana en 1273 habrían hecho del infante Pedro de Aragón el nuevo adalid de los gibelinos. Marido de Constanza Hohenstaufen y principal rival de Carlos de Anjou, los estrechos vínculos con refugiados y opositores sicilianos, incluyendo a la rama siciliana de los Ventimiglia, pudieron acercar al infante y posteriormente rey (1276) y al conde Guillermo Pedro, también implicado de pleno en la lucha contra los angevinos en la Italia nororiental<sup>60</sup>. El papel de la Corona de Aragón como

57. L. T. BELGRANO, Cinque documenti genovesi-orientali, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 17, 1885, p. 227-251; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, p. 195-196, n. 23; G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia*, p. 129 n. 21; S. ORIGONE, Oriente e Occidente, cit. n. 41, p. 427-439. En lo referente al establecimiento de los Ventimiglia en Sicilia véase O. CANCELLA, *I Ventimiglia di Geraci. I, 1258-1619* (Quaderni – Mediterranea – ricerche storiche 30), Palermo 2016, p. 15-18; S. FARINELLA, Insediamento territoriale e sistema difensivo nei conti di Ventimiglia signori del Marò e nei conti di Geraci, en G. ANTISTA (ed.), *Alla corte dei Ventimiglia Storia e committenza artistica. Atti del convegno di studi (Geraci Siculo, Gangi, 27-28 giugno 2009)*, Palermo 2009, p. 16-35, aquí p. 24-26.

58. A. BUSSON, *Die Doppelwahl des Jahres 1257 und das römische Königtum Alfons X. von Castilien*, Münster 1866, p. 89. Personajes que le podían ser próximos también estaban aliados con el castellano: Ugo Vento, de familia vasalla de los condes de Ventimiglia por los castillos de Mentone y Roccabruna, era almirante de Castilla por aquellas mismas fechas, *ibidem*, p. 89.

59. D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, p. 253.

60. F. SOLDEVILA, *Pere el Gran. I, L'infant*, Barcelona 1995, p. 210-211. Aunque Soldevila identifica a menudo al «conde de Ventimiglia» que aparece en los documentos de la cancillería

refugio de no pocos opositores provenzales a Carlos de Anjou, la presión militar angevina y el temor a Génova, que acabó aliada con Carlos y siempre con la mira puesta sobre los dominios de los Ventimiglia, pudieron motivar el traslado de su mujer e hijos a la Corona de Aragón<sup>61</sup>. La existencia de una prole suficiente que asegurase la sucesión condal podría haber dado por satisfechas las expectativas puestas en un enlace matrimonial de este tipo y haber facilitado un distanciamiento consentido, más teniendo en cuenta que las circunstancias políticas que habrían llevado al enlace parecerían haber cambiado radicalmente. Las circunstancias que habían llevado a Miguel VIII Paleólogo a buscar una alianza matrimonial que reforzase los lazos con Génova habían cambiado progresivamente, dado el viraje proangevino de los ligures y el escaso interés veneciano por la restauración efectiva del imperio latino, lo que favoreció su rápida toma de posiciones comerciales en la región en un intento también por contrarrestar un exclusivo predominio genovés<sup>62</sup>. Pero, aún y con ello, el hecho de que Eulogia se desplazase hasta la Corona de Aragón con su prole, incluyendo al heredero al título condal, y la inestabilidad que atravesaba la región de Ventimiglia harían pensar, prevalentemente, en la existencia de una intencionalidad política –una alianza– o un intento de salvaguardar a su familia por parte del conde y de sus aliados ante la presión angevina y también genovesa. Queda por explorar aún la posible influencia de otro factor que solo recientemente ha sido sacado a colación. Un crisóbulo de 1278 de Miguel VIII a favor de Génova, conocido solo por el trasunto latino contenido en uno de los manuscritos de los *Libri Iurium* genoveses y que venía a poner fin oficialmente a desavenencias surgidas anteriormente entre ligures y bizantinos, que habían comportado incluso la interrupción oficial de las relaciones comerciales, menciona una de las causas de disputa *videlicet*

del infante Pedro con Enrique de Ventimiglia, cabeza principal de la rama siciliana de la familia, parece que en algunas ocasiones podría tratarse también de Guillermo Pedro que ya estaba en relación con Alfonso X de Castilla al menos desde 1264. En julio de 1265 Pedro recibió la visita del «conde de Ventimiglia» en Valencia, momento en el que el infante estaba fuertemente implicado en la lucha contra los musulmanes en Murcia. Curiosamente, el 31 de marzo de 1268 el conde Guillermo Pedro junto a su socio Borgognone Embriaci reconocían haber recibido 600 libras genovesas de Israele di Giacomo Vento y Bartolino Salvagno y que devolverían en Murcia en forma de 3.600 bezantes, con el compromiso de pagar 5 sueldos y 6 dineros de Génova por cada bezante que no fuera pagado en la Península ibérica, M. G. CANALE, *Storia politica, commerciale e letteraria della Repubblica di Genova, dall'origine fino al 1340*, III, Capolago 1851, p. 24. Todo induce a pensar que el «conde de Ventimiglia» que junto a otros emisarios lombardos visitaron en 1273 Alfonso X para proponerle la aceptación de la candidatura imperial según las fuentes castellanas debía ser Guillermo Pedro.

61. F. SOLDEVILA, *Pere el Gran*, I, cit. n. 60, p. 199-202.

62. S. ORIGONE, *Bisanzio e Genova*, Génova 1972, p. 132, 216-218.

*factum domini Guillelmi, comitis de Vintimilio*. Esta sucinta referencia remite a la figura del marido de Eulogia y ha sido interpretada como una posible referencia a una alineación pro-lascárida del conde de Ventimiglia<sup>63</sup>. Podría pensarse entonces también que aquel podría haber sido otro factor que hubiera contribuido a la partida de Eulogia. Quizás Miguel VIII hubiera percibido como una amenaza la presencia de Eulogia cerca de Génova y la creciente influencia de Guillermo Pedro gracias a su aproximación a Alfonso X. Así pues, no se debe descartar que hubiera habido presiones bizantinas y genovesas para alejar a la princesa y facilitar el restablecimiento de las relaciones bizantino-genovesas.

### 3. Una calurosa acogida

La corte de Pedro III y Constanza no tardará en colmar a Eulogia y a sus vástagos de favores y beneficios que se incrementarán con el paso del tiempo gracias al sostén de los monarcas sucesivos, Alfonso III y Jaime II. Los historiadores, desde Jerónimo Zurita, han señalado esa excepcional acogida dispensada en la Corona de Aragón<sup>64</sup>. En un principio, la condición de aliados políticos de los Ventimiglia, pero más aún el prestigio de su origen imperial, que los monarcas podían considerar compartido gracias a la ascendencia bizantina de su antepasado, Jaime I y de la reina Constanza de Sicilia, podrían haber sido factores suficientes para ese caluroso amparo<sup>65</sup>. También los vínculos de parentesco y alianza con la reina Constanza, a

63. L. PIERALLI, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204-1282)*. Studio storico-diplomatico ed edizione critica, Ciudad del Vaticano 2006, p. 371 (doc. 25); S. ORIGONE, Questioni tra Bizancio e Genova intorno all'anno 1278, en D. COULON, C. OTTEN-FROUX, P. PAGÈS y D. VALÉRIAN (ed.), *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, París 2004, p. 619-632.

64. Resulta interesante destacar que el aragonés pone dicha acogida en relación con el ascendente bizantino del rey Pedro a través de su abuela María de Montpellier, madre de Jaime I, hija de una aristócrata bizantina de la familia imperial de los Comneno, JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 24.

65. Sobre los orígenes bizantinos de Jaime el Conquistador véase E. MARCOS HIERRO, *La dama de Bizanci. Un enigma en la nissaga de Jaume I*, Barcelona 2013, con toda la bibliografía anterior recogida. En cuanto a la imagen de Bizancio en la Península ibérica cristiana de los siglos XIII y XIV, véase E. MARCOS HIERRO, Bizanci a la historiografia medieval catalana: les Vespres Sicilianes i l'emperador dels grecs en les cròniques de Bernat Desclot i Ramon Muntaner, *Anuari de filologia. Secció D, Studia graeca et latina* 12, 2003-2004, p. 241-254; IDEM, La Grècia medieval en els cronistes catalans, en J. A. CLÚA SERENA y F. SABATÉ I CURULL (ed.), *Usos i tradició de les literatures clàssiques a les literatures medievals*, Lleida 2013, p. 135-154; S. MORALES OSORIO, *La mirada de Occidente. Bizancio en la Literatura Medieval Española. Siglos XII-XV*, Granada 2009.

través de Constanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen, aunque indirectos, pudieron ser decisivos para explicar el apoyo de la familia real y la proximidad que se establecerá con ella<sup>66</sup>. Con todo, los servicios de Eulogia, Vataza y Violante a la casa real en los años venideros, así como sus competencias y habilidades, no harán más que reforzar ese apoyo a aquel grupo de mujeres –Juan y Jaime regresarán a los dominios paternos–, y no solo por parte de los reyes y reinas de Aragón, sino también de Castilla y de Portugal, lugares en los que también las alianzas establecidas con reinas e infantas se demostrarán cruciales.

Uno de los mejores indicios de la especial acogida dispensada y del prestigio rápidamente alcanzado son los matrimonios concertados para las hijas de Eulogia, con algunos de los más insignes componentes de la nobleza local. Para los monarcas esos matrimonios con forasteras eran una oportunidad para controlar a los grandes nobles, desbaratando cualquier posibilidad de enlaces locales que hubiesen incrementado su poder y autonomía. A las candidatas se les ofrecía la oportunidad de contraer unos matrimonios difícilmente a su alcance sin ese apoyo real y por eso se las supondría afectas a su causa –así lo demostrarán en el futuro–, por no hablar de su madre quien debió de verla de buen grado y no puso ningún reparo. Los novios y sus familias, por su parte, tenían la posibilidad de emparentar con una familia del más rancio abolengo. El interés de la casa real fue tal que se contó con su apoyo para el pago de las dotes. Láscara maridó con el conde Arnau Roger I de Pallars en 1281, de quien enviudará en 1288 y con quien tuvo tres hijas, Sibila, Violante y Beatriz<sup>67</sup>. Beatriz se casará con Guillem de Montcada, señor de Fraga, en 1282, sin que llegaran a tener descendencia<sup>68</sup>. En 1293 se había barajado la posibilidad de casar a Violante o Yolanda con el sardo Mariano II, juez de Arborea,

66. Aunque hay que corregir la cronología de la llegada de Eulogia (no Irene) y sus hijas y algunas de sus identificaciones (Lucrecia es un nombre apócrifo) y, por lo tanto, matizar algunas de sus afirmaciones, parece claro que la conexión con Constanza de Sicilia y Constanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen tuvo también un gran peso en su acogida y ascenso posterior, como aliadas de la reina, L. RUIZ DOMINGO, *The Hohenstaufen Women*, p. 249-250.

67. Además de los trabajos de Miret i Sans y de Baucells i Reig, sobre Láscara véase también, L. SANCHEZ I VILANOVA, *La princesa Làscara de Grècia, comtessa del Pallars*, La Pobra de Segur 1987. El testamento de Arnau Roger I de Pallars menciona como nombres de sus hijas a Sibila, Gueralda y Violant, I. PUIG, *Testaments comtals del Pallars Sobirà. La casa de Comenge (1256-1327)*, *Urgellia* 4, 1981, p. 293-333, aquí p. 321 (según copia del Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, sección de Pallars, legajo I, n. 38). Gueralda sería otro nombre de Beatriz.

68. Del matrimonio del senescal Guillem de Montcada con Beatriz no mediará descendencia. Ella hizo testamento en 1295 y murió hacia 1300, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 55, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>; Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Jaime II, n.º 1268; J. BAUCELLS I REIG, *La infanta griega*, p. 66.



o con su hijo Juan I<sup>69</sup>, pero finalmente lo hará con Pedro II de Ayerbe, nieto del rey Jaime I, en 1298<sup>70</sup>. Este enlace acabará siendo anulado por el obispo de Huesca en 1313, tras siete años de separación de la pareja, al considerarse vigente un primer matrimonio de Pedro de Ayerbe. A pesar de ello, las dos hijas del matrimonio, Constanza y María Pérez de Ayerbe, no perdieron su condición de legítimas<sup>71</sup>.

Vataza se casará en Portugal, pero su matrimonio no puede ser entendido sin el respaldo de la familia real. Posiblemente integrada en la órbita de la reina Constanza y su hija la infanta Isabel desde su llegada a tierras catalanoaragonesas, se trasladará a la corte portuguesa en 1282 como dama de compañía de la dicha Isabel a raíz del matrimonio de la infanta con el rey Dionís. Allí Vataza casó con uno de los nobles portugueses más importantes del momento, Martim Anes de Soverosa, el 10 de julio de 1285<sup>72</sup>. Sin duda, dicho enlace fue propiciado por la propia Isabel que con esa y otras alianzas similares afianzaba su posición en la corte lusitana colocando a personas de su entorno, algunos procedentes de los territorios paternos y/o estrechamente ligados a la familia real catalanoaragonesa<sup>73</sup>. El marido de Vataza fallecerá en 1295 sin que mediase descendencia entre ellos<sup>74</sup>. Algunos investigadores han defendido la posibilidad de un segundo matrimonio o de una relación con descendencia, pero ambas plantean enormes dudas. Solo algunas fuentes secundarias muy tardías recogen dicho enlace y con contradicciones que

69. Sobre los planes de matrimonio con el sardo Mariano II o con su hijo Juan, J. MIRET Y SANS, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 130; Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 215, ff. 51<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup>. Los documentos en cuestión hablan simplemente de una hija de la «infanta de Grecia», que debía ser la mencionada Violante puesto que por aquellas fechas era la única que aún permanecía soltera.

70. Una carta real del 13 de diciembre de 1297 da a entender que el matrimonio *per verba de presente* iba a ser inminente, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 106, f. 147<sup>v</sup>.

71. M.-M. COSTA, *La casa dels senyors d'Ayerbe, d'origen reial*, *Medievalia* 8, 1988, p. 99-132, aquí p. 121, 122-123.

72. M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 169.

73. Á. MUÑOZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Cartas de Isabel de Portugal (la Reina Santa) a Jaime II. Privacidad y comunicación política*, en J.-P. JARDIN, J. M. NIETO SORIA, P. ROCHWERT-ZUILLI y H. THIEULIN-PARDO (ed.), *Cartas de mujeres en la Europa medieval. España, Francia, Italia, Portugal (siglos XI-XV)*, Madrid 2018, p. 35-54, aquí p. 46-48; H. BARBAS, *Dom Dinis e as donas – uma galeria*, en J. C. FERNÁNDEZ y P. A. LUÇÃO (ed.), *Dinis – O Rei civilizador. Uma visão inovadora da vida e obra de um Rei sábio e justo*, Lisboa 2009, p. 107-141, aquí p. 120-121.

74. Se piensa en el 21 de agosto como día del fallecimiento, puesto que esa es la fecha en la que su mujer hará celebrar su aniversario. El testamento del difunto ni ninguna otra documentación asociada a él menciona la existencia de descendencia y, de hecho, parece que se lo consideraba estéril o impotente. A propósito de este matrimonio véase M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 168-169. Sobre la familia del marido, con estrechos vínculos históricos con Castilla y León, I. CALDERÓN, *Los Soverosa. Una Parentela Nobiliaria entre Tres Reinos. Poder y relación en la Edad Media hispana (ss. XI-XIII)*, Valladolid 2018.

parecerían imputables a la equívoca información proporcionada por Jerónimo Zurita a propósito del matrimonio y la existencia de una hija de la dicha Vataza<sup>75</sup>.

La especial acogida de Eulogia y sus hijas en tierras ibéricas no puede medirse solo por los enlaces matrimoniales, sino también a través del patrimonio y beneficios obtenidos de los reyes de Aragón, Castilla o Portugal. La documentación cancilleresca y la notarial han dejado un importante rastro a propósito de las concesiones de rentas y propiedades hechas a todas ellas, así como de su gestión. Lo sucedido con Eulogia y sus hijas no parece tener paralelismos, exceptuando a Constanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen. Aunque se conocen ejemplos de extranjeros acogidos e instalados en la Corona de Aragón, se trata de hombres, a veces con sus familias, que han estado al servicio del rey, normalmente en algún conflicto bélico, formando parte del séquito de alguna de las consortes reales o como refugiados de algún conflicto y pocos proceden de la Europa oriental<sup>76</sup>. A raíz de la que parece la primera entrevista con Pedro III en 1278 Eulogia recibió unas casas en la ciudad de Valencia y una alquería —que acabará vendiendo en 1281—, y en los años sucesivos se constituirá lo que es un destacado patrimonio centrado en las rentas del castillo y villa de Moixent, catorce mil sueldos reales de Valencia sobre los réditos o bailía de la morería o rabal de Xàtiva, quince mil sueldos barceloneses sobre las rentas reales en las montañas de Prades y doce mil sueldos barceloneses sobre el tributo del *Call* de Barcelona, en concesión vitalicia por el vestido, a lo que se sumarán pagos y cantidades entregadas a cuenta de esos derechos y pensiones o con carácter extraordinario<sup>77</sup>. También recibe el permiso para residir en residencias reales, como el

75. Véase el punto Apéndice 1.

76. L. CERVERÓ y M. BATLLORI MUNNÉ, *El comte Dionís d'Hongria, senyor de Canals, al seguici de la reina Violant. La descendència de Dionís als regnes de València i d'Aragó*, en *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, I, Zaragoza 1979, p. 559-577.

77. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 44, ff. 143<sup>r</sup>, 199<sup>r</sup>; reg. 46, f. 40<sup>r</sup>; reg. 67, f. 120<sup>r</sup>; reg. 71, ff. 6<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r-v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 116<sup>r</sup>; reg. 82, ff. 155<sup>r</sup>, 181<sup>r</sup>; reg. 83, f. 45<sup>v</sup>; reg. 87, f. 36<sup>r</sup>; reg. 97, f. 284<sup>r</sup>; reg. 194, f. 306<sup>r</sup>; C. LÓPEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Liber patrimonii Regii Valentiae*, Valencia 2006, 344, n<sup>os</sup> 1705, 1707, 1708; 454, n<sup>o</sup> 2317; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Eudòxia Làscaris*, p. 26; Á. MASÍÀ DE ROS, *La emperatriz de Nicea*, p. 150-151; J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 671-672, 676-677, 686-687; IDEM, *La princesa griega*, p. 462-463. El rey Alfonso intercambió los catorce mil sueldos sobre la bailía concedidos por su padre por catorce mil sueldos barceloneses sobre la bailía de Morella, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 80, ff. 103<sup>r</sup>, 144<sup>r</sup>; reg. 82, f. 61<sup>r</sup>. A la muerte de su hija Beatriz, parece que los lugares de Zaidín y Vallobar pasaron a Eulogia como heredera de su hija, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 132, ff. 145<sup>r</sup>, 145<sup>v</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 147<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>; J. MIRET Y SANS, *La princesa griega*, p. 467. En 1301 Eulogia vendió el castillo y la villa de Moixent, IDEM, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 687; J.-D. GARRIDO I VALLS, *Figura i època d'en Gonçalvo García, senyor de la Font de la Figuera*, en P. GARCÍA BORJA,

palacio en Huesca, La Suda de Lleida o unas casas del rey en Barcelona, junto al palacio real<sup>78</sup>. Por su parte, Sancho IV de Castilla le hará donativo de cinco mil maravedíes en 1290-1291<sup>79</sup>.

Aunque en el caso de las hijas de Eulogia su patrimonio se construirá fundamentalmente a través de sus matrimonios, los monarcas ibéricos se mostrarán también generosos con ellas. A raíz de su separación de Pedro de Ayerbe, Violante se verá favorecida por donaciones de Jaime II, además de haber sido designada heredera principal de su madre Eulogia. Entre otras, destacan los cinco mil sueldos jaqueses anuales sobre la aljama musulmana de Huesca. Heredó también el dinero procedente de los bienes maternos en Génova y los derechos que le proporcionaba la villa de Berbegal, comprada por cien mil sueldos en 1310 y transferida en 1312 en otros sobre Llíria, el castillo de Tibi y otros lugares cercanos a Xixona y Alicante<sup>80</sup>. Láscara también recibirá el favor real tras enviudar. Jaime II intervendrá para asegurarse que se le reconocía la posesión de diversos lugares obtenidos de su difunto marido en sus capitulaciones matrimoniales<sup>81</sup>. Beatriz, quizás por su muerte temprana, no fue objeto de tantas dádivas, aunque en 1286, los reyes Pedro y Constanza le permitieron habitar en el Real de Xàtiva y le aseguraron cinco mil sueldos sobre la morería y aljama de Valencia, quizás para compensar el desamparo en el que se encontró ante un distanciamiento o separación de Guillem de Montcada, quién sabe si a causa de la falta de descendencia de la pareja<sup>82</sup>. Vataza, por su parte, obtiene a la muerte de su marido, y tras repartirse el patrimonio con su cuñada, las posesiones del difunto en Extremadura<sup>83</sup>, con todo lo que pertenecía al título de los

E. REVERT FRANCÉS, A. RIBERA I GOMES y V. BIOSCA CIRUJEDA (ed.), *El naixement d'un poble, història i arqueologia de la Font de la Figuera*, La Font de la Figuera 2013, p. 113-124, aquí 118, 121-122.

78. En lo que respecta a Huesca y Barcelona, J. MIRET Y SANS, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 128-129; para Lleida, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 148, f. 132<sup>v</sup>. Los derechos sobre el Real de Xàtiva implicaban también el derecho de habitarlo, J. MIRET Y SANS, *La princesa griega*, p. 461.

79. M. GAIBROIS, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, III, Madrid 1928, p. CCXI (Apéndice 371).

80. J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 712-713; IDEM, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 131-133; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *La infanta griega*, p. 71.

81. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 99, f. 16<sup>v</sup>; reg. 102, ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-92<sup>v</sup>. Jaime II, en una permuta de bienes entre el rey y Sibila, la hija de Láscara, había concedido a la condesa viuda la casa de Palau Salatà del Vallès, con sus pertenencias, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 345, f. 181<sup>r</sup>; J. MIRET Y SANS, *La princesa griega*, p. 468 (con error en el folio citado).

82. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 65, f. 103<sup>v</sup>; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *La infanta griega*, p. 67.

83. El novio había hecho donación *propter nupcias* de todos sus bienes y propiedades a Vataza a raíz de su boda, como era costumbre en Portugal, Lisboa, ANTT, Cabido da Sé de

Soverosa, la porción que había pertenecido a Dórdia Gil en Elvas y Vintureiras (¿Abitureiras?) y la mitad de los bienes del marido en Lousada los cuales estaban en disputa con Sancha Manriques. En Portugal solo la madre del rey Dionís, Beatriz de Castilla, hija de Alfonso X de Castilla, hace donación de unos bienes indeterminados aún en vida de su marido Martim Anes, y muy tardíamente unas casas en Lisboa de parte de la reina Isabel. En total son bienes en Meixomil, San Pedro de Ferreira, San Salvador de Freamunde, Santa Maria de Carvalhosa (Paços de Ferreira), Lousada, Macieira, Guimarães, Louã, Lisboa, Sintra y Santarém. En Castilla su patrimonio se construirá a través de donativos reales, pero también mediante compras. El 4 de mayo de 1310 obtiene Villalar de Fernando IV, que permuta el 4 de octubre del mismo año por Santiago de Cacém (Portugal), de la orden de Santiago. El 20 de febrero de 1311 Fernando IV también le hará donación de Pedraja y por documentos tardíos sabemos que en algún momento obtuvo la señoría de Val de Moriella. Vataza comprará el castillo y la villa de Huelva el 16 de junio de 1310. En 1315 la ciudad de Sevilla le cederá ciertos derechos sobre Sanlúcar la Mayor<sup>84</sup>.

Otro indicio de la especial relación desarrollada con las diversas familias reales es el soporte continuado a sus negocios particulares, que se hace extensible a sus familiares y servidores, incluso ante situaciones dudosas y complicadas<sup>85</sup>. Valgan algunos ejemplos. En 1292, a petición de Eulogia Láscaris, Jaime II intervendrá para impedir la venta de sus joyas, empeñadas a unos ciudadanos de Valencia en un oscuro caso de deudas, y hasta que la interesada que pudiera desplazarse ella misma a Valencia para tratar la cuestión<sup>86</sup>. También el 14 de enero de 1296 Jaime II escribía al justicia de

Coimbra, 2ª incorporacão, maço 48, nº 1821; M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 169.

84. En lo concerniente a todo ese patrimonio y las vicisitudes de su gestión véase el detallado análisis de M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 171-177. Aparentemente, Jaime II había barajado la posibilidad de ofrecerle alguna renta en el reino de Murcia, pero no parece que llegara a concretarse y dispuso el envío de dinero para ella en diferentes ocasiones, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 236, f. 19<sup>r</sup>; reg. 271, f. 165<sup>v</sup>.

85. En cuanto a las numerosas intervenciones a favor de los familiares o miembros de las casas de las interesadas, normalmente para obtener algún tipo de favor, véase aquí mismo la n. 21 y los ejemplos que facilita J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 706-707, 710; Y. BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*. I, *Urkunden und Regesten*. 1, *Aragonien und Navarra*, Berlín 1929, p. 179, o aún Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 44, f. 199<sup>r</sup>; reg. 81, f. 136<sup>r</sup>. En cuanto a la familia o casa de Vataza, véase M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 177-184.

86. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 93, f. 275<sup>v</sup>. Este asunto no acabó de forma favorable para Eulogia, pues finalmente fue condenada por el justicia de Valencia ese mismo año 1292, decisión que fue acatada por el rey, tal y como él mismo notificó al dicho justicia, Pere de Ribalta, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 93, f. 315<sup>r</sup>. ¿Son esas las joyas que conocemos a

Valencia porque la infanta de Grecia había denunciado que Pere de Ripoll, ciudadano de Valencia, y sus procuradores, que afirmaban que ella les debía cierta cantidad de dinero, habían secuestrado los bienes y mercancías de algunos hombres de Murcia que no estaban obligados por ningún aval o similar con la dicha infanta y sin haber procedido primero a discutirlo con los representantes de la infanta en el reino de Valencia. A causa de esa incautación, a su vez los murcianos habían pignorado a la dicha Eulogia en Murcia, causándole gran perjuicio, y el rey ordenó que se restituyese a los primeros<sup>87</sup>. Igualmente, Jaime II se pondrá del lado de Láscara, condesa de Pallars, y su hija Sibila, heredera del condado, quien tras la muerte de su tío y acuciada por las deudas a pagar a los albaceas de Ramon Roger I, había vendido el condado al rey, que se lo devolvió en feudo honrado, y tuvo que hacer frente a los intentos de los vizcondes de Coserans por hacerse con su control. Ni tan siquiera los conflictos que Láscara mantendrá con algunas villas, funcionarios reales o instituciones religiosas –siendo el más sonado el sostenido con el monasterio de La Portella–, como condesa viuda de una de las casas nobiliarias más importantes de la Corona de Aragón, y que requerirán de la intervención real, empañarán aquella relación privilegiada, aunque sí obligarán al rey a actuaciones a veces enérgicas para imponer su criterio<sup>88</sup>.

través de un documento del 22 de febrero de 1290? Ese día Eulogia reconocía haber recibido de Albertino della Volta diversas joyas, las cuales habían sido entregadas en Alborai por el dicho Albertino –señor del lugar– al fraile cisterciense Arnau Peregrí renunciando a emprender futuras acciones contra Baliano Sardena, que es quien las había tenido hasta ese momento, Valencia, ACV, Pergamí 2928 (véase aquí mismo Apéndice 2).

87. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 103, f. 174<sup>v</sup>. Sabemos de otros conflictos que enfrentaron judicialmente a Eulogia con diversas personas en Valencia, como por ejemplo Gonçal Bernat Sabata, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 101, f. 303<sup>v</sup>.

88. M. GARCIA I ASENSI y A. RICHARD LÓPEZ, El monasterio de Sant Pere de la Portella en su territorio (siglos XIII-XIV), en *Campo y ciudad. Mundos en tensión (siglos XII-XV) (XLIV Semana Internacional de Estudios Medievales. Estella-Lizarra. 18/21 de julio de 2017)*, Pamplona 2018, p. 257-268. También su madre había tenido algunos conflictos, en su caso con el monasterio de Montearagón. El 5 de diciembre de 1307 Íñigo Sánchez de Lombier, sacristán y procurador del monasterio, pedía a Violante, mujer del señor de Ayerbe, la devolución de la abadía de Ayerbe que su madre Eulogia había recibido del abad del monasterio en violario, cosa a la que accedió, devolviendo las llaves de la abadía, Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Instituciones eclesiásticas, Clero regular, Órdenes y congregaciones religiosas masculinas, Canónigos regulares de San Agustín, Monasterio de Jesús Nazareno de Montearagón (Huesca), Carpeta 659, n° 4. Cinco años más tarde Jaime II ordenaba a su consejero Vidal de Villanueva que procediese a vender los lugares de Lienas y Apiés, los cuales había asignado Violante de Grecia para pagar los mil sueldos jaqueses que la difunta Eulogia debía al abad de Montearagón *ratione iniuriarum*, venta que aún no había tenido lugar a pesar de lo dispuesto por la dicha Violante, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 150, f. 232<sup>v</sup>.

#### 4. *Servir y prosperar*

¿Cómo explicar esa hospitalidad y, sobre todo, su posterior evolución? Aunque la llegada de las Láscaris Ventimiglia y su acogida inicial pueden explicarse en términos de alianza política entre los condes de Ventimiglia y las familias reales de Aragón y de Castilla, su progresión y el soporte continuado de las diferentes monarquías solo puede explicarse en base a otros factores. Para los monarcas, extender su protección sobre personas de tan alto linaje y en aparente posición de debilidad era una forma de acrecentar su imagen de magnanimidad y largueza. Además, el prestigio de sus orígenes imperiales bizantinos, que ellas mismas se encargan de alimentar continuamente, sería un factor que contribuiría a acrecentar su influencia. Eulogia deja de lado su condición de condesa de Ventimiglia rápidamente, muta su nombre y en los documentos que emite siempre insiste en su condición de hija del legítimo emperador bizantino: *Lascara, infantissa Grece, filia illustris Lascaris, olim imperatoris Grece*. Durante décadas, el proceder de la corte y la cancillería de la Corona de Aragón son un reflejo de ello. Los documentos siempre parecen copiar la misma fórmula, a menudo insistiendo en la condición de verdadero o legítimo emperador de su progenitor, y solo tardíamente se decantarán por la forma «infanta de los griegos» en exclusiva. Sus hijas proceden de forma similar. La mejor muestra es Vataza misma. Su sepulcro destaca su condición de descendiente de la casa imperial, hecho que se refuerza además con la representación del águila bicéfala, emblema ligado a los emperadores, como elemento heráldico<sup>89</sup>. El águila aparece aún en su sello personal que es descrito en 1328 como un «seelo de

89. Aunque Vataza utilice el águila rampante bicéfala como símbolo heráldico, en ámbito bizantino era más bien un símbolo general del imperio o del poder imperial, un emblema de poder no específicamente ligado a una persona o familia, R. G. OUSTERHOUT, *Emblems of Power in Palaiologan Constantinople*, en A. ÖDEKAN, N. NECİPOĞLU y E. AKYÜREK (ed.), *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, Estambul 2013, p. 89-94, aquí p. 93. Sobre el problema del uso heráldico del águila en ámbito bizantino y el inicio de esa práctica G. GEROLA, *L'aquila bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a dues teste*, *Felix Ravenna* 43, 1934, p. 7-36; A. SOLOVJEV, *Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7, 1935, p. 119-164; D. CERNOVODEANU, *Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine*, *JÖB* 32, 1982, p. 409-422; C. CHOTZAKOGLU, *Die Palaiologen und das früheste Auftreten des byzantinischen Doppeladlers*, *BS* 57, 1996, p. 60-68; P. ANDROUDIS, *Origine et symbolique de l'aigle bicéphale des Turcs seldjoukides et artuquides de l'Asie Mineure*, *Βυζαντινά* 19, 1999, p. 311-345; A. BABUIN, *Standards and Insignia of Byzantium*, *Byz.* 71, 2001, p. 5-59; R. OUSTERHOUT, *Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry*, en C. HOURIHANE (ed.), *Byzantine Art: Recent studies. Essays in Honor of Lois Drewer*, Tempe 2009, p. 153-170; A. SUAREZ, *The Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos: Manuel I's Latinophile Uncle?*, en D. SLOOTJES y M. VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Byzantium in Dialogue with the Mediterranean*, Leiden 2019, p. 182-202.



cera colgado em el qual seelo esta figura de una aguila com dos cabeças»<sup>90</sup> y del cual conservamos un ejemplar en muy mal estado. Es de cera roja, en guarda de cera natural, monofaz, en forma de rosácea polilobulada de seis pétalos, con leyenda inscrita en una orla también rosácea, el fondo liso y en el cual se aprecian los restos de ambas alas de la figura de un águila centrada en el campo<sup>91</sup>. Pero dicha ave también se encuentra en otra parafernalia, como diversos paños que pasaron a la catedral de Coimbra tras su muerte («huum pano que tem VI aguias d'ouro. E o canpo del he vermelho e tem flores cardeas e foy todo lavrado com agulha e foy de Dona Betaça»; «outro pano velho, já remendado, que tem signaes, figuras d'aguias e flores e jaz sobre o sepulcro de Dona Betaça»)<sup>92</sup>. La documentación que genera también resalta su condición de hija de Eulogia, que pasa por delante de su padre. Podemos presumir que su identidad bizantina no se limitaba, sin embargo, al mantenimiento y uso de elementos de orden estético, si no que comportaba quizás también la pervivencia de usos y costumbres bizantinos y del uso de la lengua griega, puesto que entre sus pertenencias se cuentan al menos dos libros escritos en griego que bien pudieran ser herencia materna, como lo era una corona que había pertenecido a su progenitora<sup>93</sup>. Sus hermanas parece que también actuaron en la misma línea, a juzgar por

90. La mención de 1328 en Lisboa, ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2ª incorporação, maço 90, nº 4347 (un traslado de otro documento del 4 de noviembre de 1315).

91. Lisboa, ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2ª incorporação, maço 47, nº 1875. En cuanto a la forma polilobulada, de tradición castellana y en boga en ese momento, F. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, *L'essor des armoiries en Castille d'après les sources du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, en *Sources de l'héraldique en Europe occidentale. Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> colloque international d'héraldique*, Bruselas 1985, p. 92-103; F. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, *Los emblemas heráldicos: novecientos años de historia*, Sevilla 2014, p. 340-342, 346-347; F. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, *Los sellos en nuestra historia*, Madrid 2018, p. 220-223.

92. A. DE J. DA COSTA, *A biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Coimbra nos séculos XI a XVI*, Coimbra 1983, p. 96, 112. Cabe destacar los colores, dorado para las águilas, gules para el campo, pues eran los mismos de los emblemas bizantinos. Su madre, Eulogia, también había poseído al menos una pieza de orfebrería representando un águila confeccionada en perlas (*et unam aquilam de per[lis]* / «Ítem, una aguilla de perles grosseres») según un inventario de 1310, Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 11, ff. 53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>v</sup> (latín), 53bis<sup>r-v</sup> (catalán).

93. «Ítem outra arca de madeyro encoyrada e pregada de pregos miúdos em que jazem dous livros de letra grega», M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Os bens de Vataça*, p. 50 n. 71. Es posible que al menos uno de ellos fuera a parar a la catedral de Coimbra puesto que en el inventario de la biblioteca y el tesoro de dicha catedral de 1393 aparece un «Brviayro grego de Dona Bataça», A. de J. DA COSTA, *A biblioteca e o tesouro*, cit. n. 92, p. 25. En cuanto a la corona heredada de su madre y que acabaría siendo comprada por Beatriz de Castilla, mujer de Alfonso IV, M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 193. El inventario *postmortem* de los bienes de Vataza incluye «hua coroa d ouro de dez e sex membros e huum membro nom ha pedra e cada huum dos outros membros senhas pedras de rubi que son per todo quinze robiis e saseenta e quatro grãaos d aljoufar», M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Os bens de Vataça*, p. 68. ¿Se trataría del mismo objeto?

las intituciones que utilizaron y en la insistencia en su ascendencia imperial en muchos de los documentos que generaron. A la muerte de Eulogia, sus hijas son identificadas también muy a menudo como «infantas de Grecia», especialmente Violante tras su divorcio de Pedro de Ayerbe. Solo ocasionalmente hacen referencia a su padre y normalmente en documentos que tienen que ver con asuntos que le involucran, como la dote de la difunta Eulogia<sup>94</sup>. aunque no parece que nos hayan quedado otras evidencias materiales similares a las de Vataza<sup>95</sup>.

Otro de los factores que explica la sinergia que se establece entre las mujeres de la dinastía Láscaris y las cortes reales ibéricas, especialmente con sus reinas y princesas, son unas capacidades personales que no dudan en poner a su servicio, sea precisamente para asegurar su posición y/o por lealtad con sus deudores, especialmente en el caso de Eulogia, Vataza y Violante. La retórica cancilleresca de todos los reinos insiste en ello<sup>96</sup>. Pero ¿cuáles fueron las capacidades y servicios que ofrecieron? La diplomacia o la educación serán los dos campos en los que se emplearán con mayor empeño. No debe extrañar, pues ambos eran ámbitos en los cuales las mujeres jugaban un papel clave, dada la suma importancia del matrimonio en el establecimiento de alianzas y pactos<sup>97</sup>. La relevancia de la educación de las

94. Véase, por ejemplo, las n. 36 y 37.

95. Su hermano Juan, titular del condado de Ventimiglia y Tenda, también recurrirá al prestigio de sus orígenes imperiales bizantinos y utilizará Láscaris como apelativo o nombre de familia. Lo demuestran documentos expedidos por el propio Juan en 1294 (*Iohanne Lascharis, comite Tendae*), V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 233; o sendas cartas de Jaime II en 1295 (*Iohannem Laschari, comitem de Vintemilla*; *Iohannes Lazeri, comes de Vintemilla*), Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 102, f. 54<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup>. No sabemos si él adoptó ya el águila bicéfala como blasón, pero sus sucesores sí lo hicieron. Es posible que su hermana Láscara, condesa de Pallars por matrimonio, hiciera uso de ese mismo símbolo, que pasaría a la heráldica de los condes a partir de su hija Sibila, tal y como lo atestigua la sigilografía del siglo XV, F. DE SEGARRA, *Sigillografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya*, II, Barcelona 1922, p. 3, n<sup>os</sup> 258-259, 280, n<sup>o</sup> 2078; III, Barcelona 1932, p. 75-76, n<sup>os</sup> 3362-3367.

96. M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 171, 173; L. RUIZ DOMINGO, *The Hohenstaufen Women*, p. 248-250.

97. El campo de estudio de las mujeres y la diplomacia en la Edad Media está experimentando una renovación importante. De la imagen más tradicional del papel de las mujeres –fundamentalmente reinas– como mediadoras y pacificadoras (M. C. SCHAUS, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe. An Encyclopedia*, Nueva York-Londres 2006, p. 210-212) se está evolucionando a una imagen más compleja y rica en matices, G. MARTÍN, *Negociación y diplomacia en la vida de Berenguela de Castilla (1214-1246)*. Cuestionamiento genérico, *e-Spania* 4, diciembre 2007 (DOI: 10.4000/e-spania.21609). Sin embargo, no disponemos prácticamente de ningún estudio sobre la intervención de otras mujeres de las diferentes cortes como, por ejemplo, ayas, tutoras o damas de compañía –caso que se correspondería al perfil de Eulogia Láscaris y, especialmente, su hija Vataza– en la actividad diplomática. En este sentido, véanse los datos proporcionados por J. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón*:

princesas, que como consecuencia de sus matrimonios ejercían diferentes formas de poder en la corte y el señorío que las acogía, por no hablar de su intervención en el campo diplomático, comportaba depositar una enorme confianza en aquellas que ejercían las funciones de educadoras y, a veces también, de consejeras, lo que se podía traducir en posiciones de influencia que acababan trascendiendo la esfera simplemente educativa.

No podemos descartar que en la vertiente educativa sus orígenes bizantinos hubieran sido determinantes, no solo con su prestigio, sino por las características de su tradición formativa, a la que se sumaría la herencia ventimigliana-ligur. A juzgar por su testamento e inventario *postmortem*, Vataza estaba sobradamente preparada para desempeñar ese papel, pues en su haber se cuenta una biblioteca de entre quince y veintidós volúmenes –muy destacada para una mujer de su tiempo– de naturaleza espiritual y moral, pero también histórica y jurídica, en diferentes lenguas, entre las que se contaban el latín, el griego o el castellano<sup>98</sup>. En un contexto de matrimonios internacionales la experiencia hoy diríamos intercultural de aquellas mujeres también pudiera haber sido especialmente valorada. No eran las primeras mujeres con una trayectoria oriental que desempeñarían funciones educativas. Constanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen había jugado un papel protagonista en la educación de hijas de la familia real en el palacio de Valencia, que le había sido cedido por los reyes. Precisamente, las hijas de Eulogia le tomarán el relevo en esas funciones<sup>99</sup>. Violante se hará cargo de la infanta Violante, hija de Jaime II, y de la infanta Eleonor de Castilla, que siendo aún menor de edad se desplazó a la Corona de Aragón para su futuro matrimonio con el presunto heredero de la corona. De hecho, en este último caso venía a tomar el relevo de su hermana Vataza, que hasta ese momento se

*su vida familiar*, II, Barcelona 1948, p. 51. A propósito de la renovación de los estudios sobre mujeres y poder en la Edad Media y no solo sobre la reginalidad, véase el reciente libro de estudios recogidos por H. J. TANNER (ed.), *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100-1400. Moving beyond the Exceptionalist Debate*, Cham 2019.

98. Sobre esto véase M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Os bens de Vataça*, p. 49-55. No disponemos de literatura específica sobre la formación de princesas imperiales en tiempos del imperio de Nicea que nos permita inferir qué educación hubiera recibido Eulogia Láscaris y podría haber transmitido a sus hijas, debiéndonos conformar con aproximaciones correspondientes a cronologías anteriores, J. HERRIN, *Unrivalled Influence. Women and Empire in Byzantium*, Princeton-Oxford 2013, p. 238-260; I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, La formación intelectual de las aristócratas bizantinas (siglos XI-XIV), en M. DEL GRAÑA CID (ed.), *Las Sabias Mujeres: educación, saber y autoría (siglos III-XVII)*, Madrid 1994, p. 77-94. Con todo, el caso de la biblioteca de Vataza pone de relieve una educación que bebe de diversas fuentes, también de las más características de la Europa occidental, M. AURELL, *L'instruction des filles*, en IDEM, *Le Chevalier lettré. Savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, París 2011, p. 197-243.

99. En cuanto al papel de Constanza (Ana) como educadora de princesas, véase J. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón*, cit. n. 97, II, p. 39.

había ocupado de ella en la corte castellana y que llevaba largo tiempo ejerciendo tareas educativas<sup>100</sup>. Efectivamente, en Portugal se había hecho cargo de la educación de la infanta Constanza, hija del rey Don Dionís e Isabel de Aragón, de quien era dama de compañía. Cuando la infanta se casó con Fernando IV en 1302 se desplazó con ella y también en Castilla acabó ejerciendo de aya de los hijos del matrimonio real, la dicha Leonor y Alfonso, hasta que se vio desplazada definitivamente de esas funciones cuando Alfonso XI, con apenas un año, pasó a ser custodiado por sus tíos y abuela, poco después de la muerte de su padre, Fernando IV<sup>101</sup>.

En lo que respecta a su intervención en la esfera político-diplomática, Eulogia se implicó en diversos asuntos, aunque aquellos fueron aparentemente de carácter menor. Por ejemplo, el 29 de abril de 1283 el infante Alfonso dirigía cartas a diversas autoridades y personajes en el reino de València, entre las cuales se encontraba la *nobile infantisse Grecorum*, con el objetivo de que intervinieran para conseguir que la ciudad de Valencia y los habitantes del reino pagasen el precio de las dos galeras que el rey armaba en defensa del reino, razón por la cual había enviado a aquellas tierras a Ramon de Montanya<sup>102</sup>. Unos años después la vemos implicada de nuevo en lo que podríamos sospechar como servicios de naturaleza diplomática. El 6 de abril de 1290, estando en Girona, el ahora ya rey Alfonso III expedía documento probatorio de pasaje dirigido a todos sus oficiales a favor de la dicha Eulogia, que debía desplazarse al Rosellón para acudir al encuentro del príncipe y la princesa de Salerno<sup>103</sup>. Desconocemos por ahora la causa exacta de su visita, pero quizás dicho encuentro tenía por objetivo transmitir noticias sobre los hijos de Carlos, que habían sustituido a su progenitor en su honroso cautiverio, o estaba relacionada con el encuentro que tenía previsto celebrarse en la Junquera entre Alfonso y el dicho príncipe<sup>104</sup>.

100. J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *La infanta griega*, p. 70-71.

101. Á. MASIÁ DE ROS, *Relación castellano aragonesa desde Jaime II a Pedro el Ceremonioso*, I, Madrid 1994, p. 191-193, 195. Para el contexto general véase M. GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, *Jaime II y la minoría de Alfonso XI. Sus relaciones con la sociedad política castellana, Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 18, 1991, p. 143-182.

102. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 61, f. 109<sup>r</sup>.

103. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 81, f. 79<sup>r</sup>.

104. Carlos II de Anjou había sido capturado por la flota catalanoaragonesa en junio de 1284 en el puerto de Nápoles, aún en vida de su padre, el rey Carlos I, y fue llevado a Cataluña, donde estuvo preso hasta el 8 de noviembre de 1288. Aunque fue coronado en Rieti el 29 de mayo de 1289, la cancillería del rey de Aragón continuó refiriéndose a él como príncipe de Salerno durante un tiempo. Sobre el encuentro en la Junquera véase JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 401-403. Es posible que durante el encuentro con Carlos de Anjou Eulogia tratase de conseguir información sobre la supuesta presencia de su hermano Juan IV Láscaris refugiado en la corte napolitana en 1273, tal y como propugnaba, falsamente, la propaganda angevina, D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, p. 217-218.

Hay que recordar, además, que los Anjou habían sido los grandes rivales de la nueva dinastía gobernante en Bizancio, la paleóloga, lo que podía acercarlos a Eulogia; pero también que, como vecino más poderoso de los condes de Tenda, Carlos tenía capacidad para interceder ante su hijo Juan Láscaris, con el cual existían ciertas desavenencias, como veremos más adelante, en un momento en el que los condes de Ventimiglia habían llegado a un acuerdo con el príncipe de Salerno unos años antes (1285), tras décadas de disputas. Pocos meses después la sabemos desplazándose a Castilla. En primavera el rey Jaime le daba permiso para que pudiera arrendar el castillo de Moixent y sus derechos y así pagar ciertas deudas y sufragar los gastos del viaje que tenía previsto emprender a Castilla, aunque no quedan claros los objetivos de dicho viaje<sup>105</sup>. Es posible que las tensiones fronterizas entre la Corona de Aragón y Castilla en el área alicantino-murciana, donde Eulogia estaba en posesión de Moixent, hubiesen motivado el desplazamiento, que bien podría haber contado con la anuencia del rey Alfonso III, aunque también podía estar en relación con el patrimonio que Eulogia parecía poseer en Murcia<sup>106</sup>. Cabe recordar, además, la estrecha relación de su difunto marido con Alfonso X, lo que sin duda le pudo facilitar su acceso a la corte. Permaneció allí unos dos años durante los cuales también se granjeó, como ya hemos visto, el favor de Sancho IV. En años sucesivos se repetirán esos viajes a Castilla y, en algunos de esos casos, los desplazamientos parecen más claramente relacionados con misiones al servicio del rey de Aragón, aunque sin abandonar sus intereses particulares y familiares, contando con la presencia de su hija Vataza en la corte real castellana. Así, aunque el viaje de 1304 tuvo un carácter eminentemente privado, con el fin de solucionar problemas relacionados con su patrimonio en dicho reino y con la idea de residir allí temporalmente<sup>107</sup>, tres años después vuelve a desplazarse a Castilla donde,

105. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 83, ff. 45<sup>v</sup> (18 de mayo de 1290), 60<sup>r</sup>; reg. 84, f. 27<sup>v</sup>.

106. En 1292 el rey escribía al concejo de Murcia pidiéndole que defendiese y protegiese los bienes y posesiones que la infanta tenía en aquellas partes, impidiendo que cualquier otro las ocupase, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 93, f. 299<sup>r</sup>. Además, se planteaba hacer un intercambio entre aquellas propiedades y otras de Pedro Barda en el reino de Valencia, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 93, f. 299<sup>r</sup>. ¿Podían dichas posesiones haber sido herencia de su marido Guillermo Pedro por sus servicios a Alfonso X de Castilla? Desafortunadamente ha resultado imposible encontrar referencias ni a Guillermo Pedro ni a Eulogia en la documentación murciana del área bajo control castellano.

107. La corte real tenía problemas para pagar algunas de las cantidades que le habían sido adjudicadas en años anteriores y su marcha a Castilla podría haber representado una solución temporal, pero está claro que Eulogia continuaba contando con el apoyo real, casi incondicional, puesto que poco después Jaime envió un mensajero al rey de Castilla que, entre otros objetivos, iba a tratar cuestiones concernientes a la dicha «infanta de Grecia», Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 235, f. 179<sup>r</sup> (17 de enero de 1305).

esta vez sí, la sabemos defendiendo los intereses de Jaime II junto a su hija Vataza<sup>108</sup>.

Vataza conjuga el papel de mentora y de actor activo en el plano político y diplomático y los lleva hasta nuevas cotas de desarrollo, sin duda gracias al hecho que su vida, una vez llegada a la Península ibérica, se desarrollará entre la Corona de Aragón, Portugal y Castilla. Durante sus largas estancias en Portugal y Castilla no se limitará a las tareas educativas antes mencionadas. Su proximidad e intimidad con monarcas y cortesanos le permiten incidir en los entresijos de la compleja política peninsular del momento. De su actividad tenemos constancia clara y cierta desde 1294 cuando Jaime II le remitía cartas informándola de la llegada del embajador que enviaba a los reyes de Portugal<sup>109</sup>, y se reforzaría a partir de la muerte de su marido<sup>110</sup>. Su activo papel en la acción política ibérica ya ha sido puesto de relieve con anterioridad. La hija de Eulogia acoge a enviados, aconseja, proporciona informaciones, intercede, envía misivas, prepara reuniones, se entrevista con monarcas, etc., y así será hasta poco después del fallecimiento de Fernando IV de Castilla<sup>111</sup>.

### III. — ... PERO SIN OLVIDAR SUS ORÍGENES

El enraizamiento de las Láscaris Ventimiglia en la Península ibérica y su fulgurante carrera no les hacen olvidar, ni mucho menos, sus orígenes, que

108. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 140, ff. 71<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>; Á. MASÍÁ DE ROS, *La emperatriz Constanza*, p. 153.

109. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 252, f. 102<sup>v</sup>.

110. Incluso se desplazará al encuentro de Jaime II en varias ocasiones, siendo por ahora la primera reunión conocida la que tuvo lugar en Ariza, junto con otros representantes de Dionís de Portugal, en 1300, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 334, f. 5<sup>r</sup>; Á. MASÍÁ DE ROS, *Relación castellano aragonesa*, cit. n. 101, II, p. 39-40 (doc. 24/90).

111. Aunque no disponemos de ningún estudio específico, la información dada a conocer hasta la fecha sobre su participación en la diplomacia de la época es muy numerosa, relacionándola con los reyes de Castilla, Aragón, Portugal y Sicilia. Véase, por ejemplo, JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 590-591, 716, 738-739, 774, 783-784; J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 689-690, 702-710; H. FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291-1327)*, I, Berlín-Leipzig 1908, p. 257-258 (doc. 174); Á. CANELLAS LÓPEZ, *Datos para la historia de los reinos peninsulares en el primer tercio del siglo XIV*. Dieciocho nuevos documentos de la alacena de Zurita, *Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia* 145, 1959, p. 231-286; S. A. RODRIGUES, *Rainha Santa. Cartas inéditas e outros documentos*, Coimbra 1985; Á. MASÍÁ DE ROS, *Relación castellano aragonesa*, cit. n. 101; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *L'expansió peninsular en la política de Jaume II: el matrimoni de la seva filla gran Maria amb l'infant Pere de Castella*, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 12, 1982, p. 491-536; S. PÉQUIGNOT, *Au nom du roi*, cit. n. 9, p. 114, 225 n. 19, 230 n. 43, 312 n. 46.



están en la base del prestigio que les permitió su ascenso social y político. Buena muestra de ello son los esfuerzos y el empeño demostrado por Eulogia, primero, y sus hijas, después, en la protección y reivindicación de un patrimonio correspondiente, sin duda, a la dote de la matriarca. Pero ¿cuál era el origen de aquel patrimonio y de qué naturaleza? En 1262 Miguel VIII Paleólogo, en una credencial a favor de los embajadores que enviaba a Génova, informaba a las autoridades ligures que había entregado veinte mil hipérperos a Guillermo Pedro de Ventimiglia, casado con Eulogia, que debían ser invertidos en las *compere* del *comune* de Génova<sup>112</sup>. Con toda probabilidad, dicha cantidad se correspondía con la dote de la novia, puesto que las crónicas señalan que aquella partió con una importante cantidad de dinero y joyas. Por ahora se nos escapa la razón de la obligación de invertirlos en Génova, pudiendo responder a algún interés genovés particular de captar financiación. En cualquier caso, es casi seguro que las *compere* adquiridas se corresponden con los *redditibus* que documentos de la Corona de Aragón mencionarán posteriormente como parte de las reclamaciones de Eulogia y sus hijas. Durante dos décadas, por lo menos, madre e hijas no cejarán en su empeño por cobrar lo que les correspondía de aquellos, y para ello no dudarán en aprovechar las alianzas tejidas con las cortes ibéricas y usarlas en sus iniciativas en pro de la defensa de dichos intereses.

### 1. Génova y Tenda

Eulogia siempre había mantenido relaciones con los círculos genoveses. Ya antes del 22 de febrero de 1290 Baliano Sardena había ejercido funciones de procurador en ciertas cuestiones, siendo sustituido ese día por Albertino della Volta, quien debía recuperar todos los documentos de reconocimiento de deuda de Eulogia a favor de su predecesor y obtener documentos de absolución por aquellas deudas, además de las cartas de procuración<sup>113</sup>. Pero Albertino estaba en relación con Eulogia desde mucho antes. Así, el 24 de septiembre de 1287 lo vemos reconociendo junto a ella una deuda de 2200 sueldos de reales de Valencia por un caballo adquirido por Eulogia de un cierto Llop<sup>114</sup>. ¿Podían Sardena y della Volta haber estado implicados en

112. L. T. BELGRANO, Cinque documenti genovesi-orientali, cit. n. 57, p. 227; L. PIERALLI, *La corrispondenza diplomatica*, cit. n. 63, p. 153-157 (doc. 6). La *compera* (plural *compere*), literalmente, una compra, era un préstamo público o parte de la deuda pública, C. E. BENEŠ, *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, Leiden-Boston 2018, p. XXI, 427-447.

113. Valencia, ACV, Pergamí 6180.

114. Valencia, ACV, Pergamí 1128; J. MIRET Y SANS, Tres princesas griegas, p. 674-675. Este y los otros pergaminos de la catedral de Valencia fueron dados a conocer por E. OLMOS

la gestión de las inversiones derivadas de la dote de Eulogia? Los della Volta eran aliados de los Ventimiglia al menos desde los tiempos de Guillermo Pedro y, por lo tanto, bien pudiera haber sido que Albertino hubiera estado relacionado con aquellos negocios. Incluso estaban ligados por lazos familiares. La mujer de Filippino, conde de Ventimiglia, de la rama de Maro, y hermano de Enrique II, fundador de la rama siciliana, fue Iliana, de la familia della Volta<sup>115</sup>. Estos últimos controlarán buena parte del comercio del alumbre en el Mediterráneo desde inicios del siglo XIV, junto con los Zaccaria, a los que ya sabemos implicados en dicho comercio desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIII<sup>116</sup>.

Los Zaccaria también pudieron haber estado en contacto con Eulogia, como enlaces entre ella, Génova, la Corona de Aragón, Castilla y Bizancio. Benedetto Zaccaria estaba muy bien conectado con la corte paleóloga, para la que ejerció funciones diplomáticas y que le había concedido la explotación de las minas de alumbre de Focea<sup>117</sup>. Ello le convirtió en interlocutor destacado en los contactos políticos de Castilla, donde además ejercerá de almirante y será señor de El Puerto de Santa María<sup>118</sup>. Pero también tendrá un papel destacado en los contactos diplomáticos y económicos entre el imperio bizantino y la Corona de Aragón. En 1286 Benedetto enviaba un cargo de alumbre de Focea a la Liguria con una nave catalana<sup>119</sup>. Su procurador, Bertolino Salvagno, había mantenido relaciones con el conde Guillermo Pedro de Ventimiglia pero también con círculos comerciales barceloneses<sup>120</sup>. Así, por un documento del 27 de agosto de 1295 sabemos que Blanca, hija del difunto Pere de Vilamajor, y su madre Maria, habían constituido a Francesc Moler, ciudadano de Barcelona, procurador suyo para recuperar del dicho Bartolino Salvagno, como procurador de Benedetto Zaccaria, 500 hipérperos de oro de cuño de Constantinopla, motivo por el que ese día le entregaban

CANALDA, Inventario de los documentos escritos en pergamino del Archivo Catedral de Valencia, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 103, 1933, p. 141-293 aquí p. 224, n.ºs 714, 715, p. 225, n.º 723, aunque los regestos son deficientes. En lo relativo a los della Volta y Valencia, R. I. BURNS, *The della Volta: A Genoese Family in the service of the Crown of Aragon (1140-1340)*, en *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. Sassari-Alghero, 1990. La corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII-XVIII)*, III, Roma 1996, p. 187-228.

115. R. PAVONI y E. PODESTÀ, *La valle dell'Orba dalle origini alla nascita degli stati regionali*, Ovada 2008, p. 214.

116. A. MAZARAKIS, *Zaccaria e Della Volta nell'Egeo orientale 1268-1329*, Atenas 2006.

117. R. S. LÓPEZ, *Genova marinara nel Duecento. Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante*, Mesina-Milán 1933; IDEM, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, Bologna 1938.

118. J. J. IGLESIAS RODRÍGUEZ, Micer Benedetto Zaccaria, primer señor de El Puerto, y su tiempo, *Revista de Historia de El Puerto* 4, 1990, p. 39-53.

119. G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia*, II, p. 80 n. 35.

120. Sobre Salvagno y Guillermo Pedro véase la n. 60.

dos instrumentos de deuda del difunto Vilamajor, uno del notario Armani Brillo con fecha de 7 de marzo de 1285, donde Bartolino reconocía una deuda de hipérperos, y otro datado del 12 de julio de ese 1285 en el que Bartolino reconocía deber 500 de los dichos 520 hipérperos<sup>121</sup>. Y aunque por ahora no se le conocen contactos directos con Eulogia, sí sabemos que fue procurador de su pariente Costanza (Ana) Hohenstaufen cuando ya estuvo instalada en la Corona de Aragón<sup>122</sup>.

Desde su llegada a la Corona de Aragón y a lo largo de las décadas siguientes, toda la actividad de Eulogia y sus hijas en relación con Génova girará alrededor de aquellas inversiones. En 1292 ya tenemos pruebas de los movimientos de Eulogia al respecto. El 13 de octubre Jaime II escribió una carta a Pietro Balbo pidiéndole que se mostrara solícito en relación con los bienes que Eulogia tenía en Génova<sup>123</sup>. Este tipo de intervenciones de la monarquía serán recurrentes a partir de ese momento. El 26 de octubre de 1295 Jaime escribía a Eulogia informado de las conversaciones que había mantenido a propósito de las disensiones que existían con su hijo Juan Láscaris y le recomendaba que las apaciguara y llegaran a un acuerdo<sup>124</sup>, y es que parece que madre e hijo iban a reunirse próximamente aprovechando la visita que el conde tenía previsto hacer a los hijos de Carlos de Anjou, prisioneros y bajo custodia del rey Jaime<sup>125</sup>. Meses después, el 20 de junio de 1296, el rey escribía al conde Juan para que no se pusiera impedimentos a que su madre o su representante cobrasen ciertos derechos que le correspondían en Génova. El monarca también escribió a las autoridades genovesas a propósito de los problemas que encontraba la «infanta de Grecia», pidiéndoles que se pusiese fin a tales trabas<sup>126</sup>. Parece que, poco después, las partes

121. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 2, f. 143<sup>r-v</sup>. Aunque los dos documentos no indican dónde fueron expedidos, bien podría ser en el área del Bósforo, puesto que sabemos que dicho notario emitía documentos en Caffa en 1289-1290, M. BALARD, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*. I, *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289-1290*, París 1973, p. 240, 270.

122. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 71, f. 42<sup>r</sup>. Sabemos que durante algún tiempo Constanza (Ana) había mantenido contacto con la corte bizantina tras su marcha a Sicilia, a través de un cierto Bernardo, C. MARINESCO, *Du nouveau*, p. 468.

123. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 93, f. 299<sup>r</sup>. Este Pietro Balbo debía ser el cuñado de Eulogia, hermano del difunto Guillermo Pedro.

124. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 102, f. 54<sup>r</sup>.

125. De la intención del conde Juan de visitar a los príncipes nos informa una carta que Jaime II envía a Bernat de Montpaó y a Guillem de Bellavista, custodios de los hijos de Carlos, para que permitieran al conde de Ventimiglia visitar a aquellos, tal y como era su deseo, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 102, f. 54<sup>v</sup>. Los príncipes se encontraban en el castillo de Siurana, al suroeste de Montblanc.

126. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 340, f. 155<sup>v</sup>; J. MIRET Y SANS, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 123 n. 2; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Eudòxia Làscaris*, p. 21.

llegaron finalmente a un principio de acuerdo, puesto que en 1297 el rey Jaime II escribía nuevamente a las autoridades genovesas a petición de Eulogia y a propósito de cierta cantidad de dinero que el *comune* de Génova debía pagarle, según un documento de donación de su hijo Juan. Parece ser que el documento del acuerdo había desatado cierta polémica, razón por la cual su madre enviaba un representante a dichas autoridades que debía tratar la cuestión<sup>127</sup>. Es probable que se dudase de su validez, puesto que años más tarde así se manifestaba abiertamente. Efectivamente, el 22 de septiembre de 1311, el rey Jaime II escribía a Dalmau de Vilafranca, vicario de Lleida y Pallars, o a su lugarteniente, informándole de que la hija de Eulogia, Violante, mujer de Pedro de Ayerbe, denunciaba que Lamba Doria, ciudadano de Génova, usaba de un instrumento en el que aparentemente se afirmaba que su madre había vendido a Juan, conde de Ventimiglia y hermano de Violante, los *redditus* que tenía en la ciudad y común de Génova por mil marcas de plata, cantidad que la dicha infanta reconocería haber recibido. El documento estaría fechado a 31 de enero de 1297 y hecho en la ciudad de Lleida por el notario Pere d'Alós, en el castillo de La Suda (*Castronovo*), donde se alojaba por aquel entonces Eulogia. La dicha Violante aseguraba era falso puesto que dicha venta nunca se habría producido y, por lo tanto, el rey ordenó que se procediera a llamar al notario y que comprobase en sus registros si el documento en cuestión había sido expedido o no<sup>128</sup>.

Fuese por las dudas sobre la validez del documento o por otras razones, el acuerdo alcanzado con Juan no fue siempre respetado y su madre se verá obligada a tratar de hacer valer sus derechos con medidas como desplazarse hasta tierras liguas o provenzales. Efectivamente, en 1306 Eulogia escribía al rey Jaime a propósito de aquel acuerdo alcanzado con su hijo, en lo relativo a los derechos que tenía en el condado de Ventimiglia y los *redditus* de Génova que en forma de cierta cantidad de dinero le debía satisfacer su hijo en Génova o en Montpellier, manifestándole su intención de desplazarse hasta dichas ciudades. Nuevamente, Jaime II emitió varias cartas de recomendación destinadas a las autoridades genovesas, Cristiano Spinola y Miguel Pedro de Arbe, así como un salvoconducto general<sup>129</sup>.

Fallecida Eulogia, sus hijas y herederas tampoco cejaron en el empeño por hacer valer sus derechos a dicha herencia<sup>130</sup>. El 15 de febrero de 1309,

127. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 108, f. 23<sup>r-v</sup> (5 de mayo).

128. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 148, f. 132<sup>v</sup>.

129. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 140, f. 5<sup>r-v</sup> (5 de diciembre de 1305); J. MIRET Y SANS, *Nuevos documentos*, p. 124 n. 2; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Eudòxia Làscaris*, p. 21.

130. Eulogia murió un día por ahora desconocido entre el 13 de septiembre de 1307, cuando una carta de Jaime II aún la menciona con vida (Barcelona, ACA, reg. 204, f. 94<sup>v</sup>), y

en Barcelona, Violante cedía a su sobrina homónima, hija de Láscara, cualquier parte, razón o derecho que tuviera en la legítima de su difunta madre, Eulogia, constituida por el dinero que el *comune* de Génova daba en metálico a la fallecida, exceptuada una cierta cantidad<sup>131</sup>. El mismo día Láscara hacía una procuración en el mercader perpiñanés Guillem Codolell para que pudiera vender y alienar todos los derechos y bienes correspondientes a la heredad de la difunta<sup>132</sup>. Pocas semanas después, el 22 de marzo, Láscara, con el acuerdo de Saurina (de Jovell), priora del monasterio de Santa María de Jonqueres, también hacía donación y cesión a su hija Violante de todos sus derechos legítimos sobre su herencia materna en la cantidad anual que el común de la ciudad de Génova entregaba a su madre y para que pudiera emprender cualquier acción legal contra el dicho común o cualquier persona que detuviera o tuviera derechos sobre dicha cantidad y bienes, descontados los tres mil morabetinos que la difunta le había querido donar *pro anima sua*<sup>133</sup>. A pesar de aquella renuncia en favor de su hija, Láscara no se desvinculó ni mucho menos de todo el asunto, y el 11 de julio de 1312, con el beneplácito de su priora, la vemos hacer una procuración en Pere Folc, portero real, para que aquel pudiera vender y alienar todos los derechos y bienes que percibía en Génova y ejercer acciones contra su sobrino, Guillermo Pedro o cualquier persona o comunidad en Génova o en Ventimiglia, también en nombre de sus hermanas Vataza y Violante<sup>134</sup>. Esta procuración estaba en relación, sin duda, con los movimientos que su hermana Violante estaba orquestando al mismo tiempo y que conocemos gracias a una serie de cartas reales que hay que poner en relación también con la petición de búsqueda del recibo de la supuesta venta de los derechos de Eulogia del que hemos hablado anteriormente. Efectivamente, el 17 de abril de 1311 Jaime II escribía a las autoridades genovesas a propósito de todo este asunto. Aparentemente,

el 5 de diciembre de ese año en que consta ya como fallecida, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 198, ff. 307<sup>v</sup>-308<sup>r</sup>.

131. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 8, f. 73<sup>r-v</sup>. Esta Violante, hija de Arnau Roger de Pallars y Láscara, maridó con Ximén Cornel, F. DE MOXÓ Y MONTOLIU, *La casa de Luna (1276-1348): factor político y lazos de sangre en la ascensión de un linaje aragonés*, Münster 1990, p. 105, 113, 148, 257, docs. 55, 117 y árbol genealógico XI. Este Ximén había de ser el destinatario de una carta de Jaime II a un noble conminándole a cumplir su voto o compromiso de matrimonio con Violant, hija de Láscara, condesa de Pallars, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 239, f. 71<sup>r</sup>. Según Miret i Sans esta carta reforzaba la identificación de la condesa Láscara con Eulogia y ayudaba a identificar a la mujer de Pedro de Ayerbe, aunque ahora sabemos que se equivocaba al existir dos Láscaras diferentes, madre e hija, J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 711-712.

132. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 8, ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>.

133. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 9, f. 219<sup>r</sup>.

134. Barcelona, ACB, Notaris públics, vol. 12, ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>r</sup>.

hacía poco que el portero real Pere Folc había regresado de Génova, a donde había sido enviado por el rey a instancias de la dicha Violante para tratar el asunto de los derechos de su difunta madre. Allí, y gracias a la intermediación o consejo de Cristiano Spinola, el agente real en Liguria, se había llegado a un acuerdo con Lamba Doria según el cual se comprometían a pagar dos mil quinientas libras genovesas que se depositarían en una mesa de cambio a nombre del dicho Spinola antes del 1 de agosto próximo. El rey se mostraba conforme con este acuerdo y les comunicaba que lo haría aceptar a Violante, seguramente deseoso de poner fin a todo este asunto, pero insistía que debían asegurarse de que el pago se haría efectivo en el calendario y condiciones previstos puesto que iba a reenviar a Folc con motivo de dicho cobro<sup>135</sup>.

## 2. Bizancio

El segundo viaje de Folc a Génova debió coincidir aproximadamente en el tiempo con la mensajería castellana de 1312 a Bizancio. Si bien no se puede establecer una conexión directa entre ambas misiones, no deja de haber similitudes y coincidencias. Sabemos que la misión de Fernando IV giró alrededor de ciertas demandas de Vataza y sus hermanas. Aunque no especificadas, aquellas bien pudieron estar en relación con la herencia correspondiente a la dote materna que, de hecho, procedería del dinero entregado por Miguel VIII. Podemos sospecharlo en base a un caso similar, el de la misión que años más tarde enviará Jaime II de Aragón para reclamar la herencia que Constanza (Ana) de Hohenstaufen le había cedido, centrada en los supuestos bienes y lugares que aquella habría recibido a raíz de su matrimonio con Juan III Ducas Vatatzés<sup>136</sup>. Así que, sin descartar que en el caso de las Láscaris aquellas jugasen la carta de hipotéticas reivindicaciones políticas —si bien hubieran estado más claramente justificadas de haberlas llevado a cabo su hermano Juan—, es más probable que, ante los problemas de cobro en Génova, Vataza decidiera recurrir a Andrónico II con la intención de aclarar la situación y obtener documentos acreditativos que presentar a las autoridades ligures.

135. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 239, f. 61<sup>v</sup>. El rey envió sendas cartas a Lamba Doria y a Cristiano Spinola, respectivamente en Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 239, ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-62<sup>r</sup> y 62<sup>r</sup>. En cuanto a la figura de Cristiano Spinola y su relación con la Corona de Aragón, G. PETTI BALBI, *Un familiare genovese di Giacomo II: Cristiano Spinola, Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne* 20, 1995, p. 113-133.

136. J. MIRET Y SANS, *Tres princesas griegas*, p. 692-697, 717-719; C. MARINESCO, *Du nouveau*, p. 455-468.



Jerónimo Zurita parece dar a entender que Vataza también procuró que «el rey (Jaime II) favoreciese a ella y a su hermana (Violante) en la demanda y pretensión que tenían al imperio de Grecia»<sup>137</sup>, pero por ahora no ha sido posible localizar información de ninguna intervención de Jaime II en favor de ambas mujeres ante la corte de Andrónico II equiparable a la de Fernando IV. Quizá la afirmación del aragonés vaya en la línea de la ayuda prestada a Juan Ferrández de Sevilla y al interés del monarca en este asunto. Por esas fechas las relaciones entre ambas cortes no debían pasar por su mejor momento como consecuencia de las acciones de la Gran Compañía Catalana. De hecho, en ocasiones anteriores, desde la irrupción del cuerpo mercenario en Oriente, Jaime II se había mostrado dudoso en cuanto a las aproximaciones a Bizancio<sup>138</sup>. Sea como fuere, la mensajería fernandina era un movimiento más en la estrategia de las Láscaris de reivindicación y defensa de su patrimonio heredado, en la que las acciones de todas parecen perfectamente coordinadas: Vataza utiliza sus influencias en la corte castellana para que se envíe una mensajería a Bizancio, Yolanda hace lo propio en la Corona de Aragón en relación con Génova, como lo había hecho anteriormente Eulogia.

## CONCLUSIÓN

Eulogia y sus hijas, como era habitual entre las mujeres de su época de la Corona de Aragón, Castilla o Portugal, también entre las grandes damas de la nobleza, se implican con empeño en la gestión y defensa de sus derechos y patrimonio<sup>139</sup>. Sin embargo, en su caso cabe destacar una capacidad

137. JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 784.

138. Por ejemplo, en 1307, el consejero real y almirante Bernat de Sarrià ya había propuesto a Jaime enviar una mensajería al emperador, a lo que el 12 de junio el rey le respondió que «encara quant a la missatgeria de l'emperador de Romania vos responem que encara no a[vem] aüt plenerament nostre acort en qual manera enantarem en lo fet» (Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 140, f. 39<sup>r</sup>) y, de hecho, nunca tuvo lugar. Parece que no fue hasta 1314-1315 cuando se retomaron los contactos, principalmente por presiones de los mercaderes catalanes.

139. M. A. KELLEHER, *The Measure of Woman. Law and Female Identity in the Crown of Aragon*, Philadelphia 2010, p. 48-80; F. ANDRADE, *O Mosteiro de Chelas, uma comunidade feminina na Baixa Idade Média: Património e Gestão*, Cascais 1996; M. J. BRANCO y H. VILAR, Vivência religiosa e propriedade no mosteiro de Arouca no dealbar do século XIV: o exemplo de Margarida Pires de Portocarreiro, en *Poder e Sociedade: Actas das Jornadas Interdisciplinares*, I, Lisboa 1998, p. 273-291; M. H. COELHO, *O Mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII*, Arouca 1988; R. C. MARTINS, *Património Parentesco e Poder: o Mosteiro de Semide do século XII ao século XV*, Lisboa 1992; A. M. RODRIGUES, O Património das donas de Santos no termo de Torres Vedras durante a Idade Média, en *As Ordens Militares em Portugal. Actas do Iº Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela 1991, p. 115-130;

de movilización de recursos y de iniciativa difícilmente al alcance de otras mujeres de su tiempo. Ello se debe a su ascendente en las cortes reales de la Corona de Aragón, Castilla y Portugal, el cual se basará principalmente en sus capacidades personales, los servicios que ofrecen, su condición de extranjeras y en el prestigio social asociado a su condición de miembros de una dinastía imperial bizantina, un prestigio que ellas se encargaron de cultivar y recalcar<sup>140</sup>. La mensajería enviada por Fernando IV de Castilla a Bizancio, fundamentalmente al servicio de los intereses particulares de Vataza y sus hermanas, es uno de los mejores ejemplos de ese ascendente y de los recursos de que llegan a disponer. Sin embargo, este episodio representa al mismo tiempo un canto del cisne de la influencia política de Vataza en la corte castellana. La muerte del rey, la casi inmediata merma de influencia de la reina viuda Constanza que no tardará en morir, y la pérdida por parte de Vataza de la custodia del nuevo rey niño, Alfonso XI, marcarán su alejamiento de los círculos de poder castellanos. Aunque tras la muerte de Fernando IV permanece aún algunos años en Castilla, su participación en el juego diplomático y político sería prácticamente nulo a juzgar por la ausencia de noticias, también en la rica documentación de la Corona de Aragón. De hecho, la información disponible nos la muestra empeñada en la gestión de su patrimonio, a menudo fuente de conflictos, y con relaciones no siempre fáciles con la corte castellana, lo que probablemente motivó su regreso a Portugal, donde se dedicaría a la administración de sus bienes hasta la auto-reclusión en un convento de clarisas junto a la reina Isabel de Aragón, sin que se le conozca tampoco actividad político-diplomática en esta segunda etapa portuguesa<sup>141</sup>. De hecho, la última iniciativa que se le conoce data de 1317, aunque parece tener que ver, más bien, con sus intereses particulares. Ese año Vataza envía a Ramon de Ventimiglia a la corte pontificia a tratar ciertos asuntos y el mensajero pasa por la Corona de Aragón, donde visita a Jaime II, que le concede salvoconducto<sup>142</sup>.

M. L. S. SANTOS, Um mosteiro na estratégia senhorial: Lervão no século XIV, en *Poder e Sociedade*, p. 293-302.

140. L. RUIZ DOMINGO, The Hohenstaufen Women, p. 252.

141. M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Os bens de Vataça, p. 57-59, 61-78. En cuanto a las vinculaciones de las Láscaris con las monjas clarisas, hay que recordar que ya en 1296 su madre Eulogia había fundado un monasterio de clarisas en Montblanc, J. BAUCELS I REIG, Eudòxia Làscaris, p. 31-46; C. PLAZA ARQUÉ, *El monestir i la Mare de Déu de la Serra de Montblanc. Entre història i llegenda*, Valls 2016.

142. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 214, f. 17<sup>v</sup>. El rey escribió acto seguido a Vataza haciéndole saber que había recibido sus cartas y que les iba a dar pronta respuesta que le haría llegar mediante los emisarios que tenía previsto enviar a los reyes de Portugal. Dichos embajadores acudirían a su encuentro allí donde se encontrase ella, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 243, f. 248<sup>v</sup>. ¿Estos intercambios de mensajes estarían en relación con los conflictos que

Aquel repliegue pone en evidencia la naturaleza de la posición de estas mujeres en la esfera política, basada, aún más que en el caso de los hombres, en la red de apoyos que hubieran sido capaces de tejer. Destaca la importancia del componente femenino de su red, el respaldo de la cual es clave en su acción y que incluye, entre otras, a las reinas de Portugal Beatriz e Isabel; de Castilla, Constanza; de Aragón, Constanza y Blanca; o las infantas Leonor de Castilla y María de Aragón<sup>143</sup>. La desarticulación de aquella red o su pérdida marcó el declive, si no el final, del papel político jugado hasta entonces. Además, su posición de dependencia respecto a sus patrones era clara. De hecho, unas palabras dirigidas por Jaime II al maestre de la orden de Calatrava en una carta del 28 de diciembre de 1314 son claro reflejo de ello. El dicho maestre deseaba hacerse con el control de Huelva y Pedraja, por entonces pertenecientes a Vataza, y Jaime le comunicaba que cuando las circunstancias fueran favorables –con la elección de un nuevo papa–, «esto, si Dios quiere, guisaremos nos, que bien creemos que dona Vetaça ende fara lo que nos queremos»<sup>144</sup>.

Más allá de la relevancia que el episodio de la mensajería fernandina tiene para la historia particular de las Láscaris Ventimiglia, resulta de gran interés obviamente también para la historia de la diplomacia en general y la castellana en particular. Nos permite calibrar el grado de influencia que las mujeres no miembros estrictos de una familia real podían tener en ella, un aspecto que ha despertado poco interés hasta ahora. También abre la puerta a profundizar en el conocimiento de los contactos diplomáticos con Bizancio, un aspecto poco estudiado por falta de datos. En este sentido, el episodio de la mandadería de 1312 resulta doblemente interesante porque pone de relieve que los intercambios diplomáticos no se limitarían a asuntos aparentemente de gran enjundia, sino que se extendieron a cuestiones mucho más particulares, como sucedió en otros casos, como la Corona de Aragón, Génova o Venecia, lo que nos da también la idea de una diplomacia más compleja. Futuras investigaciones deberán corroborar si el caso de 1312 fue una excepción relacionada con el personaje que la impulsó, Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia, dama con orígenes bizantinos, de importante ascendente en la

mantenía Vataza con la orden de Calatrava? A propósito de esta cuestión véase la n. 144. En cuanto al mensajero, Ramon de Ventimiglia, aparece como testimonio en algunos documentos de Vataza y en su testamento. Probablemente fuera un miembro de su casa, quizá un pariente, aunque no podemos afirmar que un primo carnal (¿Raimondo di Restagno?) tal y como han afirmado Miret i Sans o M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 173 n. 37; F. SAVIO, *I conti di Ventimiglia*, cit. n. 42, p. 455.

143. Remitimos a los análisis de M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, *Vataça: uma dona*, p. 170, 177-183, y L. RUIZ DOMINGO, *The Hohenstaufen Women*, p. 250, 252.

144. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 242, f. 57<sup>v</sup>.

corte, o si tuvo continuidad. A la luz de la creciente implicación castellana en el Mediterráneo oriental, especialmente de mercaderes y hombres de mar, en la centuria y media siguientes hacen sospechar que intervenciones en defensa de intereses más o menos particulares no fueron casos completamente aislados y aunque no comportasen la organización directa de mensajerías por parte de la corte real<sup>145</sup>.

APÉNDICE 1. A PROPÓSITO DE LA EXISTENCIA DE UN SEGUNDO MATRIMONIO Y  
DESCENDENCIA DE VATAZA LÁSCARIS VENTIMIGLIA

Hasta el día de hoy no se ha localizado ni identificado ninguna referencia documental coetánea o cercana a la vida de Vataza a propósito de un segundo matrimonio. Hay que esperar casi cuatrocientos años para documentar referencias precisas al respecto. En 1701 José Antonio Hebrera y Esmir afirma que:

DON PEDRO IORDAN DE VRRIES VI. Primogénito de Iordan Pérez de Vrries Tercero [...] Fue mas reparable su memoria por el Casamiento que hizo con la Excelentissima Señora D. Bataza Lascaro, Nieta de Juan Lascaro Emperador de Grecia. Florecia por los años de 1290. No consta del año en que murió. Huvo en Doña Batáza. Lascaro á [...] <sup>146</sup>.

Dicha información la recoge de forma casi idéntica una genealogía de la familia Urriés unos años posterior, de 1727, que incluye sendos retratos de los supuestos esposos<sup>147</sup> y, de hecho, a partir de la obra de Hebrera, la misma información se repite en prácticamente todos los autores posteriores<sup>148</sup>. Sin embargo, sabemos que en 1290 Vataza aún estaba casada, lo que invalidaría dicha afirmación. Hebrera cita como fuente *Ex Monum. Antiq. eiusdem Domus*, que podría referirse a documentación

145. Por ahora hemos podido documentar intervenciones reales en Génova en relación con acontecimientos orientales. Así, por un documento del 26 de agosto de 1435, sabemos que el 30 de mayo de ese año el rey había expedido en Madrid cartas dirigidas a las autoridades genovesas y que fueron presentadas por el bachiller Alfonso Sánchez sobre el ataque que había sufrido Ferrando de San Juan y su nave en los alrededores de la isla de la Sapienza a manos de Giovanni de Carmandino. Sánchez estaba encargado de negociar y obtener el resarcimiento del afectado, Génova, ASG, Archivio Segreto, Diversorum et Litterarum, 517, f. 41<sup>r</sup>. Con anterioridad, el 10 de agosto de 1434, el rey ya había escrito desde Segovia a los genoveses esta vez a favor de Alfonso de Moya, que fue el portador mismo de la misiva, y que había sido atacado en aguas del cabo de Malea, Génova, ASG, Archivio Segreto, Litterarum, 1780, f. 194<sup>rv</sup>.

146. J. A. de HEBRERA Y ESMIR (O.F.M.), *Historia sagrada en la vida admirable de S. Gaudioso, obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Tarazona*, Zaragoza 1701, p. 13.

147. *Armas y retratos con inclusiones, de los Ruizes de Castilla y Urriesses, ordenados, por don Joachin Joseph Ruiz de Castilla, y Urriés*, confeccionado en Huesca en 1727, Zaragoza, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón, L119, f. 12<sup>r</sup>.

148. Por ejemplo, J. JORDÁN DE URRIÉS, *Genealogía de la casa de Urriés, por el marqués de Velilla de Ebro*, Madrid 1922, o S. BOTO APARICIO, *Los Urriés, un noble linaje altoaragonés*, *Hidalguía* 315, 2006, p. 163-176.

procedente del archivo familiar, posiblemente el archivo de los marqueses de Ayerbe, título que detentaban por entonces los Urriés, aunque la noticia del supuesto matrimonio de Vataza y Pedro Jordán de Urriés parece más bien un eco discordante de Jerónimo Zurita que, en sus *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, publicados durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, afirma «Casó también doña Vataza, que estuvo [...] mucho tiempo en Portugal, aunque no he leído con quién: y vino a Castilla con la reina doña Costanza y tuvo una hija de su mismo nombre. Y doña Violante de Grecia su tía trató de casarla con Pedro Jordán hijo de don Gonzalo Ximénez señor de Arenós»<sup>149</sup>. El aragonés habla explícitamente de la existencia de una hija homónima, aunque no deja claro si su existencia es el resultado de la relación con el marido no identificado por él o si debiera inferirse una segunda relación. Parece claro que del matrimonio con Martim Anes de Soverosa no hubo descendencia, así que, de haber existido tal hija, debiera pensarse en la segunda posibilidad. ¿Sería esa hija la supuesta Vataza casada con Pedro Jordán de Urriés y no su madre? Según Zurita, su tía Violante trataría de casarla con Pedro Jordán de Arenós, aunque sabemos que éste, en realidad, esposaría en 1318 a Marquesa López de Rada, hija de Lope Díaz de Rada y Brunisenda de Narbona<sup>150</sup>. De hecho, es más que probable que en el relato de todos estos hechos Zurita ande desorientado a causa de las homonimias y se confunda con el matrimonio de María de Ayerbe, hija de Violante Láscaris o de Grecia, como la suelen nombrar los documentos, con Pedro Cornel<sup>151</sup>.

Prueba de que Zurita está en la base de muchos de los equívocos genealógicos en el caso de los Urriés –donde también impera una fuerte homonimia– y de una Vataza hija son diversas genealogías del siglo XVII relativas a las familias mencionadas en este embrollo. Así, una genealogía de los Urriés, datada probablemente de 1655 y que se organiza de forma similar a las posteriores de Hebrea y del manuscrito del siglo XVIII ya mencionadas, señala que Pedro Jordán III de Urriés se casó con Toda Pérez de Riglos hacia 1310, siendo hijo de Pedro Jordán II, muerto hacia 1280<sup>152</sup>. Esta genealogía difiere así de las posteriores al no contemplar la existencia de un Pedro Jordán hijo de aquel fallecido hacia 1280 y del casado hacia 1310, que precisamente sería el que en las genealogías ulteriores se casaría con Vataza. La misma información aparece en un árbol genealógico confeccionado por Luís de Salazar y Castro<sup>153</sup>. En cambio, otra genealogía también del siglo XVII, en este caso de los Láscaris y su sucesión en la rama de los condes de Tenda, señala en un primer momento que en Portugal Vataza casó con Martim Anes de Soverosa y que no tuvieron descendencia, citando como fuente la *Monarchia Lusitana* de Francisco Brandao, pero una corrección posterior, citando a Zurita, incorpora finalmente a una Vataza hija de aquel matrimonio y la hace casar con Pedro Jordán de Arenós (aunque Zurita solo habla del intento de matrimonio)<sup>154</sup>. Esta misma genealogía distingue en un primer momento entre Láscara madre (Eulogia) e hija, pero finalmente cancela la referencia a la hija, para hacer coincidir la información

149. JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*, p. 784.

150. Castelló de la Plana, Arxiu de la Diputació de Castelló, Secció Històrica, Manuscrit «Arenós», ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>.

151. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 170, f. 212<sup>v</sup>.

152. Madrid, RAH, 9/148, f. 120<sup>r</sup>.

153. Madrid, RAH, 9/301, f. 60<sup>r</sup>.

154. Madrid, RAH, 25, f. 32<sup>v</sup> (2<sup>a</sup> foliación).

con la proporcionada por el analista aragonés, que se decanta por identificarlas como la misma persona.

Si, con los datos disponibles, no parece posible que se hubiera producido un segundo matrimonio de Vataza, jamás mencionado en ninguno de sus testamentos –mientras sí menciona a Martim Anes de Soverosa– tampoco parece probable la existencia de una supuesta hija, que jamás aparece mencionada en los dos testamentos de la que debiera ser su madre ni en ningún otro documento contemporáneo<sup>155</sup>. Nuevamente, la referencia más antigua procede de Zurita quien, por otra parte, reconoce la dificultad de identificación a propósito de Eulogia y sus hijas y las limitaciones de la información que dispone sobre ellas<sup>156</sup>. En Portugal, y parece que también por influencia del aragonés, se atribuye tardíamente (1807) a Vataza una hija que se casará con Don Gonçalo da Fonseca y a la que se intitula señora de los morgados de S. Romão y Torreãdes. Teniendo en cuenta que el autor de dicha atribución, António Coelho Gasco, había leído a Zurita, a quien cita en diversas ocasiones a lo largo de su historia de Coimbra, es posible que sacase la historia de aquella hija del aragonés, justificada quizá en la existencia del antropónimo «Bataça/Betaça» en los siglos XIV y posteriores o, precisamente, para dar explicación a dicho nombre, aunque lo cierto es que la documentación original no permite hacer tal inferencia<sup>157</sup>. El autor menciona un documento de 1514, aunque sin ofrecer referencia concreta del mismo. Sin duda ha de tratarse de la carta de armas concedida a Diogo Vasques y que data de dicho año. Una consulta del documento permite constatar, sin embargo, que no se menciona que esta Vataza sea hija de Vataza Láscaris. El documento, que hace un repaso a la genealogía del interesado, simplemente señala que Diogo Vasques era hijo legítimo de Vasco da Fonseca y de Leonor, nieto de Diogo da Fonseca, bisnieto de Gonçalo da Fonseca y de D. «Betaça», heredera del morgado de S. Romão y Torredães; nieto de Leonor Pinta y bisnieto de Pero Vasques Pinto<sup>158</sup>. Recientemente, siguiendo argumentos similares a los de Gonçalo da Fonseca, el historiador António Rei también ha defendido la existencia de una hija homónima en Portugal, en base a la pervivencia del nombre Vataza (Betaça) en la antroponimia local y sobre la base de la mencionada carta de armas. Para este autor, la existencia de esta hija sería la razón por la cual regresaría a Portugal tras su segundo paso por Castilla<sup>159</sup>.

Documentación catalanoaragonesa habla de la existencia de una sobrina de Violante de Grecia que respondía al nombre de Vataza (*Vetasse*) muerta en 1318. Efectivamente, por una orden de pago dirigida el 16 de abril de 1319 por Jaime II

155. Menos aún de un hijo llamado Pedro Jordán de Urriés que recogen las genealogías de dicha familia.

156. La posibilidad que la presunta hija hubiera muerto antes que su madre, razón por la cual no aparecería mencionada en sus testamentos del 24 de enero de 1323 y del 21 de abril de 1336 se sostiene difícilmente con la información conocida y, en cualquier caso, invalidaría claramente ciertas identificaciones propuestas por los historiadores posteriores.

157. A. C. GASCO, *Conquista, antiguidade, e nobreza da mui insigne, e inclita cidade de Coimbra*, Lisboa 1807, p. 169.

158. Lisboa, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 11, f. 42<sup>r</sup>; A. B. FREIRE, *Armaria portuguesa*, Lisboa 1919, p. 201 (documento extractado y parcialmente editado).

159. A. REI, Uma Senhora Bizantina nas cortes de Aragão, Portugal e Leão e Castela: Dona Vataça Láscaris (c. 1270-1336). Em torno às suas origens e descendencia, *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Electrónica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo* 2.1, 2013, p. 166-168.



al escribano de ración de la casa de la infanta Leonor de Castilla, que ya llevaba unos años establecida en la Corona de Aragón para su educación –como prometida del primogénito Jaime estaba destinada a ser reina– sabemos que la dicha «noble» Vataza había fallecido y que su tía Violante había asumido los costes del sepelio, que debían serle reintegrados al tratarse la fallecida de un miembro de dicha casa<sup>160</sup>. Si la supuesta hija de Vataza Láscaris fuera la fallecida en 1318 y por ello no mencionada en los testamentos de su madre, no sería posible identificarla con la bisabuela de Diogo Vasques. De hecho, las primeras referencias que ha sido posible localizar referentes a una Vataza (Betaça) datan de 1357, por lo tanto, casi cincuenta años posteriores, y se refieren a Betaça Anes, subpriora del monasterio de Chelas de Lisboa, que acabará promocionando a priora (al menos ya en 1372). Era sobrina de Vasco Martins y Margarida Martins, residentes en Lisboa, que ha sido imposible relacionar con Vataza Láscaris<sup>161</sup>. En cuanto al antropónimo Betaça, su existencia y posterior expansión no tiene porqué ponerse en relación estricta con una transmisión familiar directa entre madres e hijas<sup>162</sup>. El apadrinamiento bautismal, cuestiones de prestigio o de alianza social, por ejemplo, también podían determinar la adopción de un nombre.

Aunque por ahora no se ha localizado otra documentación que permita aclarar la filiación de la difunta sobrina de Violante Láscaris, podemos especular en base a ciertos elementos. Si bien la asociación con la infanta Leonor podría hacer pensar que hubiera llegado con ella en 1313 y que, por lo tanto, se tratase de una hija de Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia, que se había encargado de la cría de la infanta hasta aquel momento, ya se ha comprobado que las propuestas que se habían hecho al respecto no eran consistentes<sup>163</sup>. Sin embargo, queda otra posibilidad aún, que se tratase de una hija de Láscara, la que había sido condesa de Pallars, que podría haber mantenido una relación con Bernat de Sarrià tras enviudar y estando él aún casado<sup>164</sup>. Sabemos que, presionada por Jaime II, Láscara acabó entrando en religión, en la orden santiaguista. ¿Podría haber sido un embarazo el motivo que provocó ese ingreso<sup>165</sup>? El hecho que la sobrina de Violante se llamase Vataza no

160. Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 281, f. 101<sup>v</sup>. Posiblemente su muerte deba ponerse en relación con un brote epidémico que parece haberse desatado en casa de la infanta en 1318, que habría afectado a muchos de sus miembros y que habría llevado al rey a tomar precauciones especiales para salvaguardar a la futura reina, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 245, f. 12<sup>r-v</sup>. Ya en 1315 Violante había tratado de colocar a una de sus hijas al servicio de la infanta castellana, a lo cual se opuso el rey Jaime II al no considerarlo adecuado, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 254, f. 149<sup>r</sup>; J. E. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón*, cit. n. 97, I, p. 38 n. 6.

161. Lisboa, ANTT, Cónegos Regulares de Santo Agostinho, Mosteiro de Chelas, maço 17, n.º 327; maço 36, n.º 709; maço 62, n.º 1224; maço 43, n.º 853; A. M. MARTINS, *Documentos portugueses do Noroeste e da região de Lisboa: da produção primitiva ao século XVI*, Lisboa 2001, p. 450 (doc. 174).

162. Hay que recordar que el antropónimo Vataza también está presente entre los descendientes de la rama Láscaris Ventimiglia del norte de la Península italiana, V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*, p. 122.

163. M. MACLAGAN (*A Byzantine Princess*, p. 291) había defendido esta filiación.

164. J. MIRET Y SANS, La princesa griega, p. 467-468.

165. El monasterio de Santa Maria de Jonqueres ya estaba vinculado por entonces a las monjas Comendadoras de Santiago. En esta orden solo ingresaban mujeres de origen noble. La comunidad estaba formada por mujeres que tenían una situación muy privilegiada respecto

significa necesariamente que se tratase de una hija de la nieta homónima de Teodoro II Láscaris<sup>166</sup>. Era costumbre nombrar a las hijas segundogénitas con onomásticos de la familia materna y, de hecho, cabe recordar que dos de las hijas de Láscara ya habían recibido los mismos nombres de sus tías, Violante y Beatriz, por lo que bien pudiera haber sido que una tercera hija hubiera recibido el nombre de Vataza.

## APÉNDICE 2. INVENTARIO DE JOYAS PERTENECIENTES A EULOGIA LÁSCARIS

Los inventarios de objetos asociados a miembros de las dinastías imperiales bizantinas no son abundantes. Por esta razón se ha incluido aquí este inventario de joyas que habían sido entregadas en prenda –véase la n. 91– y pertenecientes a Eulogia Láscaris.

1290, febrero, 22

Valencia, ACV, Pergamí 2928

Quandam sellam argenti cum trepis scarlate rubeo et cum freso infoderatam cum sendali rubeo et cum duobus strepis argenti. Item, quoddam picinellum de scarlata infoderatum cum freso et sendali rubeo et quandam petiam de samito vermello et quoddam coopertorium de samito infoderatum cum sendali rubeo. Item, quoddam frenum argenti cum morosso ferreo et capsanis sirici. Item, quasdam afiblallos argenti et cum botonis in quibus sunt quinquaginta et duo grosi ex perlas et quatuor minuti. Item, septem tacias argenti et duodecim parapsides argenti et quoddam supercupum argenti et quatuor discos argenti et duo pitxeria argenti de quibus unum est magnum et alterum parvum et sex petre preciose de qua sunt tres safilii et tres balays et sunt incastate in auro. Item, due brontxe auri cum duobus safiliis grosis et uno rubino et quatuor(r) balays et quadraginta perlas grossas.

## APÉNDICE DOCUMENTAL

### 1. Valencia, 19 de diciembre de 1313

*El rey Jaime II al veguer de Tarragona y el Camp de Tarragona. Por Juan Fernández, embajador enviado por el difunto Fernando IV de Castilla a Bizancio, ha sabido que aquel, estando de regreso y encontrándose en «una casa de los cristianos» en la Goleta de Túnez, con sus bienes y familiares, esperando embarcarse en la nave d'En Isarn para dirigirse a Cataluña, fue robado ese mismo año cuando un leño armado bajo el comando del difunto Llobregat de Tortosa, en Domènec, en Daroquí, Tomàs Conill y Ximèn Valero, atacó dicha casa. Le ordena que proceda inmediatamente y con celeridad contra aquellos y sus bienes.*

a los otros monasterios: podían tener esclavos, se mantenía la propiedad privada dentro del convento, comían carne de forma muy regular, mantenían un amplio grado de autonomía y libertad, e incluso se podían casar si eran pretendidas por alguien, M.-M. COSTA, *El món de les dames de Jonqueres*, Lleida 2005.

166. M. MACLAGAN, *A Byzantine Princess*, p. 291.

Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 152, f. 158<sup>r-v</sup>

Iacobus, etc.

Fidelibus nostris vicariis Terrachone et Campi, etc.

Ex conquestione Iohannis Ferdinandi percepimus quod cum ipse, anno presenti, redeundo de partibus Romanie ad quas missus fuerat per illustrem Ferdinandum, bone memorie regem Castelle, esset in quadam domo Christianorum que est in Goleta Tunicii intendendum se recolligere in quadam navi d'en Isarn que navigata erat ad partes Cathalonie, aliqui piraticam exercentes cum quodam ligno armato cuius erant maiorales en Lobregat de Dertusa, quondam, et en Domenech e en Darochi atque Thomasius Cuniyl necnon Eximenus Valero, cum quadam barcha armata de nocte invadentes dictam domum, raubarunt et secum per violenciam asportarunt vestes et alias res omnes quas ipse Iohannes Ferdinandi et alii de familia eius in dicta domo existentes habebant. Ibidem et alias plures contumelias et gravamina intulerunt eisdem. Et licet ipse Iohannes Ferdinandi fidem eisdem piratas faceret de legacione predicta sibi comissa attamen a predictis violenciis et illacionibus gravaminum desistere noluerunt. Cum autem predicta, si vera sunt, sive pernicioosa exempla nobisque prefatus Iohannes Ferdinandi supplicaverit sibi per nos de opportuno remedio provideri, ideo vobis dicimus et mandamus expresse quatenus visis presentibus contra illos de Terrachona et bona sua qui dicte invasioni et rapine interfuisse dicuntur procedatis summarie, breviter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii prout in tali casu et simili est fieri consuetum et de iure et ratione inveneritis faciendum, taliter in hiis nos habendo quod ante fatus Iohannes, qui extraneus est ius suum, breviter consequetur ad nosque iterato recurrere non cogatur.

Data Valentie, xiiii<sup>o</sup> kalendas ianuarii, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup> terciodecimo.

Guillelmus Augustini, ex petitione.

## 2. Valencia, 14 de febrero de 1314

*El rey Jaime II a todos los oficiales y súbditos del rey Alfonso de Castilla y a los suyos propios. Les solicita que no pongan ningún impedimento a Juan Ferrández de Sevilla, portador de la presente carta, que había sido enviado por el difunto rey Fernando al emperador bizantino y que ahora porta cartas de dicho emperador y suyas para el rey de Portugal y el infante Pedro y está de regreso a Castilla.*

Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 152, f. 245<sup>r</sup>

Iacobus, etc.

Dilectis suis universis et singulis officialibus et subditis illustris Alfonsi, regis Castelle, nec non fidelibus officialibus et subditis nostris ad quos presentes pervenerint. Salutem, etc.

Cum Iohannes Fferrandex de Sibilia, lator presencium, redeat in Castellam cum nunciacione in qua missus fuit per illustrissimum Fferdinandum, bone memorie regem Castelle, ad imperatorem Grecorum portet per secum cartas dicti imperatoris et nostras ad Regem Portugalie et inclitum infantem Petrum. Ideo vos, oficiales et subditos dicti Regis Castelle, rogamus et vobis, officialibus et subditis nostris, mandamus quatenus dictum Iohannem in Castellam reddeunte non impediatis nec impediri ab aliquibus permittatis. Immo ipsum ob omni turbacione et inquietudine deffendatis.

Datum Valentie, xvi<sup>o</sup> kalendas marcii, anno Domini Millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> Terciodecimo.

Petrus Martini, mandato regis.

### 3. Valencia, 15 de febrero de 1314

*El rey Jaime II al infante Pedro, tutor de Alfonso XI de Castilla. Le informa que Juan Ferrández de Sevilla compareció ante él y le demostró que había sido enviado en mensajería por el difunto rey Fernando al emperador bizantino. El emperador, sabida la muerte del rey envió respuesta por escrito y por palabra de la mensajería al nuevo rey Alfonso. Siendo él el tutor del monarca le pide que reciba y reconozca las cartas del emperador.*

Barcelona ACA, Cancillería, reg. 241, f. 120<sup>r</sup>

Al muy noble e muy honrado infante don Pedro, fiyo del muy noble rey don Sancho, tutor del rey don Alfonso, vuestro sobrino.

Don Jayme por la gracia de Dios, rey d'Aragón, etc.

Ffazemos vos saber que Johan Ferrandez de Sevilla vene ante nos et demostro nos en como ell fue enviado al emperador de Grecia en mandaderia por el muy noble don Ferrando, rey de Castiella, que Dios perdone, vuestro hermano. E que el emperador, sabida la muert del rey de Castiella, embia respuesta por carta e por palabra al dicho rey de Castiella, don Alfonso, de la dita mandaderia. E pues vos sedes tutor, reconocet las cartas del emperador e la mandaderia. E dassi podredes por aquella entender que se conocera a façer.

Dada en Valencia, xv dias andados del mes de ffebrero, en el anyo de nuestro Senyor de MCCC<sup>os</sup>XIII<sup>e</sup>.

Petrus Martini, mandato regio et fuit ei lecta.

### 4. Valencia, 15 de febrero de 1314

*El rey Jaime II a Vataza. Mediante Juan Ferrández de Sevilla ha sido informado de la situación en Romania, especialmente de su demanda y la de sus hermanas en el imperio. Él ha entendido la respuesta de la carta enviada por el emperador y las cosas que le ha contado el dicho Juan Ferrández y le hace saber que le place todo lo que vaya en su beneficio y honra.*

Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería, reg. 241, f. 120<sup>r-v</sup>

Don Jayme, etc.

A la muy noble e muy honrada dona Vetaça, cormana nuestra.

Salut como a aquella que amamos e de quien mucho fiamos.

Sepades que por Johan Ferrandez de Sevilla avemos entendido la manera e de los fechos de Romania en qual estado son, especialmente sobre la demanda que vos e vuestras hermanas havedes en el emperio de Grecia. E entendimos la respuesta de la carta que embia el emperador e la otras cosas que Johan Ferrandez nos dixo en esta razon. E sabet que nos plaze de todo bien e honrra que ayades. E toda via y daremos aquella dreça que podamos de bien en vuestros fechos.

Dada en Valencia, xv dies andados del mes de febrero, en el anyo de nuestro Senyor de MCCCXIII.

Idem ut supra.

## Abreviaturas

- ACA: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.  
 ACB: Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona.  
 ACV: Arxiu de la Catedral de València.  
 V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili*: V. ANGIUS, *Sulle famiglie nobili della monarchia di Savoia narrazioni fregiate de' rispettivi stemmi incisi da Giovanni Monneret ed accompagnate dalle vedute de' castelli feudali disegnati dal vero da Enrico Gonin*, IV, Turín 1837.  
 ANTT: Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.  
 ASG: Archivio di Stato di Genova.  
 J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, Eudòxia Làscaris: J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, Eudòxia Làscaris, princesa grega i fundadora del Monestir de Santa Maria de la Serra, en *Biografia de la fundadora i altres treballs històrics del Monestir de la Mare de Déu de la Serra de Montblanc*, Montblanc 1996, p. 13-53.  
 J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, La infanta griega: J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, La infanta griega Láscara y sus hijas Beatriz y Violante, aragonesas de elección, en *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. IV, *La ciudad de Zaragoza en la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza 1984, p. 63-80.  
 G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia*: G. CARO, *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo (1257-1311)*, I, Génova 1974.  
 M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Vataça: uma dona: M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Vataça: uma dona na vida e na morte, en *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, I, Oporto 1987, p. 159-193 [traducción italiana: Vatsa – una Domina nella vita e nella morte, *Intemelion* 14, 2008, p. 43-80].  
 M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Os bens de Vataça: M. H. C. COELHO y L. VENTURA, Os bens de Vataça. Visibilidade de uma existencia, *Revista de Historia das Ideias* 9, 1987, p. 33-77.  
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 JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona*: JERÓNIMO ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Á. CANELLAS LÓPEZ, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón, compuestos por Jerónimo Zurita*, II, Zaragoza 1970.  
 M. MACLAGAN, A Byzantine Princess: M. MACLAGAN, A Byzantine Princess in Portugal, en G. ROBERTSON y G. HENDERSON (ed.), *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, Edinburgo 1975, p. 284-293.  
 C. MARINESCO, Du nouveau: C. MARINESCO, Du nouveau sur Constance de Hohenstaufen, impératrice de Nicée, *Byz.* 1, 1924, p. 451-468.  
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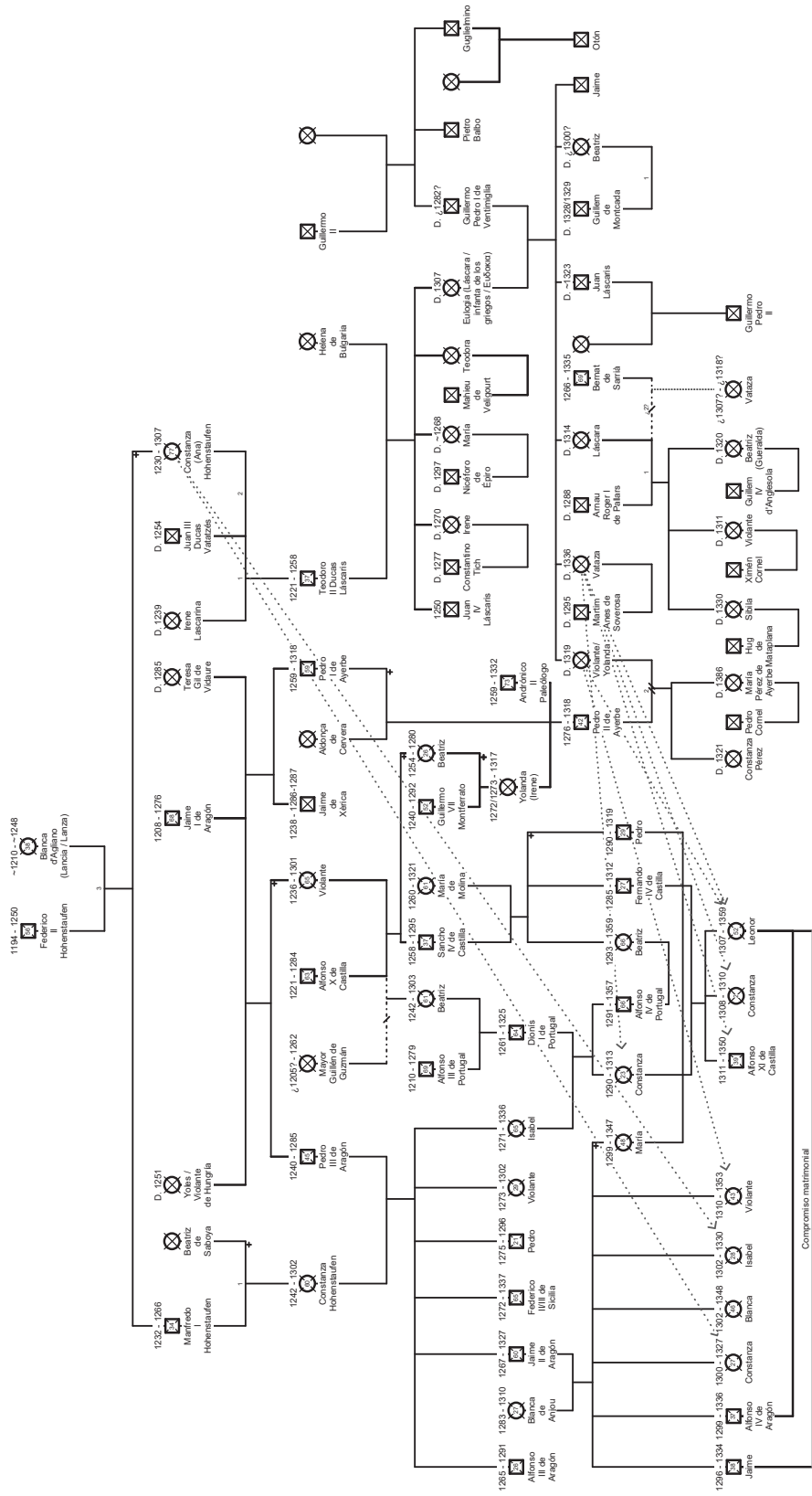
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maço 47.



- maço 48.
- maço 90.
- Lisboa, ANTT, Cónegos Regulares de Santo Agostinho, Mosteiro de Chelas
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Daniel DURAN DUELT  
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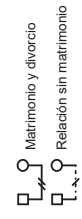
D. Defunción

**D.** Denunciaron

**+** Existen más descendientes de esa unión

1 Orden del matrimonio

.....> Relación de aya y educadora



Matrimonio y divorcio

Relación sin matrimonio

Relacion sin matrimonio

## SARMEKIA – EIN NEUES BYZANTINISCHES THEMA?

Werner SEIBT und Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT

Kürzlich gelang es, ein rätselhaftes Siegel für die Sammlung Wassiliou-Seibt (Nr. 506) zu erwerben.<sup>1</sup> Es weist mehrfach Beschädigungen, Ausbrüche und weitere Bruchstellen im Kanalbereich auf, ist aber teilweise doch sehr gut erhalten.<sup>2</sup> Auf den ersten Blick ist zu sehen, dass es sich um das Siegel eines – höchstwahrscheinlich fremdstämmigen – *spatharokandidatos* und *strategos* von Sarmekia handelt, aber viele weitere Fragen sind nicht eindeutig zu klären.



1. Aus Zeus Numismatics, Web-Auktion 17, 5.6.2021, Nr. 976. Gewicht 14,2 gr; Durchmesser 31 mm. Die Katalogangaben sind sehr bescheiden, das beginnt schon mit der Datierung: „7th-13th Centuries“. Über den Fundort geben Auktionshäuser leider keine Auskunft; inwiefern der Hinweis eines Gutachters, dass so manche Stücke der Zeus-Auktionen aus den Ostprovinzen des Byzantinischen Reiches stammen, auch für unser Siegel von Belang ist, können wir nicht beurteilen.

2. Es war in zwei Teile auseinandergebrochen, die aber vor längerer Zeit wieder zusammengefügt wurden.

Die *Revers-Legende* hat mindestens sechs Zeilen. Oberhalb der ersten erhaltenen Zeile ist Platz für ein Zierelement oder einige Buchstaben einer weiteren Zeile (es sind allerdings keinerlei Spuren erkennbar), und auch unterhalb der letzten Zeile wären eventuell wenige weitere Buchstaben oder ein Zierelement durchaus möglich.

[+] 'Αβ[ου]δίμ(ω) (?) [σ]παθ(α)ρ(ο)καν[δ(ι)δάτω] (καὶ) στρατ(η)[γ(ῶ)] τῆς  
Σαρμενικήας [τ](ῶ) Σβ[...].

Mit dem Beinamen (Familiennamen, Herkunftsname, Vatersname?), der sicher ungewöhnlich war, ist es noch problematischer. Wahrscheinlich beginnt er mit *Sigma* und offenem *Beta*, worauf vielleicht *Omega* (oder die Ligatur *Omikron-Ypsilon*) folgt; der letzte sichtbare Buchstabe scheint in der linken Hälfte abgerundet zu sein, was primär auf *Theta*, *Sigma* oder

4. Vgl. J. NESBITT und W. SEIBT, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, VIII, Washington, DC 2022, Nr. 4 (in Druck); A.-K. BASILEIU-SEIBT, Βυζαντινοί αξιωματούχοι, wie A. 3, S. 505-506.

*Epsilon* deutet; ob noch in einer weiteren Zeile einzelne Buchstaben folgen oder nur ein Zierelement den freien Raum füllte, muss offenbleiben. Das *PLP* kennt als Namen, die mit Σβ- beginnen, nur: Σβάδεος, Σβῆρος, Σβορόννον, Σβορόννου, Σβορῶν(ος) und Σβορῶνων;<sup>5</sup> keine dieser Formen kommt in Frage. In Dumbarton Oaks befindet sich das Siegel eines Ioannes, der wahrscheinlich Σβου[λ]ηνός hieß, aus der Zeit 1030/1060.<sup>6</sup>

Vielleicht könnten Namensformen, die mit Svo- oder Sv- beginnen, auf eine slavische oder skandinavische Herkunft deuten. In ersterem Fall käme eine Verbindung mit der Silbe *svoj* (*suus*) in Frage.<sup>7</sup> Aber es gibt auch überraschende Namens Kürzungen bei der Übertragung in eine byzantinische Form. Ein markantes Beispiel wäre etwa Vsevolod-Andreas Jaroslavič, ein jüngerer Sohn von Jaroslav Mudryj, der mit einer Verwandten des Kaisers Konstantin Monomachos verheiratet war; auf seinen Siegeln transkribierte er seinen slavischen Namen griechisch zunächst Seblados, verkürzte dann zu S(e)blados, bis er über Sblados letztlich bei Blados „landete“.<sup>8</sup> Auch im altgermanischen und skandinavischen Namenmaterial finden sich einige Beispiele, die mit SV- beginnen.<sup>9</sup> Am nächsten kommt obiger Buchstabenkombination noch der Name der Insel Svöldr (Svold) bei Rügen, wo 999 oder 1000 eine berühmte Seeschlacht der Wikinger stattfand. Eine davon abgeleitete Herkunftsbezeichnung wäre nicht unmöglich.

Unser Siegel stammt ungefähr aus der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts. Der erstaunlich niedrige Rangtitel lässt eine Datierung nach 1060 kaum zu, und andererseits spricht die Paläographie für eine Periode nach 1040.

5. *PLP*, Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, Wien 1996, S. 346.

6. Dumbarton Oaks, BZS.1958.106.900. Auf dem Avers eine Büste des Hl. Nikolaos; die Revers-Legende lautet: + ΚΕ Ρ,Θ, | ΤΩ CΩ ΔΘ, | .Ω TO CRΞ|.HNΩ,; darunter ein Zierelement zwischen Längsstrichen. Wenn auf den letzten Buchstaben der Legende (Ω) tatsächlich ein Kürzungsstrich folgt, war der Beiname sogar etwas länger. In der Siegel-Datenbank von Dumbarton Oaks wird das Stück allgemein auf 11. Jahrhundert datiert.

7. Vgl. F. MIKLOSICH, Die Bildung der slavischen Personennamen, *Denkschriften d. Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Classe* 10, Wien 1860, S. 215-330, hier S. 309; z. B. *zuoi, svojen, svojata, svojtin, svojslav*. Eine solche Interpretation stünde allerdings im Widerspruch zu der für den Vornamen angedachten Hypothese.

8. Vgl. W. SEIBT und O. ALF'OROV, *Byzantine Seals and Rus'ian Seals in the Byzantine Style Found on the Territory of Ukraine*, Kiev 2022, Part Two, I.2 (in Druck).

9. Zum altgermanischen Material vgl. H. REICHERT, *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen*. I, *Text* (Thesaurus palaeogermanicus 1), Wien 1987, S. 644-646. Diese Namen beginnen zumeist mit Svi-, kommen also für unseren Siegler nicht in Frage. Zum Siegel eines Σφένι (Sveini) *patrikios* und Dolmetscher der Engländer (δορμινευτής statt διερμηνευτής τῶν Ἑνγλίνων) aus dem letzten Viertel des 11. oder beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert, vgl. A. SHCHAVLEV, A Seal of Byzantine „Translator of the English“ Patrikios Sphen: Its Date and Socio-Cultural Context, in H. IVAKIN, N. KHRAPUNOV und W. SEIBT (Hrsg.), *Byzantine and Rus' Seals*, Kiev 2015, S. 193-200.

Die entscheidende Frage ist allerdings, wo dieses sonst unbekannte Sarmekia zu lokalisieren wäre. Einerseits kann es sich um das militärische Zentrum einer anderweitig überlieferten Strategie handeln, andererseits aber auch um eine neue, die im 11. Jahrhundert in den großen Dukaten des Ostens als zusätzliche Grenzsicherung eingerichtet wurde (und vielleicht auch nur kurz bestand). Es wäre denkbar, dass die erste Silbe mit armenischem „sar“ (Hügel, Berg) zu verbinden ist.

Im armenischen Lexikon der Toponyme Armeniens findet sich die relativ ähnliche Form Saramerik / Saramerk / Saramirik / Seremerik unweit der Stadt Dilman<sup>10</sup> / Sařamas / Salamast / Salmās, heute im NW-Iran, westlich der Nordküste des Urmia-Sees. Die Region gehörte zeitweise zu Vaspurakan (nach alter Einteilung war sie Teil von P'arskahayk' / Persarmenien) und dürfte im 11. Jahrhundert zumindest eine Zeit lang byzantinisch gewesen sein.

Das byzantinische Militärkommando (Katepanat) Vaspurakan / Βασπαρακάνια wurde in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1022 eingerichtet, nachdem die zuvor dort herrschende Arcrunierfamilie am Anfang dieses Jahres von Kaiser Basileios II. gezwungen worden war, auf ihre Herrschaftsansprüche zu verzichten.<sup>11</sup> Erster Katepano wurde Basileios Argyros (mit dem Rangtitel *patrikios*). Von Basileios Apokapes, der kurz nach der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts (mit dem Rangtitel *vestarches*) Katepano von Vaspurakan war, sind mehrere Siegel (mit einem Standbild des Hl. Basileios auf dem Avers) erhalten geblieben.<sup>12</sup> Es ist keineswegs sicher, dass die Region von Dilman von allem Anfang an zum Katepanat Vaspurakan gehörte – dieser wurde

10. T. X. HAKOBYAN, S. T. MELIK'-BAXŠYAN und H. X. BARSELYAN, *Hayastani ev harakic' šřjanneri telanerunneri bařaran* [Dictionary of toponymy of Armenia and adjacent territories], IV, Eriwan 1998, S. 515.

11. Cf. W. SEIBT, Die Eingliederung von Vaspurakan in das Byzantinische Reich (etwa Anfang 1019 bzw. Anfang 1022), *Handes Amsorya* 92, 1978, S. 49-66; W. FELIX, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 14), Wien 1981, S. 127, 137-141; teilweise etwas anders K. N. JUZBAŠJAN, *Армянские государства эпохи Багратидов и Византия IX–XI вв.*, Moskau 1988, S. 150-156. – So manche Byzanz-Historiker kamen zu Fehlinterpretationen, da Skylitzes teilweise Nachrichten, die sich auf Yovhannēs Senek'erim, den König von Vaspurakan, bezogen, mit anderen vermengte, die dessen Sohn, den präsumtiven Thronfolger Dawit' Senek'erim, zum Inhalt hatten.

12. Allein in Bulgarien erblickten vier Exemplare das Tageslicht: I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, III, Sofia 2009, Nr. 1130-1133. Ein gut erhaltenes Exemplar wurde in der Auktion Leu 7, 24.-25.10.2020, Nr. 1983 angeboten, ein anderes wanderte durch die Auktionen Lanz 147, 2.11.2009, Nr. 550, Gorny & Mosch 208, 16.-17.10.2012, Nr. 2599 und Roma Numismatics 9, 22.3.2015, Nr. 989. Ein Stück der ehemaligen Sammlung Zacos kam in der Auktion Spink 132, 25.5.1999, Nr. 116, unter den Hammer. Ein weiteres Exemplar wurde in der Auktion Münz Zentrum 72, 2.-4.12.1991, Nr. 2121, angeboten. Auf Grund kleiner Unterschiede sind mehrere Typen anzunehmen (so endet der Dativ des Familiennamens teilweise auf OI, teilweise auf H).



schrittweise an verschiedenen Orten etwas erweitert.<sup>13</sup> Andererseits ist anzunehmen, dass die byzantinische Herrschaft zumindest im Großteil von Vaspurakan bereits in den 1060er Jahren unterging; danach haben wir keine zuverlässigen byzantinischen Nachrichten mehr.

An militärischen Kommandanten, die dem Katepano (oder Dux) von Vaspurakan unterstanden, kennen wir mehrere jeweils auf Grund eines einzigen Siegels: Um die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts war ein Basileios mit dem Rangtitel *hypatos strategos* des Themas Gotoroz / Elabake.<sup>14</sup> Ferner war (wohl ein wenig davor) ein Georgios Theodorokanos *protospatharios* und *strategos* von Sion in Erebarkeion (Erivark‘, südwestlich des Van-Sees),<sup>15</sup> und ein Konstantinos Kurtikes war in den 1050er oder 1060er Jahren im Rang eines *protospatharios hypatos* nicht *strategos* sondern *taxiarchos* von Μωξηγάζ (Mokk‘ bzw. Mokac‘ aṣḡarh, südlich des Van-Sees, südlich von Řštunik‘).<sup>16</sup>

Eine andere – allerdings viel weniger wahrscheinliche – Möglichkeit wäre vielleicht die Identifizierung des Themas Sarmekia mit dem Thema Sasun / Sanasunk‘, das – obwohl bereits südlich des Tauros – wohl zum Militärdistrikt

13. So konnte bereits 1023 der Nachfolger des Basileios Argyros, der Katepano Nikephoros Komnenos, den Muslimen die Festung Arčēš (nordöstlich des Van-Sees) abnehmen, und 1034/1035 wurde auch Berkri (östlich des Nord-Ost-Endes des Van-Sees) byzantinisch (W. FELIX, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt*, wie A. 11, S. 140-141). Wie die dortigen Kommandanten eingestuft waren, wissen wir allerdings bislang nicht.

14. Es handelt sich um ein Siegel des Wiener Münzkabinetts (Nr. 694). Auf dem Avers eine Büste der Theotokos Blachernitissa; die Revers-Legende lautet: Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δο(ύ)λ(ω) Βασιλ(εί)ω ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῶ) Γωτωροῦζ (καὶ) Ἐλαβάκη(ς). Es handelt sich um die Festung Kotoroc‘ berd (nahe bei Her) und den Gau Albak im Osten von Vaspurakan. Dazu vgl. zuletzt A.-K. WASSILIOU und W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. II, Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 2.2), Wien 2004, S. 306. Nach unserer Interpretation wäre dann Sarmekia das östlich anschließende Nachbar-Thema.

15. Das Siegel gehörte jener ehem. Sammlung Zarnitz an, die sich heute in München befindet. Die auf beide Seiten des Siegels verteilte Legende lautet: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δο(ύ)λ(ω) [Γ]εωργί(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(α)ρί(ω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῶ) / Σηό[νι] τοῦ Ἐρεβαρχεῖου [τ(ω) Θε]οδωροκάν(ω). Cf. W. SEIBT, Byzantinische Siegel als Quelle für die historische Geographie, in K. BELKE, F. HILD, J. KODER und P. SOUSTAL (Hrsg.), *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, Wien 2000, S. 175-180, hier S. 179-180; W. SEIBT, The Theodorokanoi. Members of the Byzantine Military Aristocracy with an Armeno-Iberian Origin, *SBS* 13, 2019, S. 81-91, hier S. 83-84. Der Gau Erivark‘ lag östlich von Bitlis / Βαλαεῖςων / Balēš bzw. schloss westnordwestlich an Řštunik‘ an; cf. R. H. HEWSEN, *Armenia. A Historical Atlas*, Chicago-London 2001, S. 57.

16. Das Siegel gehörte ebenfalls der ehemaligen Sammlung Zarnitz an. Auf dem Avers Standbilder der Militärheiligen Demetrios und Theodoros, und die Revers-Legende ist zu lesen: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίν)ω (πρωτο)σπαθ[α]ρί(ω) ὑπάτ(ω) [(καὶ) τα]ξιάρχ(ω) [Μ]ωξηγάζ [τ]ῷ Κουρτίκ(η). Cf. W. SEIBT, Ταξιάρχος Μωξηγάζ – ein byzantinischer Kommandant in Mokk‘ um die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts, *Handes Amsorya* 107, 1993, S. 145-148, hier S. 145.

Taron gehörte. Dafür findet sich auch die Bezeichnung Sim-sar.<sup>17</sup> An Strategen von Sasun kennen wir etwa einen Βῆκεν ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος und einen Tornikios, der sich ca. 1073 mit Philaretos Brachamios (als *stratopedarches* des Ostens) bekriegte.<sup>18</sup>

Uns erschiene eine Lokalisierung von Sarmekia im Osten des Militärkommandos Vaspurakan durchaus akzeptabel. Dieses Gebiet wäre dann in den 1020er oder 1030er Jahren byzantinisch geworden und wohl bereits in den 1060er Jahren an die Seldschuken verloren gegangen.<sup>19</sup> Es musste im Rahmen der Grenzsicherung hier ein militärisches Zentrum errichtet werden, wohl eine Festung, nicht unbedingt in nächster Nähe der wichtigsten Stadt dieses Gebietes (Dilman). Dass diese Festung dann im Zuge der türkischen Landnahme zerstört wurde, ist naheliegend. Vielleicht wird ein weiteres Siegel oder eine andere Quelle zusätzliches Licht in diesen Fragenkomplex bringen, für den die byzantinischen Historiker bzw. Chronisten nur wenig Nachrichten bieten.

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17. Vgl. die TAVO-Karte B VII 16: R. H. HEWSEN, *Armenien und Georgien im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1988.

18. Cf. W. SEIBT, *The Byzantine Eastern Frontier in the 1070s*, SBS 14, 2022 (in Druck).

19. Man halte sich nur vor Augen, dass Sultan Alp Arslān 1064 sogar Ani, die alte Hauptstadt Großarmeniens, erobern und besetzen konnte.

# LA SIGILLOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE À L'ÉPREUVE DU NUMÉRIQUE : SIGIDOC 1.0

Alessio SOPRACASA

SigiDoc est un *standard*<sup>1</sup>, c'est-à-dire un ensemble de recommandations pour la description et la structuration des données, dont la finalité est, au moins dans un premier temps, d'éditer et de publier directement en format numérique le matériel ayant servi de base à son développement, à savoir les sceaux. Plus précisément, cet outil a été optimisé pour les sceaux byzantins par une équipe de spécialistes de sigillographie et d'histoire byzantines. Néanmoins, étant modifiable et réutilisable, SigiDoc peut non seulement servir aux différents besoins des byzantinistes, mais il peut également être adapté tant à la description d'autres types d'objets, comme les monnaies, qu'à une utilisation en dehors des études byzantines<sup>2</sup>.

La première version stable de SigiDoc (1.0) a été lancée en septembre 2021. Sa page d'accueil est hébergée par la plateforme Huma-Num<sup>3</sup> : on y trouve les liens vers les autres sites ou plateformes associés à SigiDoc, une page de présentation ainsi que des recommandations (*Guidelines*)<sup>4</sup> ; parmi les sites qu'on peut rejoindre à partir de cette page se trouve un petit corpus-test

1. Un *standard* peut être défini comme une manière acceptée, partagée, durable et reproductible de faire quelque chose, qui se matérialise par des lignes directrices et des recommandations, visant à obtenir cohérence, fiabilité, compatibilité et interopérabilité, *de jure* ou *de facto*. Un *standard de facto* est une pratique adoptée par un grand nombre d'intervenants, mais sans processus officiel, ce qui le distingue d'une norme.

2. La nature exacte de SigiDoc a longtemps été source de malentendus : très souvent, en effet, SigiDoc a été considéré comme une simple base de données dans laquelle insérer, à terme, tous les sceaux byzantins, selon des critères jamais véritablement établis, ce que SigiDoc n'a jamais été.

3. <http://sigidoc.huma-num.fr/>.

4. Pour l'instant, tout ce matériel est disponible seulement en langue anglaise, mais des traductions vers d'autres langues (à commencer par l'italien, l'allemand et le français) sont prévues.

d'éditions de sceaux réalisées avec cet outil, pour montrer les résultats qu'il est possible d'obtenir<sup>5</sup>.

Il va de soi que, de par sa nature, SigiDoc a essentiellement une vie numérique et, comme il est d'usage, le code source et l'ensemble du matériel produits au cours de son développement sont librement partagés de manière à garantir aux utilisateurs et aux personnes intéressées non seulement l'accès, mais aussi le droit de les réemployer, à condition bien sûr d'en citer l'origine, les auteurs, ainsi que les éventuelles modifications apportées<sup>6</sup>.

## I. – BREF ÉTAT DES LIEUX

L'importance de l'apport des sceaux à de multiples aspects de l'histoire byzantine est de plus en plus largement reconnue, mais en même temps le recours à la sigillographie demeure limité, le nombre de spécialistes est faible, les publications ne sont pas toujours bien visibles et les sceaux inédits conservés dans les musées et les bibliothèques ne sont pas faciles d'accès, sans compter le phénomène récent de la multiplication des ventes aux enchères, à la suite desquelles les sceaux disparaissent le plus souvent dans des collections privées. Cette situation finit par freiner l'utilisation des sceaux par les byzantinistes eux-mêmes, sans parler des spécialistes d'autres domaines.

À ce constat il faut en ajouter un autre : à la différence de disciplines comme l'épigraphie, la papyrologie ou la numismatique, et en dépit des points communs que leurs objets peuvent avoir avec les sceaux, la sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin a, jusqu'à maintenant, largement manqué le « virage numérique » qui, en revanche, a été amorcé par la sigillographie de l'Europe occidentale médiévale<sup>7</sup>. Toutefois, Byzance n'est pas totalement absente du paysage numérique, car le catalogue des sceaux de la collection de Dumbarton Oaks est en cours de réalisation sous la supervision de Jonathan Shea<sup>8</sup>.

5. <https://sigidoc.raketadesign.com/en/>.

6. SigiDoc s'engage à respecter les principes FAIR (Findability, Accessibility, Interoperability, and Reusability) pour un environnement de recherche durable. Pour plus d'informations à ce sujet, voir M. WILKINSON, M. DUMONTIER, I. AALBERSBERG, *et alii*, The FAIR Guiding Principles for scientific data management and stewardship, *Sci Data* 3.1, 2016 (DOI : 10.1038/sdata.2016.18) ; <https://allea.org/lets-be-fair-allea-presents-recommendations-for-sustainable-data-sharing-in-the-humanities/> ; <https://www.go-fair.org/>.

7. On citera à titre d'exemple le projet « Digisig » (<http://www.digisig.org/>), concernant notamment les sceaux de l'Angleterre médiévale conservés dans les archives du Royaume-Uni, ou « Sigilla » (<http://www.sigilla.org/>), un projet collaboratif portant sur les sceaux conservés dans les institutions publiques françaises.

8. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals>.

Et pourtant, depuis l'année 2006 au moins, dans le milieu des études byzantines, on évoque – et on invoque – une dimension numérique pour la sigillographie, sous le nom de « SigiDoc » (pour « sigillographic documentation »), nom directement inspiré par celui d'« EpiDoc », la solution devenue entre-temps largement reconnue et utilisée pour les éditions scientifiques en épigraphie et papyrologie documentaire, et qui devait servir de modèle pour la sigillographie. Des rencontres à ce sujet ont été organisées à Londres et à Washington en 2010 et 2011<sup>9</sup>, et la question a été régulièrement discutée lors des séances de sigillographie des congrès internationaux d'études byzantines. Le but visé pendant cette première phase avait été de parvenir à un large consensus entre les spécialistes : cette approche s'est toutefois révélée trop difficile à mettre en place, et les pourparlers n'ont finalement abouti à rien de concret.

C'est en 2015 que SigiDoc est entré dans une phase nouvelle, en adoptant une approche plus limitée en termes de nombre de participants et en s'assurant qu'une équipe, certes réduite, puisse prendre en charge le développement du projet avec la meilleure continuité possible. Martina Filosa (Université de Cologne, Département d'études byzantines et néo-helléniques) et moi-même avons assuré cette continuité, avec le soutien constant du Département d'études byzantines et néo-helléniques de Cologne, dirigé par Claudia Sode, et de Vivien Prigent, directeur de recherche au CNRS.

## II. – QU'EST-CE QUE SIGIDOC ?

Au sens propre, SigiDoc peut être défini comme « an XML-based and TEI-compliant encoding standard for producing digital editions of Byzantine seals »<sup>10</sup>.

Ce propos requiert des explications. Pour le traitement et la description des sceaux, SigiDoc utilise le système de balisage XML (« eXtensible Markup Language ») : il s'agit d'un langage qui définit un ensemble de règles pour

9. Les comptes rendus et le matériel issus de ces rencontres sont toujours disponibles dans un wiki (<http://sigidoc.wikidot.com/>) qui, n'ayant plus été mis à jour depuis 2011, est à considérer toutefois comme obsolète et nullement représentatif du développement ultérieur de SigiDoc. Son intérêt réside dans le témoignage « historique » qu'il offre des premières tentatives pour développer cet outil.

10. A. SOPRACASA, M. FILOSA et S. STOYANOVA, The Digital Enhancement of a Discipline. Byzantine Sigillography and Digital Humanities, *magazén* 1.1, 2020, p. 101-128, ici p. 104 (DOI : 10.30687/mag/2020/01/006). Le lecteur intéressé trouvera dans cet article une discussion plus approfondie des sujets abordés dans la présente contribution, ainsi que de certaines autres questions.

encoder des documents dans un format lisible par l'homme et par la machine, dont les caractéristiques sont la simplicité, la polyvalence et la facilité d'utilisation<sup>11</sup>. À la différence de l'HTML couramment utilisé pour construire des pages web, qui a été conçu pour afficher des données en mettant l'accent sur leur aspect et leur présentation indépendamment du type de données à afficher, le XML est en revanche structuré en fonction de la nature des données contenues dans un document, dont il permet un échange et un transfert faciles, et il n'est pas lié à un logiciel spécifique ou à une machine qui seraient indispensables à son utilisation, mais en est au contraire complètement indépendant<sup>12</sup>.

Le XML permet de réaliser sous forme numérique le travail d'analyse et de structuration des données que les spécialistes font déjà habituellement lorsqu'ils analysent un sceau : caractéristiques physiques (comme le poids ou le diamètre), histoire du sceau (par exemple provenance ou lieu de conservation), composantes de la légende ou description de l'iconographie sont parmi les éléments qui font l'objet de l'attention d'un sigillographe. Ce dernier, par le XML, communique à la machine la nature et la signification de ces informations. Voici un exemple très simple :

```
<persName>
  <name type="forename">Κωνσταντῖνος</name>
  <name type="surname">Ερωτικός</name>
</persName>
```

La « balise » (*tag* en anglais) est un marqueur sémantique auquel l'éditeur attribue un nom, écrit entre chevrons : les données qu'il veut marquer, c'est-à-dire dont il estime qu'elles ont de l'importance, sont placées entre une balise d'ouverture (<name>) et une balise de fermeture (</name>), et ces balises, avec l'information qu'elles comportent, sont appelées « élément ». Dans l'exemple précédent, <persName> indique que Constantin Êrôtikos est un nom de personne et rend ce nom disponible pour différents usages, notamment l'indexation et la recherche.

Le langage XML utilisé par SigiDoc permet la plus grande liberté dans la définition de ses règles de fonctionnement. Toutefois, l'une des finalités recherchées par les Humanités numériques est l'interopérabilité, c'est-à-dire, entre autres choses, la capacité qu'une ressource peut avoir de fonctionner et d'interagir avec d'autres ressources numériques de nature et de contenu plus

11. Par « encodage », il faut comprendre « la transcription d'informations textuelles classiques vers un format adapté à la lecture par des systèmes informatiques, par exemple selon un standard XML » : T. ELLIOTT, G. BODARD *et alii*, *EpiDoc Guidelines: Ancient documents in TEI XML (Version 9)*, 2007-2020 (<https://epidoc.stoa.org/gl/latest/app-glossary-fr.html>).

12. Pour un aperçu, voir [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extensible\\_Markup\\_Language](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extensible_Markup_Language).



ou moins proches. Ceci rend donc nécessaire l'adhésion à des règles communes, partagées et très répandues : pour cette raison SigiDoc a fait le choix de suivre le *standard* établi par la TEI (« Text Encoding Initiative ») pour la présentation de textes sous forme numérique<sup>13</sup>, dans l'une de ses déclinaisons les plus répandues, EpiDoc<sup>14</sup>, qui fournit un ensemble de recommandations pour l'édition scientifique du matériel épigraphique et papyrologique.

### III. – ÉDITER LES SCEAUX BYZANTINS AVEC SIGIDOC

On peut distinguer deux étapes principales dans une édition numérique de sceaux menée avec SigiDoc : d'abord, l'édition proprement dite, portant sur le sceau en tant qu'objet, sa légende et le commentaire qui en est proposé, le tout réuni dans un fichier XML écrit selon les règles de balisage établies par SigiDoc ; ensuite, la mise à disposition des données apportées par cette édition, notamment sous forme d'index et d'interface de recherche, en même temps que la transformation des fichiers XML en fichiers HTML, donc en pages web lisibles et compréhensibles par tous.

#### 1. *L'édition scientifique numérique*

L'ensemble des éléments (selon le sens précédemment expliqué) retenus pour accueillir et décrire les données nécessaires à l'édition d'un sceau sont réunis dans un fichier XML qui sert de modèle<sup>15</sup>, car il contient la structure définie par SigiDoc pour organiser les données concernant le sceau : la description physique, la datation, l'histoire, la description de l'avvers et du revers, l'iconographie, les transcriptions (diplomatique et interprétative) et la traduction de la légende, l'apparat critique, le commentaire, la bibliographie et les notes. De manière approximative, on pourrait considérer le modèle comme une fiche munie de champs à remplir puisque, comme son nom l'indique, il est toujours le même pour chacun des sceaux à éditer<sup>16</sup>.

13. <https://tei-c.org/>. La TEI est un consortium fondé il y a plusieurs décennies par des institutions académiques, des projets de recherche et des chercheurs du monde entier : ce *standard* est désormais la référence principalement dans les domaines des sciences humaines, des sciences sociales et de la linguistique. Pour une introduction à la TEI, voir L. BURNARD, *Qu'est-ce que la Text Encoding Initiative ?*, Marseille 2015 (DOI : 10.4000/books.oep.1237).

14. <https://sourceforge.net/p/epidoc/wiki/Home/>. SigiDoc 1.0 est ce qu'on appelle une *clean subset* d'EpiDoc, c'est-à-dire un *standard* pleinement compatible avec son illustre devancier.

15. Il est communément indiqué par le terme anglais *template*.

16. Les *Guidelines* de SigiDoc affichent le modèle avec les instructions nécessaires à son utilisation sous forme de fenêtres pop-up : [http://sigidoc.huma-num.fr/Guidelines\\_XML/template/template.html](http://sigidoc.huma-num.fr/Guidelines_XML/template/template.html). Bien qu'une liste la plus large possible de catégories ait été développée, il n'est pas prévu ni, parfois, possible, que toutes soient utilisées pour chacun des sceaux

Les données concernant un sceau peuvent être grossièrement divisées en deux catégories : celles qui décrivent le sceau sous différents angles et celles qui concernent ce qui est gravé sur ses deux faces, à savoir le texte et l'image<sup>17</sup>. Une édition SigiDoc prend en compte cette distinction, ce qui peut être résumé à l'aide de l'image suivante :

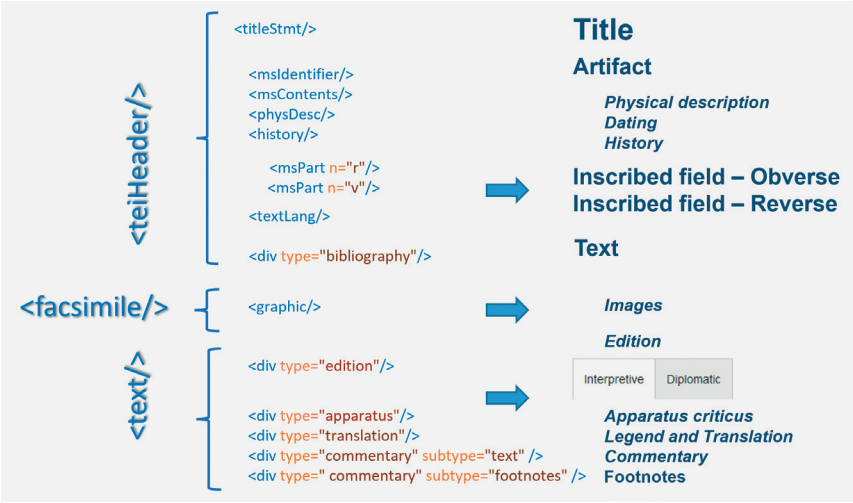


Fig. 1. De l'encodage XML à la page d'édition finale  
(cf. [http://sigidoc.huma-num.fr/General\\_presentation/SD2.html](http://sigidoc.huma-num.fr/General_presentation/SD2.html)).

Les principaux éléments XML sont présentés dans l'ordre selon lequel ils figurent dans le modèle de SigiDoc et sont mis en relation avec les champs correspondants tels qu'ils s'affichent sur une page web pour visualiser les données. Deux exemples suffiront à illustrer la démarche proposée, à commencer par la partie « descriptive » d'une édition SigiDoc.

L'image ci-dessous montre les toutes premières informations transmises par une édition SigiDoc et est suivie par l'extrait de code provenant du fichier XML qui constitue la source de ces données<sup>18</sup> :

édités : je pense tout naturellement aux circonstances de la découverte du sceau, presque toujours inconnues mais bien présentes dans le modèle de SigiDoc ; à cela s'ajoute la liberté laissée à un projet d'édition de sélectionner les éléments à retenir.

17. La description de l'iconographie des sceaux byzantins est un sujet de recherche à part entière et qui présente des difficultés supérieures même à celles que pose la légende. Actuellement, une édition SigiDoc consacre des champs à une présentation en texte simple des images, comme dans une édition traditionnelle. Toutefois, l'un des points fondamentaux d'un développement prochain de cet outil concerne justement la mise en place d'un système de description détaillée et normalisée, dont les bases ont été posées par Vivien Prigent.

18. À l'exception du code pour la contremarque et l'épigraphie de la légende.



Fig. 2. Haut d'une page d'édition de sceau avec SigiDoc ([https://sigidoc.raketadesign.com/fr/seals/TM\\_12.html](https://sigidoc.raketadesign.com/fr/seals/TM_12.html)).

```
<title>
  <seg xml:lang="en">Seal of Ioannes, protoproedros and doux of Antioch</seg>
  <seg xml:lang="fr">Sceau de Jean, protoproèdre et duc d'Antioche</seg>
</title>
...
<publicationStmt>
  <authority/>
  <idno type="filename">TM_12</idno>
  <idno type="SigiDocID">12</idno>
  <idno type="sequence">0012</idno>
  <date/>
  ...
</publicationStmt>
...
<objectDesc>
  <supportDesc>
    <support>
      <objectType>
        <term>
          <seg xml:lang="en">Seal</seg>
          <seg xml:lang="fr">Sceau</seg>
        </term>
        <interp type="workType" xml:lang="en">Original impression</interp>
        <interp type="workType" xml:lang="fr">Empreinte originale</interp>
      </objectType>
      <material>
        <seg xml:lang="en">Lead</seg>
        <seg xml:lang="fr">Plomb</seg>
      </material>
    </support>
  </supportDesc>
</objectDesc>
```

```

<dimensions type="support" unit="mm">
  <dim type="diameter">28</dim>
</dimensions>
<measure type="weight" unit="g"/>
<measure type="axis" unit="clock"/>
<measure type="overstrikeOrient" unit="clock"/>
<measure type="channelOrient" unit="clock"/>
</support>
<condition rend="wornEdge">
  <p>Etat de conservation correct</p>
</condition>
</supportDesc>
<layoutDesc>
  <layout n="whole">
    <rs type="layout">
      <seg xml:lang="en">Iconography and legend</seg>
      <seg xml:lang="fr">Iconographie et légende</seg>
    </rs>
    <rs type="execution">
      <seg xml:lang="en">Struck</seg>
      <seg xml:lang="fr">Frappé</seg>
    </rs>
    <rs type="shape">
      <seg xml:lang="en">Round</seg>
      <seg xml:lang="fr">Ronde</seg>
    </rs>
    <rs type="matrix" subtype="notSurviving">
      <idno type="SigiDoc">36</idno>
      <idno type="PBW"
        corresp="http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/515/">515</idno>
    </rs>
  </layout>
</layoutDesc>
</objectDesc>

```

Il suffit de parcourir ce code en le comparant avec la figure 2 pour reconnaître assez aisément dans quels champs ont été rangées les données qui y ont été recueillies. Il n'y a pas lieu ici de mener une discussion d'ensemble, mais je souhaiterais attirer l'attention sur l'un des apports les plus importants d'une édition de sceau réalisée avec SigiDoc, à savoir les identifiants. En effet, il est prioritaire de pouvoir se référer à un sceau<sup>19</sup> ou à un *boullotèrion*

19. Je ne vais pas entrer ici dans des considérations sur ce que l'on peut comprendre par « sceau » : sauf indication contraire, le terme est ici employé pour désigner l'objet formé à la fois par l'empreinte laissée par un *boullotèrion* sur un support (le petit disque de plomb) et par le support lui-même.

spécifique de manière univoque et sans possibilité de confusion : ces informations se trouvent en haut d'une page d'édition SigiDoc et sont présentes dans les deux éléments en gras de l'extrait de code précédent. Jusqu'à maintenant, les éditions de sceaux ne comportaient pas d'identifiant unique, tandis que le seul répertoire qui attribue un identifiant aux *boulloteria* est la « Prosopography of the Byzantine World »<sup>20</sup>, dont les éditions SigiDoc tiennent compte (comme le montre la fig. 2) et à laquelle elles renvoient.

Les identifiants vont devenir à terme des critères de recherche de première importance, et ceux qui seront attribués aux *boulloteria* permettront de regrouper tous les sceaux issus d'une même matrice, c'est-à-dire les parallèles.

L'encodage de la légende offre un autre bon exemple. Prenons le sceau de Roussel de Bailleul, très célèbre mercenaire normand passé au service de l'Empire byzantin au cours des années 1070, que son sceau présente en qualité de proèdre et stratopédarque<sup>21</sup> :



Fig. 3. Revers du sceau de Roussel de Bailleul proèdre et stratopédarque (1070/72-1078) : Collection Sopracasa, n° 7 ; SigiDoc ID 31.

La lecture de cette légende ne pose aucun problème et peut être aisément établie comme il suit :

+ Θ(εοτύ)κε βοήθει Οὐρσέλη προέδρω (καί) στρατοπεδάρχη.

20. <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/>.

21. Le sceau a été publié dans A. SOPRACASA et V. PRIGENT, Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa, dans B. CASEAU, V. PRIGENT et A. SOPRACASA (éd.), *Ὁ δῶρόν εἰμι τὰς γραφὰς βλέπων νόει: Mélanges Jean-Claude Cheynet (TM 21.1)*, Paris 2017, p. 691-758, ici p. 715-723.

L'analyse de la légende comporte ensuite la déconstruction de cette dernière pour faire ressortir nature et signification de chacune des parties qui la composent et qui sont ici écrites à l'aide de différentes couleurs. Cette étape cruciale du travail du sigillographe se traduit dans SigiDoc par un encodage XML visant justement à identifier ces différentes composantes :

```
<div type="edition" subtype="editorial" xml:space="preserve" xml:lang="grc">
  <div type="textpart" subtype="face" n="rev" rend="linear">
    <ab>
      <lb n="1"/>
      +
      <rs type="invocation" ref="invocation.xml#Θεοτόκε1" rend="linear">
        <expan><abbr>Θ</abbr><ex>εοτό</ex><abbr>κε</abbr></expan>
        βο
        <lb n="2" break="no"/>ήθει
      </rs>
      <persName type="attested" ref="prosopography.xml#Οὐρσέλιος_1">
        <name type="forename">
          Οὐρσέ
          <lb n="3" break="no"/>
          λη
        </name>
      </persName>
      <rs type="dignity" ref="dignities.xml#πρόεδρος">
        πρόεδρῳ
      </rs>
      <lb n="4"/>
      <expan><ex>καὶ</ex></expan>
      <rs type="officeMilitary" ref="officeMilitary.xml#στρατοπεδάρχης">
        στρατοπε
        <lb n="5" break="no"/>
        δάρχῃ
      </rs>
    </ab>
  </div>
</div>
```

Cette édition de la légende en SigiDoc XML (présentée ici sous une forme simplifiée) va apparaître à l'utilisateur final sous une forme plus lisible :

```
+ Θε(εοτό)κε βο-
  ήθει Οὐρσέ-
  λη πρόεδρῳ
  (καὶ) στρατοπε-
    δάρχῃ
```



Les couleurs<sup>22</sup> aident à suivre le chemin des données depuis le revers du sceau jusqu'à l'édition finale, en passant par l'encodage XML. Dans ce dernier, les noms attribués aux éléments XML sont très explicites quant à la nature des données qu'ils contiennent : par exemple, le dernier élément, en violet, porte la mention « officeMilitary », c'est-à-dire une fonction militaire (ici celle de stratopédarque).

Peut-être plus important et plus utile encore, cet encodage permet de rendre disponibles toutes ces composantes de la légende pour d'autres utilisations consistant à les organiser et à les mettre en valeur : c'est le rôle de l'étape suivante.

## 2. *Valorisation et visualisation*

Une fois que les fichiers XML contenant les éditions des sceaux sont prêts, ils doivent être placés à l'intérieur d'EFES (EpiDoc Front-End Services)<sup>23</sup>, au développement duquel SigiDoc a participé. EFES est une plateforme qu'on peut adapter et configurer, et qui permet de gérer et manipuler des données XML de manière simple : elle est à la portée de personnes sans expérience préalable de la programmation informatique, du développement de logiciels ou de la conception de sites web. Il s'agit de l'outil par lequel les données ayant fait l'objet de l'édition numérique sont valorisées, visualisées et mises à la disposition de l'utilisateur final sous la forme d'une page HTML.

Il est notamment possible grâce à cet outil d'obtenir immédiatement un brouillon de la future page web : pour des personnes non expertes, il peut être très frustrant de travailler sur des fichiers XML sans avoir une idée de la manière dont toutes ces informations apparaîtront dans un navigateur. En outre, EFES apporte trois autres fonctionnalités cruciales : les index, le formulaire de recherche et la bibliographie, qui sont générés automatiquement. Enfin, cet outil permet aux éditions d'être multilingues, ce qui les rend plus accessibles.

Bien que d'autres systèmes semblables existent, l'avantage d'EFES est qu'il a été conçu spécifiquement pour la publication en ligne de textes anciens encodés selon les critères d'EpiDoc, dont le *standard* SigiDoc découle : au cours du développement de ce dernier, EFES a été modifié pour mieux s'adapter aux exigences de la sigillographie byzantine. C'est donc

22. Ces couleurs ne font pas partie d'une édition SigiDoc et sont présentes ici seulement pour les besoins de la démonstration.

23. <https://github.com/EpiDoc/EFES/wiki>.

dans cette version modifiée pour SigiDoc – qui doit être téléchargée sur l'ordinateur de l'éditeur<sup>24</sup> –, que les fichiers XML vont être déposés : EFES se présente comme un ensemble de dossiers nombreux et fortement hiérarchisés, dont l'un est spécifiquement destiné à accueillir les fichiers XML des éditions des sceaux. La version d'EFES pour SigiDoc est donc prête à être utilisée en l'état, sans nécessairement exiger des modifications.

Le système d'indexation et de recherche d'EFES est basé sur des « fichiers d'autorité » (*authority files/lists*), c'est-à-dire des listes, elles aussi écrites en XML, qui recueillent et classent les anthroponymes, les toponymes et l'ensemble des termes présents sur un sceau qui font l'objet de l'encodage décrit précédemment. Les termes grecs ou latins y sont présents dans une morphologie normalisée. Dans ce cas aussi, à l'intérieur d'EFES, il existe un dossier spécifiquement conçu pour les accueillir : l'édition XML du sceau précédemment vu y fait alors référence, en pointant directement vers une liste bien précise et, à l'intérieur de celle-ci, vers un terme spécifique. Si, dans l'exemple donné plus haut de la légende du sceau de Roussel de Bailleul, on s'intéresse à sa dignité de proèdre (signalée plus haut en rouge) :

```
<rs type="dignity" ref="dignities.xml#πρόεδρος">
    πρόεδρος
</rs>
```

la référence est introduite par l'attribut « ref » qui pointe vers le fichier d'autorité nommé « dignities.xml », lequel contient la liste de toutes les dignités attestées dans les corpus de sceaux ; ensuite, à l'intérieur de ce fichier et de sa liste, la référence pointe vers le terme πρόεδρος. On remarque donc que, dans le même fichier XML recueillant l'édition des sceaux, il y a différentes « couches » d'encodage, chacune dotée de sa fonction propre, ce qui montre aussi l'imbrication entre SigiDoc et EFES<sup>25</sup>.

Cette démarche donne à l'éditeur un contrôle total pendant la construction de son corpus sigillographique. Les mises à jour à l'intérieur d'un corpus peuvent être introduites à tout moment, en fonction de l'avancement de la recherche et des connaissances<sup>26</sup> : SigiDoc offre en effet la possibilité de

24. Librement disponible à l'adresse suivante : [https://github.com/SigiDoc/SigiDoc\\_Latest](https://github.com/SigiDoc/SigiDoc_Latest).

25. Je précise néanmoins que les fichiers XML demeurent utilisables même en dehors d'EFES : si cette dernière plateforme ne devait plus être disponible ou mise à jour, les éditions des sceaux ne seraient pas pour autant perdues, et c'est bien là l'une des qualités du langage XML, à savoir la portabilité des données.

26. Un avantage ultérieur, et non des moindres, est qu'avec SigiDoc il est également plus facile de porter à l'attention des spécialistes les sceaux vendus aux enchères, dont il est possible d'offrir une édition scientifique dans des délais courts : l'enjeu est désormais de taille, car le nombre de pièces vendues en ligne a augmenté considérablement ces dernières années.

parvenir à de nouvelles éditions très rapidement<sup>27</sup>. Toutefois, dans un premier temps, le travail ainsi réalisé n'existe que localement, sur l'ordinateur de l'éditeur : pour publier ce « manuscrit » numérique sous forme de site web, il faut qu'il soit hébergé sur un serveur, ce qui peut impliquer l'intervention ponctuelle d'un informaticien.

Dans la copie d'EFES modifiée pour SigiDoc citée plus haut ont été insérés, à titre d'exemple, un certain nombre de fichiers XML contenant des éditions de sceaux<sup>28</sup>, à partir desquels le corpus-test mentionné en ouverture de cet article a été construit<sup>29</sup> et d'où la figure 2 a été tirée, figure qui montre donc le résultat obtenu à la suite du passage des fichiers XML vers la plateforme EFES<sup>30</sup>.

#### IV. – LA NAISSANCE D'UNE SIGILLOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE NUMÉRIQUE

SigiDoc ne pourra grandir qu'avec l'apport de la communauté sigillographique, la version 1.0 étant un point de départ et non un point d'arrivée. En effet, c'est bien sur cette base que se déroule actuellement un projet – dont l'acronyme est DigiByzSeal – qui a récemment été sélectionné pour être doté d'un financement dans le cadre de l'édition 2021 de l'appel à projets franco-allemands en sciences humaines FRAL, cofinancé par l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) et son homologue allemand, la Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

Ce projet, d'une durée de trois ans, se déroule conjointement en France et en Allemagne : la partie française, dont je suis le responsable scientifique, est hébergée à l'UMR 8167 du CNRS, Orient et Méditerranée (équipe

Toutefois, il faut reconnaître que le sujet n'est pas nouveau pour les sigillographes : la principale revue du secteur, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, consacre depuis ses débuts des appendices parfois très volumineux à répertorier les sceaux passés en vente ; actuellement, le problème est celui de la quantité et de la fréquence avec lesquelles les sceaux sont mis en vente, ce qui s'accorde mal avec le rythme de publication traditionnel de la revue.

27. Toutefois, un éditeur ne devra pas oublier de rendre compte de ces changements, de façon à ce qu'un lecteur puisse s'orienter entre les différentes versions qu'une édition sigillographique peut avoir eues.

28. À l'origine publiés dans A. SOPRACASA et V. PRIGENT, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa*, cité n. 21.

29. Voir n. 5. Ce corpus-test est temporairement hébergé sur les serveurs de la société « Studio Raketa » (<https://raketadesign.com/>) de Sofia (Bulgarie), qui avait auparavant travaillé avec l'Université de Sofia pour la mise en ligne de fichiers EpiDoc également publiés avec EFES.

30. Dans ce cas, toutefois, la page a été soumise à un certain degré de *restyling*, mais, dans son ensemble, elle ne diffère pas beaucoup du brouillon dont je parlais plus haut (voir p. 325) : la distribution du contenu sur la page est pratiquement la même.

Monde byzantin), tandis que la partie allemande est hébergée à l'Université de Cologne, auprès du Département d'études byzantines et néo-helléniques et au Cologne Center for eHumanities, et elle est dirigée par Claudia Sode et Claes Neufeind.

Le but ultime de ce projet consiste à créer les fondements d'un portail centralisé de la sigillographie byzantine, dont le cœur sera une interface de recherche unifiée pour tous les sceaux et collections de sceaux édités avec SigiDoc. Il ne s'agit nullement de concentrer tous les sceaux byzantins en un seul énorme corpus ; bien au contraire, l'utilisation de SigiDoc comme outil commun et partagé permet d'un côté la création totalement indépendante de plusieurs collections ou *corpora*, grands ou petits, d'un autre l'interopérabilité entre chacun d'entre eux, car toutes les éditions réalisées avec SigiDoc seront virtuellement unifiées par l'utilisation de cet outil, ce qui a pour conséquence que leur contenu pourra être consulté à travers l'interface de recherche commune annoncée.

Pour atteindre cet objectif, une masse critique de données est nécessaire : les deux équipes travaillent à l'édition scientifique numérique – attendue depuis fort longtemps – de la collection George Zacos de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de celle de l'Institut français d'études byzantines (IFEB), ainsi que de la collection privée Robert Feind à Cologne<sup>31</sup>. À ces fonds viennent s'ajouter les sceaux de la collection du Musée National de Carthage et la conversion numérique de trois collections éditées sur papier<sup>32</sup>.

Grâce à ce travail, SigiDoc en tant que *standard* d'encodage et d'édition continuera à être développé<sup>33</sup>, en même temps que son utilisation sera promue et mise à la portée des sigillographes. Former de nouveaux utilisateurs est crucial pour le développement et l'existence même de cet outil et de la sigillographie numérique : en effet, pour se familiariser avec SigiDoc et l'utiliser, une préparation spécifique est nécessaire, et le projet DigiByzSeal prévoit à cette fin plusieurs cycles de formation.

Au cours du projet, en sus des éditions elles-mêmes, un matériel abondant sera produit : ce sont notamment les fichiers d'autorité déjà évoqués, des ontologies et des taxonomies pour les personnes, les lieux, les dignités

31. Des partenariats ont d'ailleurs été signés avec les deux institutions françaises ainsi qu'avec le propriétaire de la collection allemande.

32. J.-C. CHEYNET, C. MORRISON et W. SEIBT, *Les sceaux de la collection H. Seyrig conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, Paris 1991 ; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 2001 ; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatlıs*, Izmir 2019.

33. Sans oublier que, parallèlement au développement de SigiDoc, aura lieu celui d'EFES.

et les fonctions, les lemmes et, d'une manière générale, l'ensemble des données retenues pour l'analyse des sceaux ; de cette manière, une information de première importance, souvent dispersée, sera réunie et sa réutilisation favorisée. La capacité de SigiDoc à mettre ces informations en relation avec des sources, taxonomies ou répertoires déjà existants sera développée afin de favoriser l'échange d'information : pour n'évoquer que certains des répertoires les plus spécialisés dans le domaine des études byzantines, on peut citer les prosopographies comme la *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*<sup>34</sup>, la *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*<sup>35</sup>, la *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*<sup>36</sup> et, pour la géographie historique, la *Digital Tabula Imperii Byzantini*<sup>37</sup>. Un autre exemple est celui de l'ensemble des termes présents dans une légende qui ne sont pas classés dans des catégories spécifiques : il s'agit de verbes, conjonctions, adjectifs qui sont mis en relation avec un vocabulaire externe, comme dans l'exemple suivant, absent de l'extrait de code donné plus haut, qui était présenté selon une version simplifiée<sup>38</sup> :

```
<w lemma="βοήθew" lemmaRef="http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/
morph?l=bohqe&la=greek">
  βοήθει
</w>
```

Le verbe conjugué βοήθει, faisant partie de l'invocation Θεοτόκε βοήθει placée au début de la légende du sceau de Roussel de Bailleul, est indexé par SigiDoc et EFES à la première personne du singulier du présent de l'indicatif, βοήθew, et mis en relation avec l'entrée correspondante dans le vocabulaire grec de la plateforme *Perseus*. L'utilisateur final a donc accès tant à une forme standardisée et normalisée qu'à la version originale, car toutes les occurrences du verbe seront réunies par SigiDoc sous la même entrée βοήθew<sup>39</sup>.

Le point commun de toutes les ressources mentionnées jusqu'ici tient au fait qu'elles sont en accès ouvert (*open access*) : les répertoires en accès fermé (ou payant) ne sont pas pris en compte. Nous voulons ainsi privilégier l'information ouverte et accessible, en plus de favoriser le partage des

34. <http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk/>.

35. <https://doi.org/10.1515/pmbz>.

36. <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/>.

37. <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?seite=digitib>.

38. Voir *supra*, p. 324.

39. Plus les termes d'une légende présentent des variations importantes par rapport à une forme retenue comme normalisée, plus cette possibilité offerte par SigiDoc est importante pour valoriser les implications philologiques de la sigillographie byzantine.

connaissances : mettre en relation des données émanant de différents projets vise donc non pas à enfermer, mais à capitaliser l'expérience accumulée et, en même temps, à apporter une contribution propre, en intégrant virtuellement les unes aux autres des informations de nature semblable (ce qui donne tout son sens à l'appellation de *linked open data*).

Enfin, un volet spécifique sera consacré à la qualité des photographies des sceaux qui font partie d'une édition SigiDoc : non seulement les collections Zacos, IFEB et Feind seront entièrement photographiées pour disposer d'images de très haute qualité, mais les sceaux endommagés et qui posent le plus de problèmes d'analyse seront soumis à la « Reflectance Transformation Imaging » (RTI), une technique photographique qui s'est révélée très utile pour améliorer la lisibilité<sup>40</sup>.

Ce projet sera complété par un autre (dont l'acronyme est DiBS, pour « Digital Byzantine Studies »), qui a été sélectionné pour une période de financement de six ans dans le cadre de l'appel à projets « World Knowledge – Structural Support for “Rare Subjects” » de la Fondation Volkswagen et qui débutera en octobre 2022 au Département d'études byzantines et néo-helléniques de l'Université de Cologne, avec le soutien du Cologne Center for eHumanities<sup>41</sup>. L'idée à l'origine de cette initiative est d'intégrer – grâce aux possibilités offertes par un environnement numérique – recherche et enseignement, à partir d'un groupe de quatre disciplines de première importance dans le domaine des études byzantines, à savoir la sigillographie, la numismatique, l'épigraphie et l'étude des manuscrits ; dans ce projet, la sigillographie et SigiDoc joueront un rôle de premier plan. La stratégie repose sur une refonte de l'enseignement au sein du Département d'études byzantines à travers la création d'une infrastructure d'apprentissage numérique qui sera largement appuyée sur l'impulsion donnée, dans le cadre de ce projet, à la recherche produite à partir d'un certain nombre de collections relatives aux quatre disciplines mentionnées (dont la collection de sceaux de Robert Feind).

## CONCLUSION

L'intégration de la sigillographie byzantine au domaine de la *digital scholarship* est une étape cruciale pour la continuité de la discipline et pour la

40. Sur ce sujet : M. T. CATALANO, M. FILOSA et C. SODE, *Byzantine Seals from the Robert Feind Collection in Cologne. Research and Publication in the Context of the Digital Humanities*, *REB* 79, 2021, p. 297-322, ici p. 298-304, avec la bibliographie citée.

41. <https://ifa.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/forschung/byzantinistik-und-neugriechische-philologie-forschung/drittmittel-projekte/dibs-digital-byzantine-studies>.

plus grande diffusion des connaissances qu'elle confère aux études byzantines. SigiDoc est non seulement un instrument de recherche et de diffusion, mais aussi de formation et d'enseignement : il faut bien reconnaître qu'il est beaucoup plus simple et rapide d'apprendre à utiliser SigiDoc que d'apprendre la sigillographie byzantine, si bien que seule la formation d'une nouvelle génération de sigillographes permettra cette continuité. Toutefois, en l'absence presque totale d'une formation stable, structurée et institutionnalisée dans cette discipline, SigiDoc a un rôle à jouer dans la transmission des savoirs et des compétences et peut aider à combler de manière substantielle ce vide, tout en exaltant le potentiel des petites bulles.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHIE

*Les ouvrages pour compte rendu doivent être envoyés anonymement à la Revue des Études Byzantines. L'envoi personnel à l'un des membres de la Rédaction n'engage en rien la Direction de l'Institut ou de la Revue. La Revue n'accepte pas de publier les recensions qui lui sont proposées sans avoir été sollicitées.*

*Les recensions sont rangées par ordre alphabétique à l'intérieur de deux séries. La première série comprend les comptes rendus plus détaillés. Dans la seconde série sont regroupés les comptes rendus brefs : ceux-ci se limitent à une description succincte du contenu de l'ouvrage et ils ne sont pas signés. Quant aux ouvrages qui ne se rapportent pas directement à l'Empire byzantin, ils figurent sur une liste des Ouvrages reçus.*

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Roland BETANCOURT, *Performing the Gospels in Byzantium. Sight, Sound, and Space in the Divine Liturgy*. – Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021. 25 × 18 ; relié. XXII-330 p. Prix : 99,99 £. ISBN 978-1-108-49139-6.

Annoncé par plusieurs études préparatoires dûment citées dans la bibliographie (p. 294-295), le présent ouvrage est le fruit de longues années de travail sur les modalités de l'interaction entre texte et image à Byzance. Se situant au croisement de l'histoire de l'art, de la littérature et de l'étude des manuscrits, Roland Betancourt a su renouveler un champ de recherche trop longtemps réduit aux mêmes approches, en s'intéressant aux processus cognitifs – perception, mémoire, imagination, etc. – liés à la production artistique à Byzance. Bien que ce livre soit le plus proche de sa thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Yale en 2014, il constitue le deuxième volume d'un projet plus vaste inauguré par l'ouvrage *Sight, Touch and Imagination in Byzantium* (Cambridge 2018). Dans ce dernier, Betancourt cherchait à poser les bases théoriques de l'imagination comme faculté cognitive et perceptuelle, afin de comprendre comment le spectateur, ou plutôt l'*usager* byzantin, pour adopter une optique plus inclusive, interprétait les jeux iconographiques et visuels. Cette étude transversale préparait le terrain au présent travail, qui vise à suivre l'évangile du

texte à l'image, de la récitation au rituel, du son à l'architecture. Par conséquent, l'enquête ne se limite pas à une simple étude des nombreux manuscrits mis à profit, dont on trouvera le relevé complet dans la liste des illustrations donnée en tête de l'ouvrage (p. VI-XVII).

Le volume s'articule autour de deux axes – le lectionnaire entre texte et image, la liturgie entre son et architecture –, eux-mêmes divisés en plusieurs sous-parties. Une très substantielle introduction brosse un tableau concis et précis du contenu du volume. Les programmes iconographiques des lectionnaires, dont la forme fut stabilisée à Constantinople au 10<sup>e</sup> siècle pour atteindre son acmé au 11<sup>e</sup> siècle, intéressent l'auteur non seulement dans leur matérialité, mais surtout dans une perspective fonctionnelle et conceptuelle. En puisant dans le concept d'*auralité* l'idée que le texte a été écrit pour être entendu, Betancourt cherche à comprendre comment la performance liturgique contribue à l'interprétation des illustrations et à la visualisation du récit, en transformant les auditeurs en spectateurs. Aussi s'intéresse-t-il tout particulièrement à l'environnement sonore de la liturgie byzantine, sujet qu'il explore dans la seconde partie de l'ouvrage.

La première partie s'ouvre sur une étude de l'*Homélie* 17 de Photius, pour insister sur l'importance de l'effet sonore des mots lors de la lecture du texte. Texte et image sont traités sur un pied d'égalité et l'accent est mis sur la fonction des initiales illustrées qui rompent le silence du lecteur. La *Vie de Pancrace de Taormine* (BHG 1410) offre aussi un témoignage précieux sur le rôle de l'expérience visuelle dans la transmission du message chrétien et pourrait être versée au dossier des textes cités par l'auteur. La contemplation (ὁρῶντα, ὁρῶντες) du programme iconographique exposé dans les églises fonctionne comme un catalyseur stimulant la mémoire (ὑπόμνησιν λαμβάνοντες) autour de l'incarnation du Christ et ravivant la foi (ἀναζωπυροῦνται, θερμότεραν τὴν πίστιν ἐνδύονται) des spectateurs (éd. Stallman-Pacitti, p. 82, ch. 25 ; sur cette édition, voir *REB* 77, 2019, p. 372-374). Dans un autre épisode de la *Vie*, Évagre, le compagnon du saint qui se donne pour l'auteur du récit, est en train de lire des passages des évangiles, alors que Pancrace se sert des planches illustrées pour montrer les scènes afférentes à l'assistance (éd. Stallman-Pacitti, p. 136, 138 ch. 60) : image et écriture sont ici logées à la même enseigne pour solliciter l'empathie du spectateur-auditeur.

Betancourt s'attarde sur le cas du lectionnaire Hagion Oros, Monè Dionysiou, 587 (Diktyon 20555) pour tâcher de décoder le jeu visuel qui s'instaure entre scribes, artistes, lecteurs et auditeurs. Initiales, *marginalia* et miniatures établissent une syntaxe visuelle, un jeu sémiotique opéré dans les interstices, où le système visuel repose sur une logique *aurale* du texte, liée à sa récitation. Ce système visuel des manuscrits interagit avec les « habitudes perceptuelles » de leurs *usagers*, spectateurs et auditeurs, qui participent mentalement à l'imaginaire représenté. Sont également traités des cas complexes où l'iconographie du manuscrit induit le lecteur en erreur ou prête à confusion. Lors de la performance liturgique, l'artiste se réserve le droit de déstabiliser les règles et de pousser l'iconographie à ses limites.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage traite du rôle et de la fonction de la lecture dans l'espace sacré de Sainte-Sophie à Constantinople. Sont mises à profit des sources comme le *Livre des cérémonies*, en particulier l'épisode de l'entrée du lectionnaire dans le *naos* (on renverra désormais à la nouvelle édition parue en 2020) et des *Typika*. Plusieurs textes, comme l'opuscule 37 de Michel Psellos (*Oratoria minora*, 37), sont utilisés pour illustrer la lecture comme expérience incarnée (*embodiment*),

qui découle d'une inspiration divine. Le texte de l'évangile s'empare du lecteur et sa représentation visuelle et sonore est intimement liée à l'architecture de l'église. Aussi l'auteur s'attarde-t-il sur les éléments architecturaux qui étaient visibles par le cortège entrant dans le *naos*. Il met en évidence des cas où l'espace sonore instauré au moment de la divine liturgie contrebalance des omissions du texte de l'évangile. Dans le cadre d'une « épistémologie perceptuelle », Betancourt est sensible à la dimension sensorielle des paroles et des images qui font de la liturgie mésobyzantine une expérience vécue, un événement inscrit dans le temps et l'espace. Il démontre, pour finir, à quel point plusieurs éléments iconographiques de Sainte-Sophie sont liés à l'imaginaire narratif des moments de la liturgie, dans un jeu sémiotique élaboré. L'art se met au service de la liturgie, en faisant dialoguer plusieurs éléments architecturaux de l'église en vue de la construction d'une image polyvalente qui se trouve en mouvement perpétuel. Les réseaux d'itinéraires iconographiques s'offrent à une série de représentations possibles à travers la contemplation des images et la lecture des textes. Le volume se clôt sur une bibliographie et un index général.

Voici un livre qui renouvelle notre regard sur les lectionnaires byzantins, en lien avec la liturgie et l'espace religieux. À travers une approche transversale qui témoigne d'une bonne maîtrise d'un large éventail de sources textuelles et iconographiques, Betancourt offre une belle page sur l'aspect performatif de la liturgie byzantine. Il est à souhaiter que le troisième volume de cette entreprise autour de la notion de temporalité, annoncé dans le prologue du présent ouvrage, soit bientôt accessible.

Anna LAMPADARIDI

Petros BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Innovation in Byzantine Medicine. The Writings of John Zacharias Aktouarios (c. 1275-c. 1330)* (Oxford Studies in Byzantium). – Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020. 24 × 16,5 ; relié. xviii-342 p. Prix : 90 £. ISBN 978-0-19-885068-7.

Depuis quelques années, des études s'attachent à déconstruire l'image d'une médecine byzantine archaïque et sclérosée, alliant recyclage des connaissances antiques et adoption de pratiques issues de la magie ou de la dévotion populaire. Le présent ouvrage constitue un élément capital de ce renversement de perspective, en se consacrant à l'étude approfondie d'un des médecins les plus éminents et pourtant les plus mal connus de l'histoire de la médecine, en dépit de l'abondance des sources le concernant. La figure de l'*aktouarios* Jean Zacharias attire, certes, depuis longtemps l'attention des spécialistes de la médecine byzantine ou de l'époque des Paléologues, et ce médecin a suscité plusieurs études ponctuelles ; mais, pour la première fois, un chercheur lui consacre une monographie qui prend en compte aussi bien le personnage que son œuvre, en se fondant sur les sources éditées (particulièrement épistolographiques) et sur les manuscrits de ses ouvrages. Ce travail permet de prendre enfin la mesure d'un médecin hors du commun.

L'ouvrage, issu d'une thèse soutenue au King's College de Londres, s'ouvre sur une longue Introduction (chapitre 1) dans laquelle l'auteur rappelle l'histoire de la

littérature médicale byzantine, expose le contexte de la vie de Zacharias et résume les études précédentes. Il récapitule ainsi ce qu'on peut connaître de ce médecin, membre important du cercle d'intellectuels autour d'Andronic II, et de son œuvre ; au passage, il fait le point sur ce que l'on sait de l'office d'*aktouarios* et de ses relations supposées avec les *xénon* de Constantinople. Vient ensuite une présentation sommaire des principaux ouvrages de Zacharias, à savoir un traité sur les urines, un *Épitomé* médical et une étude sur le *Pneuma psychique* (πνεῦμα ψυχικόν). Ces différents ouvrages sont connus principalement par des éditions partielles et anciennes, en particulier celle de K. W. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores* (1841-1842).

Viennent ensuite des chapitres consacrés à ces œuvres. Le traité sur les urines occupe les chapitres 2 et 3. Il est replacé dans l'histoire de l'uroscopie, une discipline qui a fait l'objet, depuis l'Antiquité, d'une quantité d'opuscules et de compilations s'inspirant en particulier de la médecine arabe. Le traité de Zacharias est le plus long et le plus détaillé connu sur le sujet : s'appuyant sur son expérience clinique, ce médecin livre une étude innovante sur une pratique populaire de diagnostic et de pronostic qui, encore à son époque, souffre de la concurrence des astrologues. Le chapitre 3 se penche sur les études de cas par lesquelles Zacharias appuie ses démonstrations, et qui offrent aux historiens un matériau considérable sur la relation entre médecin et malade ou entre médecins.

L'*Épitomé médical* est l'objet des chapitres 4 et 5. Ce manuel thérapeutique, dédié à Alexis Apokaukos pour lui servir lors de son séjour chez les Mongols, s'adresse en fait à tous les médecins amateurs (φιλιατροί), une catégorie dont l'auteur retrace la permanence dans l'histoire médicale. Après avoir, dans le chapitre 4, replacé le traité dans la suite des manuels thérapeutiques depuis l'Antiquité, en accordant une place importante aux *Éphodia*, cette traduction d'un manuel arabe très populaire auquel Zacharias emprunte beaucoup d'éléments, l'auteur en analyse les quatre premiers livres. Comme dans le traité sur les urines, Zacharias s'appuie principalement sur sa pratique médicale et présente des études de cas riches d'enseignements. Le chapitre 5 est consacré aux deux derniers livres qui portent sur la pharmacologie : l'auteur souligne l'esprit innovant de Zacharias qui importe toute une pharmacopée d'origine orientale nouvellement accessible du fait de la *Pax Mongolica*, et qui en particulier fait un sort aux remèdes sucrés (sirops) dans lesquels le sucre issu d'Orient remplace le miel. Une comparaison avec la *Pratica della mercatura* permet de mesurer la disponibilité des ingrédients et leur coût à l'époque de Zacharias.

Le chapitre 6 est consacré au traité sur le *Pneuma psychique*. Ce traité, écrit à la demande du moine-philosophe Joseph Rhakendytès, porte sur ce ψυχικόν πνεῦμα que Zacharias présente comme le premier véhicule de l'âme, selon une lecture qui combine Galien et le néoplatonisme : s'adressant à un moine, Zacharias souligne l'importance des aspects somatiques dans la conduite de la vie spirituelle. Il étudie les différents πνεύματα : il en compte quatre, ajoutant un *pneuma* anonyme, issu de l'estomac, aux trois πνεύματα classiques depuis Galien que sont le *pneuma* naturel (φυσικόν), le *pneuma* vital (ζωτικόν) et le *pneuma* psychique (ψυχικόν). Voyant dans la nourriture (et non dans la respiration, comme dans la vision traditionnelle) la source première de ces *pneumata*, Zacharias accorde une grande importance à la façon dont ils sont directement affectés par le régime, ce qui conforte la dimension thérapeutique du traité.

Dans la conclusion (chapitre 7), l'auteur récapitule le portrait de Zacharias tel qu'il se dégage de cette étude approfondie de son œuvre. Il s'agit d'un médecin exceptionnel, qui enrichit les connaissances issues de l'Antiquité par l'intégration heureuse d'innovations issues d'Orient et d'Occident et par le contact quotidien avec les malades ; son implication dans les débats scientifiques, l'importance qu'il accorde aux études de cas et son souci pédagogique en font une figure majeure de la médecine, ce qui explique l'importance de la tradition manuscrite de ses œuvres dans les siècles suivants.

L'ouvrage, illustré de nombreux tableaux explicatifs et récapitulatifs, est suivi de cinq appendices : un glossaire des termes médicaux ; un tableau comparatif entre la couleur des urines dans les traités de Théophile (Prôtospathaire) et de Zacharias ; une présentation des manuscrits où apparaît le diagramme de Zacharias sur le flacon d'urine (avec deux photos de folios manuscrits et deux autres issues des premières éditions) ; une transcription de deux passages de l'*Épitomé* sur le traitement des affections oculaire et du squirre ; une description des manuscrits et éditions latines de l'*Épitomé* ; une liste des titres de chapitre des livres 3 et 4 de l'*Épitomé*, ainsi que des recettes des livres 5 et 6. Suivent une abondante bibliographie (43 pages) et un *index rerum et nominum*, un *index locorum* et un *index codicum manu scriptorum*. De nombreux tableaux et listes, dans le courant de l'ouvrage, permettent à l'auteur de mieux rendre compte des innovations de Zacharias par rapport aux médecins qui le précèdent.

Cette étude approfondie, fondée sur les sources historiques, les éditions anciennes des traités de Zacharias et les manuscrits les comportant, fera date dans l'histoire de la médecine byzantine et fait espérer une prochaine édition critique de ces traités, qui les rendrait accessibles aux chercheurs.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Nicolas Cabasilas. Ézéchiél, prophète de l'Incarnation* (Les Pères dans la foi 109). – Éditions du Cerf-Éditions J.-P. Migne, Paris 2021. 16,5 × 13,5. 104 p. Prix : 15 €. ISBN 978-2-204-13841-3.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau a longtemps fréquenté l'œuvre de Nicolas Cabasilas (voir, par exemple, *Nicolas Cabasilas. La vie en Christ*, I-II [SC 355 et 361], Paris 1989 et 1990 ; *Correspondance de Nicolas Cabasilas* [Fragments], Paris 2010). Le présent ouvrage est le fruit de sa familiarité avec ce théologien byzantin laïc du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle et, plus particulièrement, de ses récentes recherches sur trois écrits de Cabasilas sur Ézéchiél (voir l'article de l'auteure dans la *REB* 76, 2018, p. 137-166). Contrairement au silence relatif des exégètes des premiers siècles autour du livre du prophète Ézéchiél, Nicolas Cabasilas choisit deux passages de ce livre pour ses rares incursions dans le domaine exégétique : il consacra deux opuscules au premier chapitre (la vision du prophète au bord du fleuve Chobar) et un opuscule au chapitre 37 (la vision des ossements desséchés). On y trouve les prémisses de sa vision théologique et de la mystique originale qu'il développa plus tard dans la *Vie en Christ*. Avec le présent volume, ces trois courts écrits d'exégèse inspirés du

livre d'Ézéchiel reçoivent leur première traduction en français, précédée d'une introduction et accompagnée d'une annotation.

L'introduction s'ouvre sur une courte biographie de Nicolas Cabasilas, né vers 1322 et mort dans les années 1390. Revenu dans la capitale à un moment troublé, marqué par la guerre civile déclenchée par la mort d'Andronic III Paléologue, Cabasilas entra d'abord au service de Jean VI Cantacuzène. Après la déposition de ce dernier, il continua à faire preuve de ses compétences juridiques et se lia d'amitié avec Dèmètrios Kydonès. Pourquoi Cabasilas a-t-il choisi les passages en question du livre d'Ézéchiel ? M.-H. Congourdeau est sensible à l'aspect iconologique de ses méditations et de son interprétation christologique et sotériologique. Cabasilas, qui témoigna d'une forte inclination pour la liturgie, eut accès au texte du livre d'Ézéchiel tel qu'il figure dans le *Prophétologion* : en effet, ses choix figurent comme des lectures pour des offices liturgiques de la Grande Semaine.

S'inscrivant dans la tradition d'Origène, Cabasilas procède à une lecture de l'Ancien Testament essentiellement typologique, alors que maints thèmes spirituels de son exégèse relèvent de la littérature mystique d'origine orientale. En adoptant une optique résolument christologique dans sa lecture vétérotestamentaire, il parvient à tracer son chemin personnel. L'expérience prophétique est conçue comme une expérience spirituelle, voire mystique, qui amène à une véritable extase. En effet, ces trois opuscules inspirés du livre d'Ézéchiel constituent une voie privilégiée pour appréhender l'évolution de la pensée de leur auteur. Le premier (*Sur la vision du prophète Ézéchiel*), rédigé dans les années 1350, est une œuvre de jeunesse, parfois maladroite, où Cabasilas se sert des outils intellectuels empruntés aux Latins par l'intermédiaire des traductions de Thomas d'Aquin par Dèmètrios Kydonès. Avec le deuxième opuscule (*Explication sur la vision du prophète Ézéchiel, dans laquelle au-dessus des quatre vivants se trouve une figure de trône et sur la figure de trône, une figure comme une forme d'homme*), Cabasilas revient à la façon de raisonner héritée des Pères grecs et opte pour une méthode plus structurée et classique (explication verset par verset), non sans s'appuyer sur une interprétation typologique. Avec son troisième écrit (*Explication sur la vision du prophète Ézéchiel, dans laquelle les ossements desséchés des hommes recouvrent leur forme primitive*), daté de la fin de sa vie, sa méthode s'épanouit et revêt une orientation christologique et une dimension mystique, typiques de la fin de Byzance.

La traduction française des trois écrits de Nicolas Cabasilas inspirés du livre d'Ézéchiel suit l'édition de B. Pseutogkas (*Νικολάου Καβάσιλα ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι τὸ πρῶτον νῦν ἐκδιδόμενοι*, Thessalonique 1976). Elle est précédée d'une traduction très littérale de la recension grecque du *Prophétologion* d'Ez 1, 1-28, qui fut la source des deux premiers opuscules, et d'Ez 37, 1-14, qui se trouva à l'origine du troisième. Cette disposition met en évidence les modalités de réécriture du modèle vétérotestamentaire, en termes d'intertextualité. Une annotation soignée éclaire maints points de la traduction française, en donnant des informations sur les sources ou les lieux parallèles, dans le but de replacer les trois opuscules dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Nicolas Cabasilas. Le volume se clôt sur un guide thématique qui regroupe, à titre indicatif, certains thèmes particulièrement chers à Nicolas Cabasilas qui imprègnent l'ensemble de sa pensée théologique. Les trois écrits sont parsemés de citations scripturaires que le lecteur découvrira aisément grâce à l'index biblique.

Le présent travail vient se joindre au riche dossier de publications de Marie-Hélène Congourdeau sur l'œuvre de Nicolas Cabasilas. Ces trois écrits inspirés du

livre d'Ézéchiël sont désormais accessibles au public francophone, en complétant le portrait de ce théologien majeur du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle et en donnant l'impulsion, espérons-le, à de nouvelles études autour de sa pensée.

Anna LAMPADARIDI

Jean GASCOU, *Églises et chapelles d'Alexandrie byzantine. Recherches de topographie cultuelle* (Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina 1). – Paris, Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance 2020. 26 × 17,5. 156 p. Prix : 40 €. ISBN 978-2-916716-69-5.

La nouvelle collection des *Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina*, dirigée par J.-L. Fournet, s'ouvre avec un très utile ouvrage de Jean Gascou, qui propose un répertoire raisonné des églises et *martyria* (présentés comme « chapelles » dans le titre imprimé) d'Alexandrie, depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin de la période byzantine. Ces édifices sont recensés à partir des textes qui les attestent, non à partir de leurs restes archéologiques – même si les sources archéologiques sont convoquées lorsque cela est possible. Le livre comporte une introduction courte, puis un répertoire alphabétique des *tituli*.

L'introduction présente de manière claire, efficace et brève la matière abordée dans le livre et les points plus problématiques. L'auteur rappelle d'abord la bipartition fondamentale entre *ἐκκλησίαι*, destinées à la synaxe, à la célébration publique du culte, qui portent des noms propres (Eirènè, etc.), des surnoms tirés de leur statut ou de leur quartier, ou encore de leurs fondateurs ou de particularités architecturales, et *μαρτύρια*, voués à des dévotions particulières, le plus souvent tombeaux des saints ou reliques, qui portent le nom de celui (ou ceux) à qui ils sont dédiés. L'espace géographique couvert comprend l'agglomération d'Alexandrie et sa périphérie immédiate, exclusion faite du Maréote, qui relève de la province de Libye. La liste inclut aussi des sanctuaires inventés ou à l'existence seulement probable. Les localisations sont étudiées mais, comme le rappelle l'auteur, elles ne sont au mieux que probables, et le plus souvent inconnues. La construction des églises remonte pour l'essentiel au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle, tandis que les *martyria* commencent à apparaître à la fin de ce siècle, pour se développer ensuite.

Les rubriques du catalogue sont de taille très variable (de quelques lignes à plusieurs pages), en fonction des sources disponibles, mais aussi des débats qu'a suscités tel ou tel édifice, pour son nom, sa date ou sa localisation. L'auteur utilise, cite et discute un grand nombre de sources, dans diverses langues (grec, copte, syriaque, arabe, en particulier), et recourt à un très large éventail d'études anciennes et récentes. Il discute avec beaucoup de finesse, d'acribie et de sens critique les sources anciennes, en dévoile les motivations diverses (conflits entre confessions chrétiennes, soucis de promotion d'un sanctuaire ou d'un culte, reconstructions ultérieures, etc.) et retrace les évolutions des discours sur les édifices, ainsi que leurs usages et leurs fonctions. L'argumentation, qui s'appuie également sur les nombreuses études antérieures de l'auteur lui-même sur ce sujet, est extrêmement ramassée, au point d'être parfois un peu sibylline ; le lecteur doit, de temps à autre, faire confiance au jugement de l'auteur pour affirmer qu'un texte est apocryphe, partisan ou plus tardif. J. Gascou reprend



aussi, dans ce contexte, l'analyse de plusieurs dossiers textuels, en particulier celui du *Martyre du saint apôtre et évangéliste Marc d'Alexandrie (Acta Marci)*, dont il dégage trois couches rédactionnelles, correspondant à trois moments du culte de Marc, et à des sanctuaires différents aux deux extrémités de la ville.

L'ouvrage comporte trois cartes et plans, ainsi que des illustrations qui proviennent pour l'essentiel de fresques ou d'icônes d'époque moderne.

Dans sa sécheresse relative, ce répertoire sera extrêmement utile tant aux spécialistes des textes chrétiens traitant d'Alexandrie qu'aux historiens de l'Église ancienne. Dans le panorama volontairement fragmenté qu'il propose, il donne en effet à voir la variété des situations dans l'une des villes de l'Empire les plus richement pourvues en édifices religieux – on notera que les monastères sont volontairement laissés de côté. La situation est certes bien différente du tableau que pouvait dresser naguère Raymond Janin pour Constantinople, dans la mesure, en particulier, où l'histoire de ces édifices s'arrête avant la période médiévale et où les traces archéologiques qui pourraient les documenter sont rares, voire inexistantes. En l'état, cependant, le remarquable petit livre de J. Gascoü constitue non seulement une somme d'érudition, mais propose aussi une matière pour réfléchir sur les édifices chrétiens antiques, les motifs et les circonstances de leur construction. Il éclaire surtout les constructions historiographiques et religieuses dans lesquelles ces édifices sont ensuite et inséparablement pris.

Matthieu CASSIN

Christina HADJIAFSENTI, *Die Heiligenenkomien des Nikolaos Kabasilas. Einleitung und kritische Edition* (Byzantinisches Archiv 40). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 24,5 × 17,5 ; relié. x-272 p. Prix : 99,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-071148-6.

Ce livre est bienvenu. Non seulement il nous offre une édition critique d'œuvres jusqu'ici trop négligées, mais l'auteur fait aussi précéder son édition par une analyse de la tradition manuscrite qui nous ouvre des perspectives (déjà esquissées auparavant, mais analysées ici avec attention) sur le contexte d'élaboration des premiers témoins, contemporains de leur auteur. Les textes édités consistent en sept opuscules hagiographiques de Nicolas Cabasilas, consacrés à saint Dèmètrios (trois éloges, dont le troisième est un poème sur ses miracles), les trois hiérarques, saint André le néo-martyr, saint Nicolas et sainte Théodora de Thessalonique. Ces éloges, rédigés pour la plupart dans un contexte liturgique, n'étaient accessibles jusqu'à présent que dans des éditions anciennes et non critiques, fondées sur quelques manuscrits qui n'étaient pas toujours les meilleurs, et dépourvues d'appareils scientifiques. Signalons, dans la liste de ces éditions anciennes, une inexactitude : p. 4, l'auteur évoque comme seule édition récente celle de l'éloge de saint Nicolas et des miracles de saint Dèmètrios par B. Pseutogkas en 2006 ; il s'agit en fait d'une réédition de textes parus en 1976. Une édition critique fondée sur une analyse de la tradition manuscrite était donc plus que nécessaire.

L'édition des textes est précédée d'un long chapitre de *Prolegomena*. La première partie, consacrée à la vie et aux œuvres de Nicolas Cabasilas, présente quelques

faiblesses, dues au fait que l'auteur reprend des affirmations anciennes que la recherche récente a mises à mal : par exemple, le rôle de Cabasilas dans la crise zélote (son ralliement à la cause de Cantacuzène ne fut ni si rapide ni si évident qu'on a pu l'écrire), le fait qu'il ait accompagné Grégoire Palamas à l'Athos (conjecture non fondée sur des sources précises et qui demeure hypothétique, la seule certitude en la matière étant leur présence conjointe au procès du *prôtos* Niphon en 1347), la présentation de Nicolas Cabasilas comme candidat potentiel à la succession du patriarche Kallistos en 1353 (il est plus probable qu'il s'agissait de son oncle Nil), ou la résidence de Cabasilas au monastère des Manganes dans les années 1380 (cette localisation est issue d'un contresens sur une plaisanterie de Manuel II dans sa lettre de 1387 à Nicolas Cabasilas, où le futur empereur évoque une machine construite entre la tour des Manganes et celle de l'Arkla, pour intercepter le vent et l'empêcher de rafraîchir Lesbos : voir *Correspondance de Nicolas Cabasilas*, trad. M.-H. Congourdeau, Paris 2010, p. 148 [REB 70, 2012, p. 273-275]). De même, dans la présentation des œuvres de Nicolas Cabasilas, l'auteur, p. 15, range parmi ces œuvres un opuscule *Ὅτι ἀδύνατον* qui en fait est un paragraphe isolé de la *Vie en Christ* (II, 78 [SC 255], p. 204) ; l'opuscule contre les inepties de Grégoire, rangé parmi les œuvres théologiques, est en fait un pamphlet qui ne contient pas une once de théologie ; enfin, la monodie sur Andronic II n'est effectivement pas de Nicolas Cabasilas, mais ce n'est pas à lui qu'elle est attribuée, mais à Théodore Cabasilas.

Ces chapitres de présentation, dont les erreurs proviennent de ce que l'auteur reprend avec trop de confiance des études précédentes, ne représentent pas l'essentiel du livre. C'est la suite qui est intéressante. La troisième partie des *Prolegomena* s'attache à la tradition manuscrite des œuvres éditées dans cet ouvrage : liste et description des manuscrits, relations entre ces manuscrits, établissement de stemmas (p. 67, 72, 73). Signalons au passage que la lecture serait facilitée s'il existait une table des sigles désignant les manuscrits ; la seule table des sigles présente dans ce livre est à chercher p. 148, en tête de l'édition, et ne concerne que les manuscrits présents dans l'apparat critique, alors que l'histoire du texte s'appuie sur bien d'autres manuscrits : pour ceux-ci, s'il n'a pas pris la précaution de se constituer une telle table, le lecteur doit à chaque fois revenir à la description des manuscrits pour comprendre à quel manuscrit correspond tel sigle.

Un des grands intérêts de ce travail est la place donnée à l'étude du ms. Vaticano, BAV, Pal. gr. 211 (Diktyon 65943), autographe de Cabasilas (manuscrit désigné sous le nom d'*Autographon*, d'où le sigle A), qui malheureusement ne comporte, parmi les œuvres de Cabasilas, que l'éloge de Théodora de Thessalonique, le poème sur les miracles de Dèmètrios et quelques épigrammes. L'auteur met les corrections autographes de ce manuscrit (déjà repérées par S. Kotzabassi, *Ein neues Autographon des Nikolaos Kabasilas: der Codex Vatic. Palat. Gr. 211, JÖB 53, 2003*, p. 187-194) en relation avec les autres manuscrits qui dépendent de lui, ce qui lui permet de distinguer trois étapes de correction par Nicolas Cabasilas, puisque certaines corrections sont reprises par certaines copies et omises par d'autres. À partir de là, elle élabore des hypothèses sur la rédaction, la correction et la copie de ces deux opuscules, hypothèses stimulantes même si certaines conjectures ne sont pas totalement convaincantes (signalons par exemple que la datation de la mort de Nicolas Cabasilas en 1391 est rien moins que sûre, puisqu'on trouve des corrections de sa main sur le Paris, BnF, gr. 1276 [Diktyon 50885] qu'un filigrane situe dans les

années 1390). Par ailleurs, l'étude d'un groupe de manuscrits copiés dans la première moitié du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle (*Vat. gr.* 632 [Diktyon 67263] ; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 506 [coll. 768 ; Diktyon 69977] ; Paris, BnF, grec 1213 [Diktyon 50818] ; München, BSB, Cod.graec. 624 [Diktyon 45074]) apporte des éléments intéressants sur la postérité de ces éloges et sur l'intérêt porté à Nicolas Cabasilas par des intellectuels qui jouèrent ensuite un rôle au concile de Florence (Bessarion, Scholarios, Marc Eugénikos, par exemple). Après l'esquisse d'une étude de la langue et du style de Nicolas Cabasilas (qui n'était pas possible tant que les éditions disponibles ne donnaient pas le texte exact, et qui serait à poursuivre en tenant compte de l'ensemble des œuvres de cet auteur), les *Prolegomena* se cloisent sur une bibliographie de la littérature secondaire.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage consiste dans l'édition critique des éloges, chaque texte étant précédé d'une analyse. L'édition se base sur le *Vat. Pal. gr.* 211 (l'*Autographon* de l'éloge de Théodora et des miracles de Dèmétrios), le *Météora*, Monè Barlaam, 202 (Diktyon 41097), le *Vat. gr.* 632, le *Marc. gr.* Z. 506, le *Paris. gr.* 1213, le *Monac. gr.* 624 et le Paris, BnF, grec 1248 (Diktyon 50856). Le bas des pages comporte un appareil critique et un appareil des sources scripturaires et littéraires. Vingt-deux planches de manuscrits permettent en particulier de voir quelques exemples des corrections portées sur l'*Autographon* et sur sa copie principale (Barlaam 202). Des index des noms de personnes et de lieux et un index grec complètent l'ouvrage. Étant donné l'intérêt de l'étude de la tradition manuscrite, un index des manuscrits eût été bienvenu.

Les quelques critiques émises ici, qui ne touchent pas le fond de l'entreprise (l'édition critique des éloges de Nicolas Cabasilas), ne sauraient amoindrir l'intérêt de cet ouvrage, en raison tant de l'analyse des manuscrits et de leurs relations que de la mise à la disposition des chercheurs d'un texte fiable pour ces petits ouvrages où se révèlent des aspects fondamentaux de la pensée, de la langue et de la personnalité de Nicolas Cabasilas.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU

Christiaan KAPPES, *The Epiclesis Debate at the Council of Florence*. – University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN 2019. 23,5 × 16 ; relié. xxii-394 p. Prix : 65 \$. ISBN 978-0-268-10637-9.

Le titre de ce livre ne rend que partiellement compte de l'ampleur de l'étude. Le point de départ de cette enquête approfondie porte bien sur l'un des différends théologiques qui opposent les Églises romaine et byzantine, celui discuté à la fin du concile de Florence, en juin 1439, lié à l'épiclesse : les deux parties s'accordent sur une doctrine commune postulant une véritable transmutation des espèces pendant la célébration de l'eucharistie, mais elles divergent sur le moment précis où se produit la transsubstantiation et sur la nécessité ou non, pour qu'elle se réalise, d'une prière consécatoire, l'épiclesse. Selon les Latins, les paroles de l'institution, qui reprennent celles de Jésus au repas de la Cène, suffisent à réaliser la transsubstantiation. Pour les Byzantins en revanche, la transmutation se fait durant toute la prière eucharistique, non seulement par la récitation des paroles de l'institution, mais aussi par

l'épiclese, ou invocation du Saint-Esprit par le prêtre pour qu'il change les espèces en corps et sang du Christ, et enfin par le signe de croix que le célébrant trace sur les espèces consacrées. Partant de cette controverse de théologie sacramentelle, Christiaan Kappes dresse un tableau très riche et nuancé des conflits non seulement doctrinaux mais aussi (et peut-être surtout) philosophiques qui divisent les chrétiens d'Orient et d'Occident à cette période. Il prend lui-même une position œcuménique claire et assumée, et explique pourquoi l'Église catholique contemporaine a tout à gagner à intégrer les développements théologiques orthodoxes sur cette question.

Les pièces principales du dossier textuel étudié consistent en trois textes rédigés à Florence en juin 1439 : les deux sermons du dominicain Juan de Torquemada, *Sur la matière et sur la forme de la très sainte Eucharistie*, et le *Libellus* de Marc d'Éphèse sur le même sujet, dont le titre complet est *De Marc archevêque d'Éphèse, que les saintes espèces sont sanctifiées non seulement par le son des paroles du Seigneur, mais aussi après elles par la prière et la bénédiction du prêtre grâce à la puissance du Saint-Esprit*, édité en 1923 par Louis Petit dans la *Patrologia orientalis* (XVII.2). Ces trois textes sont traduits en anglais par Ch. Kappes en appendice de son livre (p. 231-251). L'auteur fait preuve d'une égale aisance pour présenter le dossier occidental de la transsubstantiation, en particulier les divergences en matière de doctrine sacramentelle entre dominicains et franciscains, que pour retracer l'histoire de la formation de la doctrine byzantine sur la question de l'épiclese. Alors qu'à Florence Juan de Torquemada est resté fidèle à l'approche aristotélico-thomiste qui interprétait les paroles de Jésus comme la cause formelle nécessaire à la transsubstantiation, les franciscains auraient pu proposer une doctrine beaucoup plus facilement compatible avec celle des Byzantins : Bonaventure avait jadis attribué un rôle consécutoire à l'épiclese, et les franciscains pouvaient aussi reconnaître, en vertu de leur conception de l'existence de multiples formes en une même substance, les signes de croix tracés par le prêtre sur les espèces comme nécessaires à leur consécration. Face aux théologiens latins, Marc d'Éphèse, à la suite de Nicolas Kabasilas – le premier à avoir énoncé le rôle théologique de l'épiclese dans son *Commentaire de la divine liturgie*, 29 – a de son côté réaffirmé l'idée que les paroles de l'institution et l'invocation à l'Esprit saint étaient interdépendantes et que seule l'épiclese permettait de parfaire la transformation substantielle des espèces. Marc s'appuyait sur un dossier liturgique abondant, notamment les anaphores des *Constitutions apostoliques*, de Jacques, de Basile et de Jean Chrysostome, auxquelles il ajoutait la *Hiérarchie ecclésiastique* du Pseudo-Denys, ce qui obligeait Torquemada à reconnaître que des Pères avaient bien composé des épicleses consécutoires.

Selon Ch. Kappes, l'argumentation de Marc d'Éphèse sur le sujet était mieux maîtrisée que celle de Torquemada, à l'encontre de l'idée reçue voulant que les théologiens byzantins de la fin du Moyen-Âge aient été très inférieurs à leurs homologues latins rompus à la scolastique. Non seulement Marc a facilement contredit son adversaire, qui a tenté en vain de se réfugier dans la contestation de l'authenticité des textes avancés à l'appui de la démonstration, mais il l'a même mis en difficulté sur un point particulièrement délicat : l'utraquisme. Marc relevait que, dans le rite romain, dont il avait pu être le témoin oculaire en Italie, les fidèles ne communiaient pas sous les deux espèces, mais que le prêtre seul consommait entièrement le vin consacré du calice. Dans le contexte de l'opposition hussite à laquelle la papauté devait faire face et qui s'était particulièrement exprimée lors du concile de Bâle, l'allusion à cette question n'était certes pas gratuite de la part de Marc, mais était

probablement conçue comme le coup de grâce porté contre l'Église romaine. Marc n'a cependant pas pu défendre publiquement sa thèse. Son *Libellus* a seulement fourni à l'empereur Jean VIII des arguments à opposer au pape, et la controverse s'est finalement réglée par une déclaration orale de Bessarion au nom de la délégation byzantine faisant état d'un accord doctrinal sur la dimension consécrationnaire des paroles de l'institution, sans plus de précision.

Comme on l'a vu, Ch. Kappes replace l'ensemble de ce débat dans le cadre des élaborations théologiques en présence et de leurs soubassements philosophiques respectifs. Il s'éloigne donc par moments de la question eucharistique pour aborder de façon plus générale les tensions entre scolastique et palamisme. Ses développements à ce sujet sont originaux : on sait que la question palamite de la distinction entre l'essence et les énergies a été volontairement exclue des discussions d'union, afin qu'un terrain d'entente puisse être trouvé. Mais Ch. Kappes rappelle les heurts que ce sujet a suscités lors des négociations préconciliaires et les demandes de condamnation officielle faites par plusieurs théologiens latins contre les thèses palamites, tandis que, de l'autre côté, Marc d'Éphèse assimilait explicitement l'usage de la philosophie aristotélicienne en théologie à l'hérésie de Barlaam et Akindynos. L'auteur remet ainsi en cause une autre idée reçue selon laquelle la doctrine palamite pouvait être sans difficulté conciliée avec le thomisme. Ces développements, fort intéressants en eux-mêmes, ne doivent pas troubler le lecteur, même s'ils ne constituent ici que des digressions sans lien direct avec le sujet principal. On n'attachera pas trop d'importance à certaines hésitations sur les dates de composition des œuvres évoquées – par exemple la correspondance entre Chrysobergès et Bessarion, placée tantôt en 1436, tantôt à la fin de 1437, tandis que l'article de référence dûment cité la situe plutôt au début de 1438 – devant la maîtrise dont fait preuve l'auteur en général, notamment sur le contenu doctrinal des œuvres qu'il commente.

On trouvera donc dans cet ouvrage une remarquable mise en perspective des enjeux d'un débat théologique beaucoup moins bien connu que celui du *Filioque* par exemple. Ajoutons que la présence d'un excellent index thématique permet aussi une lecture non linéaire du livre, qui peut ainsi devenir un outil très précieux pour tout chercheur souhaitant préciser un point de doctrine, en particulier sacramentelle.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET

Nadezhda KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, avec la collaboration de Pablo ALVAREZ, *A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, Special Collections Research Center*, I. – University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2021. 29 × 22,5 ; relié. xxxiii-321 p., dont 127 pl. couleur. Prix : 99 €. ISBN 978-0-472-13189-1.

La collection de manuscrits grecs de l'Université du Michigan à Ann Arbor est l'une des plus riches des États-Unis d'Amérique ; elle comprend 110 manuscrits et fragments grecs, qui n'étaient jusqu'à présent décrits que dans le *Census* de S. De Ricci (1935) et son supplément (W. Bond et Ch. Faye, 1962), de manière très sommaire, et, pour les mss. du Nouveau Testament, par K. W. Clark (1937).

N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, qui a entrepris, depuis les années 2000, de décrire tous les manuscrits grecs conservés dans ce pays, a fait paraître, avec la collaboration de Pablo Alvarez, conservateur des *Special Collections* de la bibliothèque universitaire, le catalogue de la première moitié de ces manuscrits grecs d'Ann Arbor. Cinquante-six manuscrits sont décrits dans ce volume, qui couvre les cotes Ms. 4-58. La physionomie de la collection est assez particulière ; en effet, quelques manuscrits ont été acquis à la fin des années 1910 et au début des années 1920, pour l'essentiel à Constantinople ou par l'intermédiaire de quelques antiquaires spécialisés (Ms. 4-15) ; tous les autres proviennent de la collection de manuscrits grecs formée, au milieu d'autres collections de manuscrits et d'objets d'art, par Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906), mise en vente chez Sotheby's en 1922. Cette collection, rassemblée en Épire dans les années 1860-1870, comptait une centaine de manuscrits grecs, dont cinquante-cinq ont été acquis par l'Université du Michigan, lors de la vente ou peu après. L'essentiel de ces volumes sont des témoins du Nouveau Testament, sous diverses formes. La constitution de la collection d'Ann Arbor est largement due, en ces premières décennies, à l'initiative de Francis Willey Kelsey (1858-1927), professeur de langue et littérature latine à l'Université du Michigan de 1889 à 1927 ; c'est lui qui s'assura le concours de riches mécènes et qui conduisit le voyage en Orient qui permit l'acquisition des premiers manuscrits.

Le livre ici présenté est un catalogue, non une histoire de la bibliothèque ; dans la préface, due à Pablo Alvarez, on trouve certes quelques informations sur les circonstances du catalogage dont est publié ici le résultat et surtout sur l'histoire de la collection. Cependant, ce n'est pas là l'objet du volume, et il y manque même une présentation plus large du contenu du fonds, en termes de date des manuscrits et de leur contenu. Pour tous les livres qui ont appartenu à Angela Burdett-Coutts, il faudra se tourner vers un autre livre, attendu depuis longtemps, mais qui est paru presque en même temps que le présent catalogue : A. Cataldi Palau, *The Collection of Greek Manuscripts of Angela Burdett-Coutts* (Bibliologia 62), Turnhout 2021. Ce volume, outre une riche histoire de la collection de manuscrits grecs de la baronne et une étude transversale des livres et de leurs provenances, comprend en effet la description de tous les manuscrits aujourd'hui localisés de la collection, y compris ceux qui sont conservés à Ann Arbor – c'est-à-dire la majorité d'entre eux. Or la description de ces livres a été réalisée par A. Cataldi Palau en 2004, 2005 et 2007, sans prétendre alors produire un catalogue, et elle n'a pu revoir depuis les manuscrits en question. La publication concomitante des deux livres a donc empêché l'une et l'autre chercheuse de bénéficier mutuellement de leurs résultats, ce qui se révèle particulièrement dommageable, dans la mesure où des discordances non négligeables existent entre les deux descriptions, allant de la dimension la plus matérielle (désaccord sur le numéro des folios – on notera que N. Kavrus-Hoffmann signale que plusieurs manuscrits ne sont pas foliotés, et ne l'ont pas été lors du catalogage, ce qui multiplie les risques d'erreur) jusqu'à l'identification des textes ou la datation des manuscrits.

On donnera un rapide aperçu du contenu de la collection, en retenant les caractéristiques de la partie principale du manuscrit lorsqu'il est en tout ou partie composite. Datation : 9<sup>e</sup> s. : 2 ; 10<sup>e</sup> s. : 6 ; 11<sup>e</sup> s. : 2 ; 12<sup>e</sup> s. : 5 ; 13<sup>e</sup> s. : 17 ; 14<sup>e</sup> s. : 7 ; 15<sup>e</sup> s. : 5 ; 16<sup>e</sup> s. : 4 ; 17<sup>e</sup> s. : 4 ; 18<sup>e</sup> s. : 3 ; 19<sup>e</sup> s. : 1. Contenu : Nouveau Testament : 27 ; Liturgie : 12 ; hagiographie : 7 ; patristique et apocryphes : 4 ; musique : 2 ; droit canon : 1 ; autres : 3. On voit que la physionomie de la collection est surprenante,



avec une prépondérance du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle – prépondérance qu’une révision de certaines datations conduirait peut-être à corriger – et un nombre assez important de manuscrits du 10<sup>e</sup> s., qui n’est sans doute pas sans lien avec le contenu de ces livres. En effet, le Nouveau Testament y occupe une place écrasante, tant sous la forme de tétraévangiles ou de *praxapostoloi* que de lectionnaires.

Le catalogue de N. Kavrus-Hoffmann est structuré de manière traditionnelle – on notera que le *Guide* auquel elle se réfère a été publié par l’IRHT en 1977. Après quelques éléments généraux, sans doute trop restreints (contenu, date), on trouve une description du contenu, qui reste trop sommaire et omet en particulier de faire référence aux éditions critiques. Viennent ensuite diverses rubriques codicologiques et historiques. Il n’aurait pas été inutile, bien au contraire, de distinguer les différentes unités codicologiques qui constituent certains des livres, de faire apparaître plus clairement les gardes, restaurations, couches des palimpsestes, etc. L’auteur a fait le choix, comme dans ses publications précédentes, de rédiger très largement les différentes rubriques, ce qui rend souvent difficile le repérage d’éléments précis, y compris très simples (matière, dimensions et nombre de folios auraient dû être présentés en tête). La description des reliures reste très peu précise, et nombre d’entre elles ne sont pas reproduites ; heureusement, un autre ouvrage a été consacré à l’ensemble des reliures de manuscrits grecs du fonds (J. Miller, *Tradition and Individuality: Bindings from the University of Michigan Greek Manuscript Collection. Introduction by Alvarez, Pablo. With contributions by Clark, Kyle*, Ann Arbor [MI] 2021). Le catalogue comporte une ample série de planches en couleur, qui est également disponible en accès libre (<https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/jm214q79b>). Les index auraient gagné à indiquer les numéros de répertoire pour les textes et les personnes, lorsqu’ils existent, et à présenter davantage de renvois – ainsi l’île de Chalki, d’où provient l’un des manuscrits, n’apparaît pas comme telle, mais seulement sous le nom du monastère ; de même, le possesseur Antônios Malakès n’apparaît qu’à son prénom, pas à son nom de famille.

Il n’est pas question ici de proposer des corrections à ce catalogue ; d’autres l’ont déjà fait, de manière fort intéressante (voir en particulier la recension de G. Parpulov, <https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2021/2021.06.11/>). On signalera simplement quelques éléments, qui suscitent l’intérêt ou des interrogations : le Ms. 8 provient de la Panaghia de Chalki (comme l’a montré A. Binggeli en 2019), et a été acheté auprès d’un antiquaire de Constantinople, Andronicos M. Kidaoglon, en décembre 1919 ; le lien n’est pas fait explicitement par la catalogueuse entre le compte rendu du voyage de 1919, présenté en introduction, et l’histoire du livre. Les Ms. 24 et 26 ont des plaques de reliure de provenance russe ; la catalogueuse propose une hypothèse intéressante sur l’histoire de ces reliures, mais seule A. Cataldi Palau rapproche les deux manuscrits – avec une hypothèse historique peut-être moins convaincante. Le florilège patristique de la fin du Ms. 30 n’est pas décrit en détail ; A. Cataldi Palau donne davantage d’informations à son sujet sans permettre cependant de comprendre davantage son contenu. Dans la description du Ms. 34, la cote du ms. Benaki évoqué est erronée : il s’agit du Mπ 69 (Προθήκη 34.4) ; pour les autres manuscrits du même possesseur, Antônios Malakès, voir <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/copiste-possesseur-autre/2300/>, avec bibliographie.

On ne peut donc que se réjouir de bénéficier d’un catalogue de cette riche collection, qui était jusqu’ici si mal connue ; il serait éminemment profitable de disposer de numérisations intégrales de ces manuscrits – certaines, pour les manuscrits



néotestamentaires, sont disponibles sur le site du CSNTM. Peut-être peut-on espérer que le second volume du catalogue puisse prendre en compte le travail d'A. Cataldi Palau, et les remarques qui auront été faites, y compris sur la structure des notices.

Matthieu CASSIN

Wolfram KINZIG, *Das Glaubensbekenntnis von Konstantinopel (381). Herkunft, Geltung und Rezeption. Neue Texte und Studien zu den antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen II* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 147). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 23,5 × 16 ; relié. XIII-223 p. Prix : 92,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-071461-6.

Les études sur les professions de foi anciennes, leurs usages et leurs variations, ainsi que leur lent processus de canonisation, ont été nombreuses ces dernières décennies – pour la période proprement byzantine, voir *REB* 76, 2018, p. 448-449. W. Kinzig y a consacré de nombreuses recherches, et publié en particulier un volumineux recueil commenté (*Faith in Formulae: A Collection of Early Christian Creeds and Creed-related Texts*, I-IV, Oxford 2017) ; ce recueil monumental a déjà été suivi d'un premier volume d'études complémentaires, dont j'ai rendu compte ailleurs (*Neue Texte und Studien zu den antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen* [Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 132], Berlin-Boston 2017 : voir *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 102, 2018, p. 299-375, ici p. 353-354). Le présent livre, dont le sous-titre indique qu'il faut le voir comme le deuxième volume de ces textes et études sur les professions de foi tardo-antiques et médiévales porte non sur une pluralité de textes, mais sur un unique symbole de foi, celui qui est attribué au concile constantinopolitain de 381, c'est-à-dire au deuxième concile œcuménique. Le statut problématique de cette formule de foi, qui a acquis par la suite une grande autorité, à la suite de sa canonisation lors du concile de Chalcédoine (451), tient aux incertitudes sur ses origines et sur sa forme. En effet, en l'absence d'actes du concile de 381, mais aussi de témoignage contemporain clair qui cite ce Symbole, on a depuis longtemps proposé des hypothèses diverses pour expliquer son origine et ses liens, plus ou moins lâches, avec ledit concile. Les études à ce sujet ont été nombreuses, tout autant que les solutions envisagées.

Devant la complexité de ce dossier, l'auteur a adopté une démarche qui ne suit pas l'ordre habituel d'un tel ouvrage, mais qui est bienvenu pour tout lecteur qui n'est pas parfaitement familier de ce dossier complexe. Après une brève introduction, W. Kinzig propose un état de la question en un peu moins d'une dizaine de pages. Il présente ensuite tout aussi brièvement sa méthode et sa thèse. Ce n'est qu'ensuite que vient le corps de l'étude proprement dit, qui comporte neuf chapitres, plus ou moins longs : le premier porte sur l'origine du Symbole de Constantinople (comparaison des Symboles de Nicée, Antioche et Constantinople) et présente une approche philologique ; les suivants déroulent, pour l'essentiel, un fil historique : débats sur le caractère suffisant ou non du Symbole de Nicée parmi ses partisans, synode romain de 377/378, synode mélitien d'Antioche (379), concile de Constantinople (381), réception de la version retravaillée du Symbole de Nicée jusqu'au

concile de Chalcédoine (451), approbation du Symbole de Nicée et de celui de Constantinople comme norme de foi au concile de Chalcédoine, réception du symbole de Constantinople après Chalcédoine. Avant ce dernier chapitre, l'auteur traite une question éminemment complexe : celle de l'état du texte des deux Symboles lors de la 5<sup>e</sup> (6<sup>e</sup>) session du concile de Chalcédoine.

Il n'est pas question de rendre compte, dans tous ses détails, de cette étude complexe et protéiforme, qui articule étroitement recherches sur le texte du Symbole et ses variations, minimes mais significatives, et histoire de l'Église ainsi que des doctrines et des débats théologiques. Le lecteur attentif mesurera amplement, à la lecture de cet ouvrage mince mais dense, l'ampleur des connaissances de l'auteur et sa capacité à guider sûrement le lecteur dans ces méandres. Il utilise en particulier d'utiles tableaux, dans lesquels sont présentés, de manière synoptique, différents Symboles, ou différentes versions d'un même Symbole (voir par ex. p. 21-25, 53-56, etc.). On notera aussi que l'auteur présente fréquemment son raisonnement, et non ses seules conclusions, sous forme de courtes sections numérotées, qui facilitent certes l'identification des étapes du développement mais fragmentent un peu trop la lecture. La discussion des filiations et des apparentements a toutes les apparences de la stématisation, dont se revendique explicitement l'auteur ; encore faut-il préciser qu'il n'y a jamais, ici, raisonnement sur des fautes, mais seulement sur des variantes, qui plus est porteuses de sens. Il s'agit donc moins d'établir l'arbre de filiation d'une transmission textuelle, connue par différents témoins, que de reconstituer les liens d'apparentement entre des textes qui ont, dans chacun des cas étudiés ou presque, fait l'objet d'une élaboration ou d'une réélaboration consciente et volontaire. On pourra simplement regretter que, pour un certain nombre de textes, les renvois de l'auteur soient à son seul recueil cité ci-dessus (*Faith in Formulae*), fort utile mais coûteux et que tout lecteur n'aura pas sous la main. Il aurait été utile de fournir aussi les renvois aux textes anciens qui ont été utilisés comme source pour ce recueil, comme l'auteur le fait le reste du temps.

Mais il n'est que temps de présenter succinctement le processus que reconstitue l'auteur. Après sa présentation méthodologique, W. Kinzig retrace en effet un itinéraire complexe, en dix étapes. Le Symbole de Nicée (N) aurait tout d'abord été revu lors d'un synode romain en 377/378, entre autres pour l'harmoniser avec le symbole romain, puis adopté ainsi en Orient, en particulier à Antioche (379 : N<sup>Ant</sup>) ; une révision de ce Symbole aurait été élaborée à Constantinople en 381 (C<sup>1</sup>), en version courte, dépendant aussi du Symbole de Nicée et de celui en usage à Jérusalem : cette forme est ensuite citée par Nestorius. Une autre version, qui a subi davantage de réélaborations (C<sup>2</sup>) n'est pas approuvée en 381 à Constantinople, même si elle a probablement été élaborée dans ce contexte, et n'apparaît vraiment qu'au concile de Chalcédoine. Jusqu'en 451, ce sont donc trois versions différentes, toutes perçues comme nicéennes, qui sont en usage en Orient : le Symbole de Nicée proprement dit, surtout à Alexandrie ; N<sup>Ant</sup>, après 379, surtout à Antioche et ensuite chez les nestoriens ; C<sup>1</sup>, à partir de 381, en particulier à Constantinople, et entre autres par Nestorius. C<sup>2</sup> aurait dû sa survie, malgré l'absence d'approbation officielle, à une collection canonique locale constantinopolitaine. À partir d'Éphèse (431), on assiste à un retour à N, mais C<sup>1</sup> reste en usage. Ce n'est qu'à Chalcédoine que C<sup>2</sup> est présenté comme le Symbole des 150 Pères et officiellement reconnu comme Symbole de foi ecclésial. La réception de C<sup>2</sup> est étroitement liée à la réception de Chalcédoine. Enfin, l'édition des Symboles présentés à Chalcédoine lors de la 5<sup>e</sup> (6<sup>e</sup>) session de

ce concile est à revoir. On trouve (p. 18) un utile stemma récapitulatif, qui manifeste clairement la complexité du processus reconstitué par l'auteur.

Sans doute le livre de W. Kinzig ne marquera-t-il pas la fin des discussions sur ce Symbole de foi et son origine ; il constitue cependant une étape importante de la recherche en ce domaine et fournit au lecteur qui ne maîtrisait pas la totalité du dossier un moyen riche et complexe d'en prendre connaissance. On notera en particulier ses remarques pleines de bon sens sur la controverse longuement développée naguère pour savoir si le Symbole de Constantinople dépendait de celui de Nicée ou en était indépendant. L'auteur montre que le débat est faussé, du fait même de la nature des Symboles de foi et de l'histoire de ceux-ci au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle, puisqu'en Orient, la majorité d'entre eux dérivent, avec des réélaborations plus ou moins fortes, du Symbole de Nicée. Le lecteur curieux de la réception de ce dernier Symbole lira avec intérêt un autre ouvrage récent, dû à M. S. Smith (*The Idea of Nicaea in the Early Church Councils, AD 431-451*, Oxford 2018 ; voir mon compte rendu dans la *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 104, 2020, p. 291-410, ici p. 376-379). Le grand mérite du travail de W. Kinzig – comme de celui de M. S. Smith, même si c'est avec une tout autre méthode – est bien de replacer ces formules dans leurs contextes historiques de production et d'usage et de remettre en évidence leur fluidité originelle, avant leur fixation, intervenue beaucoup plus tard que leur date canonique ne le laisse généralement penser.

Matthieu CASSIN

Buket KITAPÇI BAYRI, *Warriors, Martyrs and Dervishes. Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome (13th-15th Centuries)* (The Medieval Mediterranean 119). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2020. 24 × 16 ; relié. xii-259 p. Prix : 99 €. ISBN 978-90-04-41566-9.

Voici un livre sur l'identité byzantine à la fin du Moyen-Âge qui tranche avec le reste de l'historiographie récente sur le même thème : il ne se place qu'au niveau des représentations, sans prétendre atteindre des réalités historiques, et met à contribution des sources non grecques qui permettent d'éclairer les transformations de l'identité byzantine par un prisme indirect et latéral. On sait que, par un effet de tradition savante, et donc par convention, les byzantinistes appellent « Byzantins » ceux qui, dans les sources, se dénomment eux-mêmes « Romains ». Il en résulte qu'identité byzantine et identité romaine devraient correspondre exactement au même sujet. Pourtant ce livre introduit une nuance entre les deux formules et ouvre ainsi une brèche dans certaines évidences.

Il faut partir de l'expression un peu étrange présente dans le titre même de l'ouvrage, « Land of Rome », ou « Pays de Rum ». Cette expression désigne en turc (*Rum İli*) le territoire de l'ancien Empire romain. Mais en réalité le terme turc *Rum* est beaucoup plus polysémique : il peut qualifier à lui seul le territoire romain, mais aussi l'autorité politique s'exerçant sur cet espace, et tout autant les populations placées sous cette autorité. *Rum* apparaît par exemple dans le nom du sultanat de Rum, l'État constitué par les Turcs seldjoukides en Anatolie à partir de la fin du 11<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au tout début du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle : c'est justement l'un des protagonistes politiques

examinés dans le livre, comme aussi deux autres avatars de l'Empire romain d'Orient que sont l'Empire byzantin et l'Empire ottoman. Il est donc question ici d'une rivalité autour de l'appropriation du qualificatif, et donc de la qualité de « romain », dans la perspective de la conquête par les Turcs de l'Anatolie, puis des Balkans et de Constantinople. La romanité ne peut plus s'appliquer concomitamment au territoire, à l'autorité politique et aux populations, comme c'était encore le cas à la période mésobyzantine, si bien que d'autres éléments d'auto-définition émergent, en particulier ceux liés à l'appartenance religieuse.

L'auteur établit donc un parallèle entre l'expression de « Pays de Rum » (*Rum İli*) et une formule encore plus vague en grec, « les choses des Romains » (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων), en essayant systématiquement d'articuler ensemble les notions de frontières territoriales et identitaires. L'ouvrage croise l'approche historico-géographique avec l'analyse de sources littéraires, de manière à en tirer une histoire des représentations sur un territoire donné, celui de la Romanie. B. Kitapçı Bayrı confronte des sources turques, qui mettent en scène sur un mode fictif la conquête ottomane, avec des textes grecs présentant le schéma inverse, celui de la défaite byzantine jusqu'au martyre. Elle fait ainsi alterner les points de vue de populations conquérantes et conquises en analysant les représentations présentes dans les épopées turques musulmanes et les vies de derviches, puis, en contrepoint, dans les récits hagiographiques de chrétiens martyrisés pour leur fidélité à leur foi. L'auteur s'intéresse à ce qui se joue sur un même territoire, appréhendé ici dans sa dimension imaginée ou imaginaire, tandis que le contexte géopolitique évolue jusqu'à se transformer radicalement. Elle fait l'effort d'ancrer le plus possible cette géographie mentale dans le contexte territorial de la période grâce à l'insertion de dix cartes auxquelles le lecteur peut utilement se référer.

Exploiter des sources turques pour en dégager des éléments significatifs sur l'identité byzantine était une gageure, que l'on peut considérer comme réussie. L'auteur montre en premier lieu comment l'idée de frontière se délite peu à peu : alors qu'un espace clairement identifiable correspond à la zone de contact entre Byzantins et Turcs dans l'épopée du *Battalname* (autour de Mélitène, pour une période de référence située au 9<sup>e</sup> ou 10<sup>e</sup> siècle), et encore dans le *Danişmendname* (dans la région de la Cappadoce et dans l'ouest du Pont pour la fin du 11<sup>e</sup> et le début 12<sup>e</sup> siècle), l'idée spatiale de frontière est dissoute dans l'épopée du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'est le *Saltukname*, les Turcs étant présents partout sur le territoire romain. Elle montre aussi que celui-ci demeure envers et contre tout polarisé autour d'un centre que continue d'incarner Constantinople : peu à peu pourtant, la ville devient moins le centre d'une puissance politique que celui d'un espace virtuel jadis romanisé.

La méthodologie utilisée par l'auteur reste la même face à des sources de nature très différente que sont les *martyria*, textes hagiographiques relatant le martyre d'un chrétien pour sa foi : elle y puise aussi des éléments saillants permettant de discerner les auto-représentations fournies par ces textes. L'un des intérêts de ces sources vient du fait qu'elles concernent non seulement des martyrs victimes de la persécution des Turcs, mais aussi l'unique cas de mise à mort de chrétiens orthodoxes par des Latins, à Chypre en 1231, et le cas tout aussi unique des martyrs chrétiens sous le pouvoir païen de Lituanie vers 1347. Ces situations sont donc très diverses ; il reste cependant légitime de rassembler tous ces récits hagiographiques en raison de l'homogénéité de leur période de composition (entre 1230 et 1440) et, plus encore, du milieu dans lequel ils ont été rédigés, le milieu constantinopolitain. Ces martyrs ne

se caractérisent pas par leur romanité : le terme « Romain » tend à être remplacé par celui de « chrétien » pour désigner des fidèles que B. Kitapçı Bayrı qualifie d'« orthodoxes » – même si ce terme-là semble peu présent dans les textes – vivant dans des régions anciennement romaines, mais désormais sorties de l'espace où s'exerce l'autorité de l'empereur byzantin. De façon générale, le lien de ces martyrs à l'empereur ainsi qu'au patriarche de Constantinople se maintient : ces derniers apparaissent dans ces sources comme les instances garantes de la vraie foi et revendiquent une autorité spirituelle sur les territoires concernés. Symboliquement, les martyrs d'Andrinople, d'Alexandrie, de Vilnius ou de Chypre créent par leur mort le signe d'une présence perpétuée, et donc continue, de l'Empire chrétien – et non plus romain – sur ces territoires. Ce constat incite l'auteur à affirmer par conséquent le maintien de l'idéologie impériale universaliste, soit celle de l'Empire byzantin en tant que seul véritable et légitime gouvernement chrétien, même si cette idéologie est découplée de la géographie réelle du territoire dominé par l'empereur de Constantinople.

C'est donc un ouvrage très riche, qui donne à repenser en un sens très original la notion de romanité à la fin du Moyen-Âge et incite à réfléchir sur la disjonction entre identité romaine et identité chrétienne. La géographie mentale d'une part et les enjeux territoriaux de l'autre se révèlent être les deux bouts d'une chaîne que l'auteur parvient à tenir dans un équilibre remarquable. Cet ouvrage est aussi une preuve supplémentaire, s'il en fallait, de l'intérêt qu'il y a à décentrer le regard en mettant à profit des sources turques pour étudier la période byzantine tardive.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET

Jacques LEFORT (†), Vassiliki KRAVARI, Christophe GIROS, Kostis SMYRLIS et Raúl ESTANGÜI GÓMEZ, *Actes de Vatopédi. III, De 1377 à 1500*. Édition diplomatique (Archives de l'Athos 23). – Peeters, Paris 2019. 28 × 23. XIX-550 p. (Texte), 100 planches (Album). ISBN 978-90-429-3944-8.

Ce troisième volume (documents n<sup>os</sup> 154-247) clôt l'édition des actes de Vatopédi remontant à l'époque byzantine, c'est-à-dire depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le premier volume, qui comprenait les actes émis de la fondation du monastère dans la seconde moitié du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à l'année 1329, parut en 2001 (n<sup>os</sup> 1-69 ; voir *REB* 61, 2003, p. 253-254), le deuxième, couvrant les années 1330-1376, en 2006 (n<sup>os</sup> 70-153 ; voir *REB* 64-65, 2006-2007, p. 393-394). Cinq éditeurs sont mentionnés sur la page de titre de l'ouvrage, auxquels il faut ajouter, pour le premier volume, le nom de Jacques Bompaire et, pour l'ensemble de la publication, le nom de Denise Papachryssanthou, à qui est d'ailleurs dédié le deuxième volume (p. [VII] et [IX]). Directeur de la collection des Archives de l'Athos à partir de 1989, à la suite de Paul Lemerle, Jacques Lefort (1939-2014), le maître d'œuvre de l'ensemble, aura disparu trop tôt pour voir la parution de ce dernier tome. Après la parution des actes de Lavra et d'Iviron, ce dernier volume des actes de Vatopédi marque aussi l'achèvement de l'édition et de la reproduction des documents conservés dans les trois monastères majeurs du mont Athos, dont la fondation commune sur la rive orientale de la presqu'île remonte aux dernières décennies du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Foyer essentiel pour la permanence de la spiritualité byzantine et de l'orthodoxie grecque, les monastères de l'Athos conservent une somme considérable de documents et d'archives. Les pièces principales émanant des chancelleries centrales de l'Empire et de l'Église étaient déjà connues grâce en particulier aux éditions d'Arkadios (1919), le moine de Vatopédi, et de Franz Dölger (1931, 1948, 1956), le visiteur de l'Athos des années 1928 et 1941. Mais près de la moitié des documents ici édités restaient inédits, dont l'ensemble des textes relevant de l'administration matérielle des monastères : titres de propriété et délimitations de domaines, achats et ventes de biens meubles et immeubles, locations et cessions, relevés d'impôts. Parmi ces possessions, qui ne sont pas situées seulement au mont Athos, mais aussi dans l'ensemble de la Chalcidique et en Macédoine, figurent divers biens : bâtiments, champs et vignes, moulins et pêcheries, ou encore boutiques ou villages entiers avec leurs parèques. Les actes témoignent des vicissitudes que connut l'Athos au cours des 13<sup>e</sup> et 14<sup>e</sup> siècles sous les maîtres successifs, byzantins, serbes et turcs, sans compter les épisodes intérieurs de l'après-concile de Lyon de 1274 ou de la querelle des deux Andronic.

Les richesses documentaires du monastère d'Iviron avaient déjà été signalées par l'Ukrainien Vasilij Barskij dès ses premières visites dans les hauts-lieux de la chrétienté, de l'orthodoxie grecque en particulier ; son ouvrage parut au milieu du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, un siècle après sa mort ; les premières parties ont été traduites récemment en français : Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski, *Les Pérégrinations (1723-1747)*, Genève 2019 (voir *REB* 78, 2020, p. 303-305). La dernière partie de son récit de voyage, consacrée à la fin de son périple à travers le mont Athos, témoigne d'une connaissance profonde de la Sainte Montagne ; elle a été traduite en grec par P. Mylônas : Βασίλι Γκρηγκορόβιτς Μπάρσκι, *Τὰ ταξίδια στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, 1725-1726, 1744-1745* (Thessalonique 2009). Un long passage est consacré au monastère de Vatopédi (p. 387-412), et la richesse du fonds documentaire y est relevée : la grande bibliothèque contenait « environ 2 000 livres, parchemins et imprimés » (p. 407). On montra de nombreux chrysobulles impériaux au visiteur, qui en décrit huit, émanant en particulier de Jean V Palaiologos (p. 408-409).

Le volume III des Actes de Vatopédi contient un ensemble de 93 documents, dont une moitié d'inédits. On peut signaler les actes délivrés par plusieurs empereurs (Andronic III, Jean V, Jean VII, Manuel II), patriarches de Constantinople (Antoine IV, Sophrone I<sup>er</sup>, Denys I<sup>er</sup>, Syméon I<sup>er</sup>, Joachim I<sup>er</sup>) ou encore métropolitains de Thessalonique (Syméon, Grégoire, Méthode, Maxime). En appendice figurent quelques actes slaves, arabes et ottomans (émanant en particulier des sultans Murad II, Mehmed II et Bayezid II et du cadî de Thessalonique), latins (lettres du pape Eugène IV et d'Alphonse V d'Aragon). L'édition des actes, qui est fournie avec tout l'appareil critique et historique qui leur sied, bénéficie du savoir-faire acquis depuis soixante-dix ans à travers la suite des 22 volumes précédents. De même, les reproductions photographiques permettent de contrôler chaque pièce, même si certaines d'entre elles présentent les défauts de leurs modèles, dont l'état de conservation est parfois dégradé : encre délavée, taches d'humidité, froissures aux lignes de pliure, etc. À la fin du volume de planches sont reproduits les sceaux de l'empereur Manuel II Palaiologos et du patriarche Antoine IV.

L'édition du dernier volume des actes de Vatopédi vient clore la publication des documents de la prestigieuse triade des monastères primitifs de la côte orientale du mont Athos. Fondés au 10<sup>e</sup> siècle (Lavra en 963, Iviron en 979, Vatopédi vers 980),

ils ont gardé la prépondérance au long des siècles et traversé les vicissitudes politiques du Moyen Âge et des temps modernes. La belle édition des documents du monastère de Vatopédi, enrichie par une reproduction soignée des textes, permet de mieux évaluer la richesse matérielle et spirituelle et le rayonnement de l'institution à travers les siècles.

Albert FAILLER

Caroline MACÉ, Ekkehard MÜHLENBERG, Michael MUTHREICH et Christine WULF, *Corpus dionysiacum. III.1, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, Epistola ad Timotheum de morte apostolorum Petri et Pauli* ; Ekkehard MÜHLENBERG, *Homilia* (BHL 2187) (Patristische Texte und Studien 79). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 23,5 × 16 ; relié. XIII-651 p. Prix : 133,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-069775-9.

Certains textes présentent des difficultés d'interprétation car on peine à les situer temporellement, géographiquement et intellectuellement du fait de leur anonymat ou de leur caractère pseudépigraphe ; d'autres sont aujourd'hui perdus dans leur langue d'origine et ne sont plus connus que par des traductions dans diverses langues ; d'autres, enfin, sont transmis dans différentes versions ou recensions. Et certains textes cumulent toutes ces difficultés, en particulier parmi les textes dits apocryphes : c'est le cas de la *Lettre à Timothée sur la mort des apôtres Pierre et Paul* (CPG 6631, CANT 197, BHL 6671, BHO 966-970), attribuée unanimement par les différentes traductions à Denys l'Aréopagite. Le texte aurait été composé en grec, peut-être à la fin du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle, peut-être à Éphèse, et serait donc à l'origine indépendant du corpus pseudo-dionysien, qui lui serait postérieur ; il ne nous est plus connu aujourd'hui que par diverses traductions, presque toutes éditées et traduites dans ce volume, tandis que l'original grec est perdu ; en outre, ces traductions dériveraient de deux recensions grecques différentes, dont la seconde, augmentée entre autres d'un passage sur l'*inuentio* du chef de Paul, aurait été produite à Rome, en milieu gréco-syriaque, à la fin du 6<sup>e</sup> ou au début du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle. La première recension est connue par les traductions suivantes : syriaque, arménien, arabe, dont découle une traduction ge'ez ; la seconde, par la traduction géorgienne, d'où provient la version latine, dont est enfin tirée une traduction en haut allemand. On mesure, à cette énumération, la complexité de l'entreprise qu'a coordonnée E. Mühlenberg, et qui a abouti au présent livre. Il faut noter, cependant, que le volume présente le résultat du travail philologique, mais que l'interprétation historique et les éléments afférents, s'ils affleurent ici ou là dans le livre, doivent en fait être cherchés ailleurs, en particulier dans un article récent de C. Macé (La lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite à Timothée sur la mort des apôtres Pierre et Paul : L'apport de la version géorgienne, *Apocrypha* 31, 2020, p. 61-104), dont on ne peut que recommander la lecture préalable à qui n'a pas déjà une bonne connaissance du dossier.

Le volume est composé, à grands traits, de quatre sections. La première est formée par les introductions philologiques aux sept traductions principales du texte (syriaque, arabe, éthiopien [M. Muthreich], arménien, géorgien [C. Macé], latin [E. Mühlenberg], haut allemand [Ch. Wulf]). La traduction syriaque est connue par



onze manuscrits et pourrait dater du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle ; dans l'un d'eux (Paris, BnF, Syr. 235), les deux sections propres à la recension  $\beta$  ont été ajoutées, et la première d'entre elles, sur l'invention du chef de Paul, a en outre circulé à part. La traduction arabe est connue par soixante manuscrits, dont quelques-uns présentent une traduction faite sur le syriaque, tandis que la plupart comportent une traduction réalisée directement à partir du grec. La traduction éthiopienne, qui dérive de l'arabe, est connue par trente manuscrits ; aucun classement de ceux-ci n'est proposé et l'édition du texte ne figure pas dans le volume. La traduction arménienne, que l'éditrice propose de dater entre 550 et 750, est connue par quarante et un manuscrits. La traduction géorgienne, faite sur le grec de la seconde recension, est connue par huit manuscrits ; elle est le modèle de la traduction latine. C'est cette dernière qui fut le plus largement diffusée : E. Mühlenberg recense cent quinze manuscrits, auxquels il faut ajouter les témoins presque innombrables de la *Legenda aurea*, dans laquelle la *Lettre* fut incluse. Enfin, un unique témoin manuscrit, datable de la fin du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, transmet la traduction du latin en haut allemand. Chacun de ces chapitres, sauf ceux qui sont consacrés à l'éthiopien et, par la force des choses, au haut allemand, présente une étude d'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite et la justification philologique de l'édition. En revanche, les remarques sur la nature de ces traductions, leur date et leur contexte de production sont beaucoup plus irrégulières et il manque, dans le volume, une étude d'ensemble de ces dimensions. Les quelques pages dues à C. Macé, au début du volume, qui situent utilement les différentes traductions les unes par rapport aux autres et présentent une synopse abrégée des deux recensions (p. 8-17), si elles sont fort utiles et bienvenues, ne répondent pas à ce souhait des lecteurs. On notera en passant une inversion, dans le stemma de la tradition, p. 7 : les sigles de la traduction arabe et de la traduction arménienne sont intervertis.

Après cette introduction, qui occupe près du tiers du volume, on trouve, dans la deuxième partie, successivement : l'édition synoptique, avec traduction allemande, des versions syriaque et arabe ; l'édition et traduction de l'arménien ; l'édition synoptique, avec traduction allemande, des versions géorgienne et latine ; l'édition de la traduction en haut allemand. Ces différentes éditions sont munies d'un appareil critique, ainsi que d'un appareil des sources bibliques. La traduction du texte arménien est pourvue de notes philologiques, qui s'attachent entre autres à éclairer les écarts avec les autres traductions ; c'est également le cas de la traduction allemande de la version géorgienne, elle aussi due à Caroline Macé. Enfin, la traduction en haut allemand est pourvue non d'un appareil critique proprement dit, puisqu'il n'y a qu'un témoin, mais d'un appareil philologique qui éclaire le texte et son rapport à la source latine.

La troisième section est formée par l'étude, l'édition et la traduction allemande, dues à E. Mühlenberg, de l'homélie *BHL* 2187, connue par quarante et un manuscrits. Il s'agit de l'une des pièces de l'abondant dossier hagiographique latin sur le pseudo-Denys, dossier qui a déjà fait l'objet de nombreux travaux et sur lequel E. Mühlenberg revient encore une fois dans la quatrième section de l'ouvrage, présentée comme un Appendice, et qui vise à éclairer les rapports entre l'évêque martyr de Paris Denys et le pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite. On ne s'arrêtera pas sur cette partie, qui ne touche que de loin les études byzantines, malgré sa richesse. On soulignera simplement qu'il aurait été utile au lecteur de disposer d'un état de la question, avant d'aborder l'étude des différentes pièces du dossier ; en particulier, aucune bibliographie n'est fournie pour cette section. Le livre est complété par une

utile série d'index : sources (pour l'essentiel bibliques), *index uerborum* sélectif géorgien-latin et latin-géorgien, index biblique de l'homélie *BHL* 2187.

Voilà donc un volume qui tient de la prouesse par l'ampleur des langues qu'il rassemble, autour d'un même original grec perdu. Sans doute le lecteur, tout admiratif qu'il soit du travail mené, restera-t-il un peu sur sa faim car si les textes sont très heureusement pourvus de traductions allemandes, la place laissée à l'interprétation de la *Lettre*, à sa situation dans un contexte intellectuel et religieux et à la détermination de l'origine des différentes traductions, est bien trop réduite. Seule Caroline Macé donne, de-ci de-là, des éléments à ce sujet, et il faut se reporter à des études extérieures au volume, comme celle que j'ai mentionnée plus haut – et sans doute d'autres à venir – pour mieux comprendre le texte édité. Mais la tâche assignée à ce livre n'était sans doute pas de cet ordre ; les auteurs sont parvenus à donner accès à un texte fort complexe, à travers une variété de sources impressionnante, et là est l'essentiel.

Matthieu CASSIN

Charis MESSIS, *Le Corpus nomocanonique oriental et ses scholiastes du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les commentaires sur le Concile in Trullo (691-692)* (Dossiers byzantins 18.1). – Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales – Césor, Paris 2020. 24 × 17. 569 p. Prix : 80 €. ISBN 979-10-94824-04-7.

Les textes juridiques et canoniques, ainsi que leurs commentaires, sont des sources précieuses pour les historiens. C'est pourquoi il faut saluer cette entreprise de réédition et de traduction d'un dossier d'une grande richesse, qui le met à la portée non seulement des byzantinistes mais aussi des historiens non hellénistes. Il s'agit du recueil des canons du concile in Trullo (7<sup>e</sup> siècle), qui entreprit une réorganisation de la vie de l'Église et de ses rapports avec la société, et des commentaires qui en furent faits au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle par les canonistes Zonaras, Aristènos et Balsamon, dans un contexte fort différent. Ce recueil (canons du concile et leurs commentaires) a été constitué par William Beveridge (*Synodikon sive Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab ecclesia graeca receptorum*, Oxford 1672) et repris par G. Rhallès et M. Potlès dans le second tome de leur grand recueil de canons (*Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes 1852-1859). Le présent ouvrage expose, dans une copieuse introduction, l'époque et les circonstances historiques de l'élaboration des canons et de la composition de leurs commentaires, le travail et l'originalité de chacun des trois canonistes, la formation des différents recueils de canons ainsi que des nomocanons qui leur agrègent les lois civiles correspondantes, ainsi que les thématiques principales. L'auteur pointe à cette occasion un trait caractéristique du rapport que les praticiens byzantins du droit entretenaient avec les lois, soulignant l'importance de la jurisprudence et de l'interprétation (tâche que remplissent justement les commentateurs des canons), dans la mesure où « l'ultime instance de la justice n'est pas la loi, mais le juge qui attribue la peine appropriée » (p. 30).

L'essentiel de l'ouvrage est constitué par le texte grec, la traduction et le commentaire des 102 canons du concile in Trullo (691-692). Ch. Mesis donne, pour

chaque canon, le texte grec, dans l'édition de H. Ohme (*Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum [Concilium Quinisextum]* [ACO ser. II, II.4], Berlin-Boston 2013), avec en apparat les variantes des éditions précédentes ; une traduction ; les scholies de chacun des trois canonistes (texte grec de Rhallès-Potlès, avec en apparat les variantes de Beveridge, suivi de la traduction) ; un commentaire de son cru pour cet ensemble. L'intérêt pour les historiens est que ce corpus donne un aperçu des problèmes qui agitaient la société byzantine, tant au 7<sup>e</sup> siècle (époque des canons) qu'au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle (époque de leurs commentateurs). Les commentaires – principalement ceux de Balsamon qui, à plusieurs reprises, rapporte des expériences personnelles – fournissent de nombreux détails concrets sur les coutumes locales ou la vie quotidienne à leur époque et présentent ainsi un intérêt appréciable pour l'histoire sociale. Citons à titre d'exemples les développements sur les vêtements des clercs (canon 27), certaines croyances populaires à propos des devins et sorciers (canon 61), des survivances païennes (canons 62 et 65), des coutumes estudiantines (canon 71), les soins capillaires et les soins de la barbe (long développement de Zonaras dans son commentaire au canon 96 contre les tresses des hommes). Outre ces exemples concernant croyances et pratiques populaires, les canons et leurs commentaires offrent un tableau concret des problèmes d'organisation de l'Église et de la société byzantines et de l'évolution de ces questions entre le 7<sup>e</sup> et le 12<sup>e</sup> siècle. Bibliographie, index des noms et des termes significatifs, index des canons complètent le volume.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU

John MONFASANI, *Ioannis Gatti Notata seu Tractatus qui erat fons Libri III Operis Bessarionis In Calumniatorem Platonis aduersus Georgium Trapezuntium* (Corpus christianorum, Series Graeca 94 ; Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus, Series altera 13). – Brepols, Turnhout 2021. 25 × 16 ; relié. LXI-183 p. Prix : 155 €. ISBN 978-2-503-59362-3.

Le lecteur s'étonnera peut-être, dans un premier mouvement, de trouver l'édition d'un texte latin dans la série grecque du *Corpus christianorum*. Sa surprise décroîtra toutefois en découvrant la sous-collection dans laquelle il s'inscrit et dont il est le premier volume paru, *Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus. Series altera*. Il est donc ici question de réception de Thomas d'Aquin dans la culture byzantine, même si, en l'occurrence, cette réception a eu lieu en Occident et après la chute de Constantinople.

Le traité de Giovanni Gatti était destiné à devenir l'une des parties du grand ouvrage de Bessarion, *In Calumniatorem Platonis aduersus Georgium Trapezuntium*, publié à Rome en 1469. En entreprenant cette œuvre impressionnante, Bessarion avait pour objectif de réfuter le traité de Georges de Trébizonde intitulé *Comparatio philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*, dans lequel ce dernier prétendait examiner les thèses des deux philosophes antiques pour déterminer lequel des deux était le plus proche du christianisme. Sous couvert de débat savant, l'aristotélicien Georges de Trébizonde menait en réalité une polémique virulente contre Pléthon, le principal représentant byzantin du courant platonicien, et, virtuellement, contre les disciples de ce dernier, dont Bessarion avait fait partie à Mistra dans les années

1430. La discussion sur la dimension de révélation pré-chrétienne ou non des doctrines platoniciennes ou aristotéliennes recouvrait donc, depuis le début des années 1440 à Constantinople, ensuite à Rome et à Venise entre 1450 et 1469, un affrontement pour ou contre Pléthon dont les enjeux étaient cruciaux pour Bessarion. À travers son ancien maître, le cardinal de Sainte-Sabine et patriarche latin de Constantinople, très actif au sein de la Curie et du Collège des cardinaux, pouvait être visé et mis en cause pour son adhésion à des thèses non seulement platoniciennes, mais même néo-païennes.

Comme l'avait déjà finement expliqué John Monfasani dans l'un de ses articles, *The Pre- and Post-History of Cardinal Bessarion's 1469 In Calumniatorem Platonis*, dans C. Märkl, C. Kaiser et T. Ricklin (éd.), *Inter Graecos Latinissimus, inter Latinos Graecissimus* (Pluralisierung und Autorität 39), Berlin 2013, p. 347-366, Bessarion a aussitôt perçu le danger et a tout fait pour contrer Georges de Trébizonde aussi vite et efficacement que possible. Alors qu'il s'est procuré la *Comparatio* de Georges de Trébizonde en 1458 ou au début de 1459, sa première réplique date de 1459 : elle est rédigée en grec et intitulée *Ἐλεγχὸι τῶν κατὰ Πλάτωνος βλασφημιῶν*, puis traduite en latin sous le titre *Liber defensionum contra objectiones in Platonem*. Bessarion cherchait ainsi à toucher les cercles humanistes italiens afin de les mettre de son côté. Mais son traité, certes élégant et bien tourné, souffrait d'un manque criant de références, en particulier celles qui auraient dû être tirées de la théologie scolastique, le passage obligé de toute controverse théologique en cette seconde moitié du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est là qu'intervint Giovanni Gatti, dominicain né à Messine autour de 1420, professeur de philosophie et de théologie, entré dès avant 1467 au service de Bessarion. L'entourage du cardinal était surtout composé de franciscains, lesquels se référaient plus volontiers à Duns Scot qu'à Thomas d'Aquin, tandis que Gatti était parfaitement bien placé pour insérer les citations thomistes attendues dans le traité de Bessarion.

Gatti prépare alors ce qui devait être le livre III du traité de Bessarion, en réponse aux arguments avancés par Georges de Trébizonde dans son propre livre II. Il relève dix-huit assertions de ce dernier qu'il déclare théologiquement fausses et, plutôt que de chercher à prouver la rectitude de la pensée de Platon, il s'emploie surtout à rejeter les arguments selon lesquels la philosophie d'Aristote serait proche de la doctrine chrétienne ou même compatible avec elle. Comme le montre J. Monfasani, Gatti recourt alors non seulement à Thomas d'Aquin (voir l'*index fontium* p. 179-182), mais aussi à Avicenne et Averroès, de manière à montrer que c'est Georges de Trébizonde qui déforme l'enseignement d'Aristote et le christianise. Par exemple sur le thème de la création du monde *ex nihilo*, Gatti commence par confronter la thèse aristotélienne, selon laquelle Dieu n'a pas pu produire de lui-même toute la création, à celle de Platon dans le *Timée*, qui se rapproche plus de l'idée de création *ex nihilo*, même si cette dernière est opérée selon un certain ordonnancement (§ 1, 12, 1) ; plus loin (§ 5, 3, 4), Gatti s'appuie sur Thomas d'Aquin, mais aussi sur Averroès pour rappeler que, selon Aristote, rien n'est généré à partir de rien. Gatti fournit ainsi un arsenal d'arguments et de citations à Bessarion. Ce dernier, contrairement à son projet initial, ne reprend pas telles quelles les *Notata* de Gatti, mais compose son livre III en grec en s'appuyant sur ce matériau : à cet égard, on consultera avec profit les tables de concordance I et II qui répertorient tous les emprunts de Bessarion à Gatti, d'abord en suivant l'ordre du traité de Gatti, puis selon l'ordre du livre III de Bessarion. C'est ensuite cette version grecque du

livre III qui est retraduite par Bessarion en latin et dont le style est retravaillé par ses secrétaires. Il en résulte que les citations latines fournies par Gatti, celles de Thomas d'Aquin notamment, sont la plupart du temps retraduites en latin à partir du grec dans l'*In Calumniatorem Platonis* de Bessarion.

J. Monfasani explique qu'il a identifié ces *Notata* de Gatti comme la source utilisée par Bessarion en se plongeant dans la lecture du microfilm du *Marcianus lat.* VI, 61 (coll. 2592), qui est le seul manuscrit conservé de ce texte. Le traité n'est pas tout à fait complet, il s'interrompt au milieu d'une phrase au paragraphe 8, 6. J. Monfasani en donne une édition soignée, annotée et dotée de quatre apparats : outre l'apparat critique, dans lequel il a consigné toutes les corrections portées par la main de Bessarion sur le *Marc. lat.* VI, 61, et l'identification des sources et lieux parallèles, l'éditeur a signalé aussi les variantes rédactionnelles de Bessarion qui aboutissent en quelque sorte à une nouvelle recension du même texte (jusqu'au § 4, 1, 5) ; il a enfin indiqué les correspondances entre les *Notata* de Gatti et l'*In Calumniatorem Platonis* de Bessarion.

Il faut saluer la réalisation de cet ouvrage, qui permettra au lecteur d'accéder à l'une des étapes essentielles de la fabrique de la réfutation de Bessarion. Une étude de synthèse sur la réception de Thomas d'Aquin par Bessarion est aussi en cours de préparation par John Dèmétracopoulos et Panagiotis Athanasopoulos et viendra compléter la présente publication dans la même collection. Les modalités d'utilisation de l'argumentation thomiste par un auteur byzantin sont ainsi mises en lumière : même si le cas de la collaboration entre Bessarion et Gatti est particulier, il s'inscrit bien dans une tradition déjà vieille d'un siècle, à la fin des années 1450, de lecture et d'appropriation de la pensée du théologien latin à Byzance.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET

Ingela NILSSON, *Writer and Occasion in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Authorial Voice of Constantine Manasses*. – Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021. 23,5 × 15,5 ; relié. x-221 p. Prix : 75 £. ISBN 978-1-108-84335-5.

Annoncé par plusieurs études préparatoires, dont certaines sont encore sous presse (Narrating images in Byzantine literature: the ekphraseis of Konstantinos Manasses, *JÖB* 55, 2005, p. 121-146 ; The literary voice of a chronicler – the *Synopsis Chronike* of Konstantinos Manasses à paraître dans *Scandinavian Journal for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 7, 2021), le présent volume s'inscrit dans le sillage des travaux d'Ingela Nilsson autour de l'œuvre de Constantin Manassès (ca 1115-1175). L'auteure, grande spécialiste de la littérature byzantine du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle (*Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine and Hysminias*, Uppsala 2001) et sensible à la problématique de l'intertextualité dans la littérature byzantine (The same story but another: a reappraisal of literary imitation in Byzantium, dans A. Rhoby et E. Schiffer (éd.), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio: Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur, Wien 22-25 Oktober 2008*, Vienne 2010, p. 195-208), était très bien placée pour produire un ouvrage original

qui jette un regard neuf sur l'activité littéraire de Constantin Manassès. Le livre qui en découle retient au premier abord l'attention par sa structure claire et bien organisée : l'ouvrage s'articule autour de sept unités thématiques qui s'ouvrent sur certaines pistes théoriques et méthodologiques pour aborder ensuite un dossier de textes bien défini. Relevons aussi le courage et les compétences philologiques de l'auteure d'avoir fourni la première traduction en langue anglaise d'un nombre considérable de passages cités, dont les éditions sont parfois problématiques.

L'auteure cherche à définir la singularité de la voix auctoriale de Constantin Manassès en tant qu'enseignant, écrivain sur commande et producteur de littérature occasionnelle. L'occasion qui se trouve à l'origine de la composition du texte sert ici de prétexte permettant à Manassès d'atteindre son objectif extralittéraire, qui n'est autre que sa réhabilitation sociale, politique et personnelle. La notion de « voix auctoriale » fait ici référence à l'ensemble des moyens linguistiques, stylistiques et rhétoriques déployés par l'auteur. L'originalité du travail de Nilsson réside dans sa volonté de chercher la voix auctoriale bien reconnaissable de Manassès, le cachet de l'auteur, dans l'ensemble de son œuvre, qui constitue par ailleurs la source principale pour connaître sa vie. L'auctorialité est ici comprise comme une « performance culturelle » et l'étude des textes de Manassès permet de saisir les modalités de l'auto-construction auctoriale et de l'invention du *storyworld* d'un écrivain byzantin du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nilsson s'attarde sur l'importance de la visualisation de la ville et de l'espace impérial. À travers un dossier de textes bien choisi (*l'Éloge de l'empereur Manuel Comnène*, la *Description d'une scène de chasse*, l'*Itinéraire* et quatre *ekphraseis*), l'auteure démontre à quel point ces écrits, *a priori* de natures très différentes, servent à dépeindre un espace devant un public qui se place à l'intérieur de celui-ci ; l'imaginaire et la langue permettent de dégager une voix auctoriale reconnaissable qui devient un outil d'autopromotion.

Une attention particulière est prêtée à la littérature occasionnelle liée à la mort. Sont passés en revue quatre discours de Manassès autour de cette thématique en mettant l'accent sur les modalités de construction des personnages littéraires dans le contexte d'une *performance* rhétorique à caractère théâtral. En effet, Manassès s'empresse de créer une *persona* littéraire pour lui-même, mais aussi pour le destinataire de son discours qui se cache derrière le masque littéraire du commanditaire. S'il fait la part belle à l'auto-représentation, Manassès insiste également sur son réseau amical vers lequel il se tourne pour demander de l'aide en cas de difficultés. Les quatre textes examinés ici (une oraison et trois lettres) sont tous transmis dans un seul manuscrit : Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. XI, 22 (coll. 1235 ; Diktyon 70658). Nilsson introduit ici la notion d'« auteur modèle », élaborée par le sémiologue italien Umberto Eco, pour mieux saisir les stratégies narratives mises en œuvre pour créer une voix auctoriale reconnaissable. L'« auteur modèle » se sert ici de son art pour louer ceux qui sont au pouvoir et obtenir de l'aide en échange. Ces textes ont un objectif extratextuel et occupent une position intermédiaire entre l'imaginaire gréco-romain et la vie réelle.

L'activité de Manassès en tant que *grammatikos* est également passée au crible. Sont examinées cinq *schédai* de format énigmatique : ici l'« auteur modèle » se pose en enseignant. Même si l'on y trouve moins de traces de la voix auctoriale de Manassès, car ces textes étaient composés moins pour l'auto-promotion que pour servir l'intérêt des élèves, ils transcendent le caractère didactique et peuvent revêtir d'autres fonctions. Le cas, par exemple, des *Schédai tou myos* (« Variations sur la souris »),

traditionnellement attribuées à Théodore Prodrome (voir *REB* 75, 2017, p. 357-359), est révélateur de la complexité des liens intertextuels de ces écrits. Comme c'est le cas pour Théodore Prodrome, l'activité de Manassès en tant qu'enseignant ne doit pas être séparée du reste de son œuvre et du cadre social dans lequel il était actif.

Nilsson s'attarde sur le rôle de l'auto-citation, du recyclage littéraire et de la répétition en tant que stratégies auctoriales, un sujet beaucoup moins étudié que la *mimèsis* à Byzance. L'autoréférence ne se réduit pas à la mise en scène de l'auteur par lui-même, mais revêt plusieurs formes. Sont ici examinés de près trois écrits de Manassès : la *Synopsis chronikè*, qui ne cesse de faire l'objet de nouvelles études (voir *REB* 79, 2021, p. 381-382), les fragments du roman *Aristandros et Kallithéa* et le *Poème moral en vers politiques*, qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre depuis l'époque d'Emmanuel Miller. L'auteur montre bien à quel point Manassès recycle les mêmes thèmes, tout en insistant sur l'aspect émotionnel et les vicissitudes de la vie humaine ; les émotions exprimées sont celles de l'« auteur modèle ».

Le dernier chapitre regroupe les conclusions globales de l'ouvrage. Tout au long de sa présentation, Nilsson démontre à quel point avoir une voix auctoriale facilement identifiée, personnelle et constante était indispensable pour réussir sa carrière d'écrivain dans la capitale au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle. La *persona* auctoriale devait être construite en fonction des attentes, explicites ou implicites, du public. Même si la cohérence absolue n'était jamais atteinte, la nouveauté devait être présentée sous la forme d'un passé reconstruit, à travers la pratique de réemplois littéraires et de l'autoréférence. La littérature occasionnelle était liée non seulement à l'occasion elle-même, mais aussi à la représentation d'une réalité qui était associée à cette occasion. Au-delà de l'approche biographique centrée sur l'« auteur empirique », Nilsson se focalise sur la figure de l'« auteur modèle » pour établir une géographie textuelle au sein de laquelle le lecteur apprend à naviguer. Ainsi distingue-t-elle deux étapes dans la production littéraire de Manassès : la première allant de la fin des années 1130 ou du début des années 1140 jusqu'aux années 1150, et la seconde s'étalant de 1160 à 1170, sachant qu'un seul texte peut être daté avec certitude avant 1161. Une bibliographie bien structurée, un index des lieux cités et un index général complètent l'ouvrage.

Voici un ouvrage rédigé avec brio qui fait preuve d'une connaissance approfondie de l'œuvre de Constantin Manassès, tout en sortant des sentiers battus pour jeter un nouveau regard sur son écriture. Sa réflexion originale autour de la voix auctoriale nous invite à réévaluer l'activité des auteurs byzantins en la replaçant dans leur contexte socio-culturel et à repenser la littérature byzantine, trop souvent réduite aux mêmes approches.

Anna LAMPADARIDI

Daniel OLTEAN, *Devenir moine à Byzance. Coutumes sociales, règles monastiques et rituels liturgiques* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 291 ; Bibliothèque de *Byzantion* 24). – Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT 2020. 25,5 × 17,5 ; relié. xvii-426 p. Prix : 105 €. ISBN 978-90-429-3938-7.

Issu d'une thèse conjointement présentée à l'EHESS et à l'Université de Thessalonique, enrichie par un post-doctorat à la KU Leuven, cet ouvrage aborde un



domaine traditionnel (la vie monastique à Byzance) avec un regard neuf, maniant avec la même pertinence théologie, sociologie et anthropologie. L'approche est résolument interdisciplinaire et mène, sur la longue durée (du 4<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle), une étude comparative, à partir du thème de l'entrée dans la vie monastique, des « différentes traditions religieuses et sociales avec lesquelles le monde byzantin est entré en contact » (p. 1), en convoquant « l'histoire sociale, l'histoire des religions, la sociologie et l'anthropologie », afin de saisir l'originalité de la démarche byzantine au cours des siècles, dans une tentative d'« histoire totale » (p. 6). L'étude aborde tout d'abord, dans une grande première partie où les principales articulations de la réflexion historique sont esquissées (p. 9-86), le *σχῆμα* monastique, avec la question disputée des deux habits (petit habit, grand habit) ; une seconde partie (p. 87-216) analyse « les enjeux spirituels et sociaux de l'engagement monastique » ; une troisième partie (p. 217-316) envisage la façon dont le postulant devient moine (probation, formation, intégration) ; une conclusion générale (p. 317-322) rassemble les traits principaux dégagés par ces études très fouillées ; suivent cinq annexes donnant la traduction française de rituels inédits à partir des manuscrits Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barb. gr. 336 (Diktyon 64879 ; Office du petit habit ; office pour les moines) ; Sevastianov 474 (? ; Office du premier habit) ; Grottaferata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Γ.β.5 (grec 309 ; Diktyon 17897 ; Office du premier habit) ; Γ.β.43 (grec 139 ; Diktyon 17940 ; Office du *Πρόσχημα*) ; Paris, BnF, Coislin 213 (Diktyon 49354 ; Office pour les novices ; Office du *Πρόσχημα*). Une abondante bibliographie (66 pages) et un index des noms et notions closent le volume.

Cette imposante étude, qui suppose la maîtrise de diverses compétences scientifiques (de l'anthropologie à la paléographie en passant par l'histoire sociale et la théologie) et linguistiques (latin, grec, langues slaves et orientales), et qui couvre une grande variété de sources (liturgiques, historiques, hagiographiques, documentaires, etc.), aborde des sujets cruciaux à Byzance comme la controverse autour de l'existence de deux habits monastiques, la profession monastique contrainte, la présence des enfants au monastère. L'analyse minutieuse des textes, mis en relation avec leur contexte historique, permet à l'auteur de dégager plusieurs clés d'interprétation pour résoudre quelques contradictions de la tradition byzantine. Ainsi, la controverse entre tenants d'un petit et d'un grand habit et tenants d'un habit unique (dont le principal représentant est Théodore Stoudite) est mise en relation avec l'arrivée massive à Constantinople de moines palestiniens chassés par la conquête arabe et amenant avec eux des traditions divergentes par rapport à celles de la capitale, et parfois mal comprises. La concurrence entre les deux modèles monastiques, palestinien et constantinopolitain, avec les malentendus qui en découlent parfois, apparaît comme une constante de l'histoire monastique et liturgique à Byzance ; au fil des siècles, des synthèses se dégagent puis se défont. Autres exemples : la présence d'enfants au monastère, interdite ici et encouragée là, ou le contentieux entre liberté de la vocation monastique et entrée contrainte au monastère ; après avoir analysé les différentes positions, l'auteur invite à ne pas « chercher une unité là où l'esprit byzantin n'a fait qu'accepter les contraires » (p. 93) ; en effet, ajoute-t-il un peu plus loin, « tous les modèles coexistent à Byzance, sans que la contradiction gêne et sans clarification législative » (p. 136). Il en est de même, par exemple, à propos de l'abandon de leur famille par des hommes mariés saisis par une vocation monastique irrépressible : dans la pensée byzantine, fuite du monde et respect du mariage

« coexistent, et la société byzantine les accepte ensemble » (p. 153). Ces quelques exemples montrent la fécondité de la démarche de l'auteur qui appuie sur une méthode historique rigoureuse une réflexion originale, dans un esprit d'ouverture et d'empathie envers les diverses positions qu'il analyse. Cet ouvrage ne pourra être ignoré de ceux qui s'intéressent à la vie monastique dans la sphère d'influence byzantine.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU

Stratis PAPAIOANNOU, *Michael Psellus, Epistulae*, I-II (Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana 2030). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2019. 23,5 × 16 ; relié. CLXXXV-1-574 et XXV-(575)-1207 p. Prix : 139,95 €. ISBN : 978-3-11-062201-0.

L'édition d'un corpus de lettres, antique ou médiéval, relève toujours un peu de la gageure, tant il est difficile de reconstituer la physionomie d'une correspondance antique, dont il manque presque toujours l'un des versants et dont on peine souvent à reconstruire le contexte. Dans le cas des *Lettres* de Michel Psellos, la chose est rendue particulièrement complexe par l'extrême dispersion de la tradition manuscrite, qui ne nous a transmis ces épîtres que de manière presque toujours fragmentée. En effet, on ne dispose visiblement ni d'une publication de ses *Lettres* par l'auteur lui-même, ni d'une diffusion issue d'une archive d'auteur constituée et organisée, mais seulement d'une multitude de micro-corpus, qui ont été rassemblés dans des circonstances et à des époques qu'il est souvent fort difficile de préciser. La première partie de l'introduction est donc consacrée à présenter les modalités de transmission de ce corpus qui n'en est pas un, ainsi que les principes qui ont présidé à la sélection des textes. En effet, comme le rappelle l'éditeur, le genre épistolaire ne bénéficie pas de bornes parfaitement déterminées et claires ; d'autres textes de Psellos, également courts et destinés à une audience réduite, d'un niveau de langue littéraire, peuvent être difficiles à distinguer des lettres. La définition issue des manuscrits est relativement circulaire : est une lettre un texte inclus dans un groupe de textes qui sont considérés comme des lettres. Aussi S. Papaioannou a-t-il à la fois écarté de son édition certains textes qui pourraient être considérés comme des lettres, mais y a aussi inclus des textes qu'il ne considère pas lui-même comme des lettres, mais qui ont été édités auparavant parmi les lettres de Psellos. Ces deux épais volumes comportent donc 563 textes, édités comme des lettres même s'ils ne le sont pas tous, ou ne sont pas tous authentiques – sans parler des résumés ou abrégés et des réécritures – tandis que 21 autres ont été édités ailleurs, alors qu'ils sont considérés par l'éditeur comme des lettres. Sur ce dernier point, et vue l'épaisseur des deux volumes, on se demande s'il n'aurait pas été utile au lecteur de les reprendre ici et de les intégrer à la réorganisation que propose S. Papaioannou.

L'éditeur a proposé une nouvelle numérotation des textes (numéro précédé de Π), et fournit comme premier index une concordance de sa nouvelle numérotation avec celles des éditions précédentes – cet index permet également de repérer aisément les dix-huit textes qui étaient jusqu'alors inédits, dont certains (7) sont cependant seulement des recensions différentes de textes déjà édités. Celle-ci se fonde sur un nouveau classement d'ensemble, qui ne peut que remplacer les recensements et

éditions précédents, tous partiels, même celui de l'*Iter psellianum* de P. Moore (qui dénombrait 538 lettres) ; il aurait d'ailleurs été utile d'indiquer au lecteur, dans la rubrique initiale de chaque lettre, le renvoi à la numérotation de Moore – même si le classement de ce dernier, qui repose sur l'incipit des lettres, rend assez aisé de retrouver la plupart d'entre elles. S. Papaioannou a classé les lettres en fonction de leur destinataire, en trois groupes : les lettres adressées à une personne nommée, classées par ordre alphabétique du nom de famille ou à défaut du prénom (1-285) ; les lettres adressées à une personne anonyme mais dont un titre ou une fonction est mentionné (286-400) ; les lettres sans indication initiale ou de destinataire incertain, classées par manuscrit (ordre chronologique), puis par ordre d'apparition dans le manuscrit (401-518) ; enfin, les extraits, réécritures, pseudépigraphes et lettres d'autres auteurs (519-556). Cependant, les lettres d'un correspondant de Psellos sont placées avec les lettres qui lui sont adressées, les réécritures dont l'original est conservé suivent la lettre qu'elles récrivent, et un certain nombre de lettres inauthentiques ou douteuses sont placées dans les trois premières sections. En outre, l'éditeur a tenté de suivre des critères d'*akolouthie* dans les manuscrits et d'ordre chronologique des missives. Une table des matières détaillées permet de prendre une vue d'ensemble de l'édition et de l'ordre suivi.

L'introduction recense 53 manuscrits, ainsi qu'une édition partielle (1625) dont le modèle est perdu, mais partiellement connu par une autre copie, et en présente une description volontairement sélective et partielle ; si ces pages fourmillent de détails intéressants, y compris pour l'histoire des livres médiévaux, on regrettera cependant que l'éditeur n'ait pas cru bon d'indiquer, pour chaque manuscrit, la liste détaillée des lettres qu'il contient – sauf pour A (Athènes, Mouseio Mpenaki, TA 250 [Diktyon 8360]) et son modèle U (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1912 [Diktyon 68541]). En outre, l'ordre d'exposition adopté, qui classe les manuscrits par ordre chronologique, ne facilite pas le repérage des livres – un index des manuscrits aurait été indispensable – et ne facilite pas non plus la compréhension de la physionomie de la tradition. En effet, dans la mesure où les différents manuscrits transmettent des collections de taille et de configuration très variables, il n'est pas facile au profane de s'y repérer ; on dispose dans les deux volumes des instruments nécessaires pour identifier les témoins d'une lettre, mais non pour reconstituer les collections des différents manuscrits. À la décharge de l'éditeur, cette tradition extrêmement fragmentée était fort difficile à présenter : en effet, 376 lettres ne sont transmises que par un témoin unique, et une seule lettre est attestée par cinq témoins – aucune n'est plus fréquente. Une telle situation explique que, mis à part pour l'élimination des *descripti*, l'éditeur ne fournisse à peu près aucun classement des manuscrits ; l'édition est donc fondamentalement éclectique et ne peut recourir qu'à des critères textuels, ainsi qu'au concept si difficile à manier de *codex potior*. L'éditeur fournit également les liens vers les numérisations qu'il connaît ; cependant, ces liens sont souvent longs et complexes (et parfois plus qu'il n'est nécessaire) : il aurait été plus simple d'indiquer le numéro Diktyon, dans la mesure où toutes ces numérisations – et d'autres – sont recensées dans la base de données *Pinakes*. Il était impossible, pour un si grand nombre de manuscrits, et qui ont pour certains suscité tant d'études, d'être exhaustif. On s'étonne pourtant de l'absence de certains travaux directement liés au texte de Psellos dans les livres étudiés (comme l'article d'A. Guida, *BZ* 103, 2010, p. 43-48, à propos du ms. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 712 [Diktyon 67343]), ou de présentations sans doute trop rapides pour être

probantes du contenu de certains manuscrits (pour le même livre, la section des ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-161<sup>v</sup> contient, selon l'éditeur, des textes liés à la controverse avec les Latins : il aurait fallu le montrer par exemple pour les extraits de Grégoire de Nysse des ff. 151-161<sup>v</sup>, pour lesquels la chose est loin d'être évidente).

L'édition est accompagnée d'un appareil critique, généralement très réduit, d'un appareil des sources, des parallèles et des *testimonia*, beaucoup plus riche et fourni, à la hauteur de la culture littéraire et philosophique de Psellos ; S. Papaioannou a fait le choix de faire figurer le texte des sources ou parallèles dans l'apparat, ce qui est fort utile mais l'alourdit quelque peu. Des informations d'identification sont également fournies, dans la mesure du possible, pour chaque destinataire, ainsi que les références des éditions précédentes. Le deuxième volume est complété par divers *indices* ; on a déjà évoqué le premier, qui fournit une concordance entre les éditions existantes et la nouvelle ; le deuxième fournit un incipitaire des lettres, avec renvoi aux manuscrits qui les transmettent ; suivent un index des noms et un autre des termes significatifs, dont 77 *hapax* ; vient ensuite un ample index, que l'auteur a subdivisé selon la structure de son appareil des sources et des *testimonia*, ce qui ne va pas sans difficulté car la disposition adoptée interdit toute vue d'ensemble : citations ; références probables, allusions et parallèles ; références incertaines et allusions. On notera que les parallèles dans les autres textes pselliens, qui ont été relevés de manière aussi exhaustive que possible, seront à chercher dans la deuxième section de ce dernier index, et que les références bibliques sont éclatées entre *Nouum Testamentum* et *Septuaginta*.

On sait la difficulté des écrits de Psellos, par leur langue et par leur degré d'érudition, difficulté redoublée dans les lettres par le caractère incertain ou inconnu du contexte de nombre d'entre elles. Il ne reste donc qu'à espérer une traduction rapide de cette édition, qui apporte une pierre essentielle aux études sur Michel Psellos, sur l'écriture épistolaire à Byzance et sur le contexte intellectuel du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Matthieu CASSIN

Christodoulos PAPAVERNAS, *Gefängnis als Schwellenraum in der byzantinischen Hagiographie. Eine Untersuchung früh- und mittelbyzantinischer Märtyrerakten* (Millennium-Studien 9). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 24,5 × 17,5 ; relié. 246 p. Prix : 89,95 €. ISBN : 978-3-11-072542-1.

Issu du doctorat défendu par Christodoulos Papavarnas en août 2018 à l'université de Vienne et codirigé par Claudia Rapp et Stavroula Konstantinou, ce livre d'étude hagiographique porte sur un objet bien précis, la prison comme phase spécifique du martyre, dans une perspective diachronique et comparative. À plusieurs reprises, mais de manière non systématique, l'auteur met en parallèle les textes du Ménologe métaphrastique avec les versions prémétaphrastiques correspondantes, sous réserve qu'elles soient éditées. L'analyse concerne au total un panel très largement emprunté au Ménologe métaphrastique de quatre-vingt-deux martyrs des 4<sup>e</sup>-10<sup>e</sup> siècles, correspondant à un corpus de cent six actes de martyre, dont la liste est donnée en annexe. Conçu comme une étude littéraire, le livre explicite à plusieurs reprises, et de manière justement concise, les concepts qu'il emprunte à la théorie

littéraire (motif, scène et topos) ou à l'anthropologie (liminalité / liminarité). Ses objectifs sont exposés avec assez de détails dans l'introduction : montrer que la prison, en tant qu'espace et que phase de transition (entre l'interrogatoire et les tortures d'une part, l'exécution d'autre part), est un motif caractéristique du martyre, constitutif de l'obtention de la sainteté. C'est en prison que les protagonistes acceptent leur identité de martyrs et cherchent à la renforcer. L'auteur, à l'instar de Jean Chrysostome, entend montrer l'utilité de la prison dans l'économie du martyre et de son récit.

Le livre est organisé en quatre chapitres et comprend en outre une annexe, comme indiqué, une bibliographie et un index. Dans le premier chapitre (« Das Textkorpus », p. 30-49), consacré à la définition et à la justification du corpus textuel, le lexique de la prison est exposé, qu'il s'agisse du lieu, des prisonniers ou des gardiens de prison, et fait l'objet d'une analyse quantitative, présentée sous la forme de trois diagrammes (p. 37-38). L'auteur en conclut à la valorisation de la prison comme motif, scène et topos dans le récit du martyre, une valorisation qu'il met en parallèle, de manière assez vague, avec le rôle accru de la prison dans le monde romain (et même si l'emprisonnement ne constitue pas une peine à proprement parler, comme il le précise). Il a précédemment noté, en introduction, qu'à partir du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, des textes grecs à caractère liturgique mentionnent, à Jérusalem, la prison du Christ, alors même que ce dernier n'est pas connu pour avoir été emprisonné. L'auteur explore ensuite les formes de substitution à la prison, publiques et privées.

Le deuxième chapitre (« Die Gefängnisphase in der Erzählstruktur des Martyriums », p. 50-86) constitue le cœur de l'étude, c'est aussi le plus riche. L'auteur y montre comment l'emprisonnement du martyr constitue une phase indépendante du point de vue narratologique, distincte en particulier de la séquence des tortures (comme le confirme au moins un manuscrit enluminé du Ménéloge métaphrastique), avant d'explorer les fonctions de la prison en tant que scène. Le récit comme mis en suspens, de même que l'exécution est ajournée, laisse la place à un autre type de discours, spirituel avant tout. L'auteur y développe sa thèse centrale que la prison est un espace liminal, qui conduit le martyr à la sainteté, et surtout précise et enrichit son analyse en interprétant la prison comme un espace hybride, un microcosme où s'opposent le bien et le mal, où le martyr, exposé aux gardiens de prison, est protégé par Dieu, où des prédications antagonistes peuvent avoir lieu, comme dans le cas des Quarante-deux martyrs d'Amorion. Ce caractère hybride peut influencer jusqu'au texte même dans le cas de la Passion prémétaphrastique de Kallistratos (*BHG* 290z), qui emprunte à la fois aux actes des martyrs et aux questions et réponses. L'auteur détaille les différentes expériences spirituelles dont la prison peut être le lieu : prédications, baptêmes des compagnons de captivité, voire des gardiens de prison, rêves et visions (sans que ne soit cité le livre d'Andrei Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoirs à Byzance. Étude sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine [IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles]*, Paris 2010), miracles enfin, actions qui toutes confirment l'identité du martyr et saint.

Dans les troisième (« Genderidentität im Gefängnis: Sexuelle Versuchung und Widerstand », p. 87-119) et quatrième chapitres (« Psychische und physische Empfindungen im Gefängnis: der Weg zur Heiligkeit », p. 120-152), l'auteur introduit deux problématiques désormais souvent convoquées dans les études hagiographiques ou, plus largement, littéraires concernant le monde byzantin. La

captivité des martyres, en mettant en péril leur virginité, prend en effet une tournure particulière : contrairement à leurs homologues masculins, les femmes peuvent y être confrontées aux démons et aux dragons comme aux hommes et leur combat vise aussi à protéger leur sexe et leur chasteté. L'auteur analyse avec soin le renversement des positions : de faible, la femme devient forte – et inversement pour le démon ou le dragon –, au point de revêtir l'apparence d'un homme (à l'image et à l'inverse du *Fidelio* de Beethoven). Il relève les connotations sexuelles des Passions de Juliana de Nicomédie, de Marina d'Antioche (*BHG* 1165) et de Perpetua (*BHG* 1482) et fait du démon / dragon une métaphore des faiblesses propres de la martyre dont elle doit se défendre, de la prison une indispensable scène pour gagner la perfection. Notons que, si la pomme, dans le martyre de Perpetua, est bien un symbole de victoire, comme l'auteur le suggère (p. 111), c'est aussi un signe d'élection, comme le rappelle, par exemple, la Vie de l'impératrice Théodora (*BHG* 1731).

Dans le dernier chapitre, ce sont les émotions et les impressions physiques du martyr qui confortent et achèvent sa sainteté. Les émotions, fort présentes dans les Passions métaphrastiques, font elles aussi de la prison un espace liminal où la peur du martyr cède à son courage, le lieu d'une transformation psychique qui lui est propre et que le récipiendaire du martyre, qu'il soit spectateur, auditeur ou lecteur, ne peut totalement s'approprier. Cette transformation touche aussi le corps et ses perceptions. Si le martyr n'exprime aucune souffrance en public, il expose en revanche sa douleur à Dieu, dans la solitude de la prison, pour bientôt la dépasser. Décrite comme un enfer ou un paradis, la prison apparaît dans tous les cas comme un lieu de passage, qui spiritualise et sanctifie le martyr.

En conclusion (« Rückblick und Ausblick », p. 153-165), l'auteur ne se contente pas de résumer les principaux acquis de son étude, il développe une thématique omniprésente dans ses analyses antérieures, l'association de tous les protagonistes, qu'il s'agisse des compagnons du saint, des gardiens de prison, des visiteurs, à ce qui se joue dans la prison et la passion, la fondation d'une identité. Ce processus de transformation touche la prison elle-même, qui, pour l'auteur, devient un lieu sacré, voire un lieu de culte, pour avoir été la scène de la révélation de la sainteté du martyr avant même sa mise à mort.

La force du livre et de sa démonstration repose sur son unité, la richesse de son propos, constamment illustré par de longues et fréquentes citations, la finesse et la justesse de ses analyses. La thèse défendue, la prison comme espace liminal et hybride, comme lieu et temps de transformation, se révèle particulièrement pertinente dans l'étude des textes qui sont présentés comme du thème, la sainteté martyriale, laquelle est décrite et pensée comme un processus. Contrairement à ce que le caractère circonscrit de l'étude pourrait suggérer, la question est loin d'être mineure ou anecdotique dans une spiritualité chrétienne qui, en théorie et en pratique, accorde tant de place à l'enfermement, à la réclusion, à l'isolement, comme l'auteur le rappelle. On regrette d'autant plus que, tout à son objet et à sa démonstration, il n'en explore pas les limites ou les contradictions, ne disant mot des Passions qui s'écartent de ce schéma de sainteté, ou encore qu'il s'abstienne de s'interroger sur la réception et la diffusion de celui-ci, dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople par exemple.

Sophie MÉTIVIER

Antonio RIGO, *Gregorio Palamas, Tomo aghioritico: la storia, il testo e la dottrina* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 298 ; Bibliothèque de *Byzantion* 26). – Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT 2021. 26 × 17,5 ; relié. 187 p. Prix : 90 €. ISBN 978-90-429-4077-2.

Antonio Rigo livre avec cet ouvrage une édition critique et une étude historique approfondie d'un texte fondamental de la querelle palamite, le *Tome hagioritique*. Sa rédaction se situe avant le synode du 10 juin 1341, dans le contexte du conflit opposant Barlaam de Calabre et Grégoire Palamas à propos de la prière hésychaste et de la doctrine de ce dernier sur les énergies divines. Il s'agit donc de la première phase de la confrontation entre Palamas et ses adversaires, et ce texte, dont l'attribution est désormais indiscutée, constitue un jalon majeur tant dans l'évolution de la pensée de Palamas que dans l'histoire religieuse byzantine du milieu du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Il existait jusqu'à présent trois éditions du texte intégral : la première avait été réalisée par Dosithée de Jérusalem à partir d'un manuscrit aujourd'hui perdu et avait été publiée en 1698 dans son *Τόμος αγάπης κατά Λατίνων*. La deuxième se trouvait dans la *Philocalie* de Nicodème l'Hagiorite et Macaire de Corinthe, parue à Venise en 1782, et avait été reprise dans la *Patrologie grecque*. La troisième, qui constituait jusqu'à maintenant l'édition de référence, est incluse dans l'édition des œuvres complètes de Grégoire Palamas dirigée par Panagiotès Chrèstou : elle se trouve dans le deuxième volume de cette série (p. 557-578), paru en 1967, et a été réalisée par B. Pseutongas. Celui-ci n'a pas cherché à reconstituer l'histoire des manuscrits, ni à établir un stemma, si bien qu'il n'a pas compris que la tradition manuscrite se séparait en deux familles présentant certaines variantes et, surtout, de fortes différences dans la liste des signataires du *Tome*. En outre l'éditeur n'a pas tenu compte des divisions internes du texte ni de la numérotation des chapitres fournies par les manuscrits.

A. Rigo propose donc une édition critique à nouveaux frais. Il a identifié douze manuscrits du texte, six datant du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont certains très proches de la rédaction du *Tome*, et six autres du 15<sup>e</sup> au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. Une première famille transmet le *Tomos* parmi d'autres œuvres de Palamas, en particulier celles qui sont liées à sa polémique avec Barlaam et Akindynos. L'autre famille, qui n'est représentée que par des témoins du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, présente un caractère plus officiel, puisqu'elle contient tous les *Tomes* synodaux du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, à savoir ceux de 1341, 1347, 1351 et, dans certains cas, même celui de 1368, ainsi que, parfois, le *Rapport des métropolitains à Anne Paléologue* et le *Prostagma* de Jean VI Cantacuzène. À ces deux familles correspondent deux types de listes de signataires, toutes deux pourvues de vingt et un noms. La liste **a** de la première famille provient directement de l'original, qui était en possession de Palamas et dont il écrit lui-même qu'il le conservait sous son oreiller : y figurent toutes les signatures accompagnées de la titulature propre de chacun, et l'indication que certaines d'entre elles étaient écrites dans un autre alphabet – l'higoumène d'Iviron avait signé en géorgien, l'higoumène « des Serbes », c'est-à-dire de Chilandar, en slavon, et un hésychaste syrien, en arabe. La liste **b** donne les mêmes noms dans un ordre différent ; le *prôtos* Isaac n'est pas nommé par son nom, en revanche le monastère ou la skite à laquelle appartiennent les moines sont systématiquement mentionnés. Cette seconde liste a été authentiquée par le métropolite Athanase de Cyzique, qui a aussi attesté l'authenticité du *Tome* synodal de 1341, ainsi qu'en témoignent respectivement deux notes.



Ces signataires font l'objet d'une enquête prosopographique dans l'ouvrage, certains étant bien connus par ailleurs, comme les futurs patriarches Kallistos et Philothée Kokkinos, et d'autres tout à fait obscurs. La composition de l'assemblée était la suivante : le *prôtos* Isaac et l'évêque Jacques de Hiérissos présidaient, certains higoumènes de grands monastères étaient présents – dans l'ordre ceux de Lavra, d'Iviron, de Vatopédi et de Chilandar –, ainsi que des moines de divers établissements, en particulier plusieurs de la skite de Magoula, à savoir des disciples de Grégoire le Sinaïte, lequel s'était établi là lors de son propre séjour à l'Athos dans les années 1310-1320. Au-delà de ces signataires, il faut probablement penser que d'autres moines ont pu assister à l'événement sans signer le *Tome*, comme c'était souvent l'usage à l'Athos.

A. Rigo apporte des précisions importantes sur le contexte de cette réunion. On sait que dès le printemps 1340, la querelle entre Barlaam et Palamas s'était à nouveau envenimée, au point que ce dernier pouvait craindre d'être accusé pour hérésie devant le synode. La composition et la ratification du *Tome hagioritique* visait donc à anticiper et préparer une défense dans la perspective d'un procès. On situait jusqu'à maintenant la rédaction du texte à l'été 1340, mais grâce à l'*enkomion* de Palamas par Philothée Kokkinos, A. Rigo peut avancer une date très précise. Le récit de Philothée indique que Palamas avait dû partir pour l'Athos alors que sa sœur Théodotè était malade, au moment de la fête de la Dormition : il fut absent huit jours, mais fut rentré pour recueillir son dernier soupir. C'est donc autour du 15 août 1340 que le *Tome hagioritique* fut signé par les moines, c'est-à-dire non à une date aléatoire, mais à l'occasion de l'assemblée annuelle la plus importante des moines de l'Athos, la *katholikè synaxis*. Ce contexte est décisif, car par la suite Palamas a été accusé d'avoir enfreint les canons en organisant de son propre chef des assemblées ecclésiastiques parallèles, ou « parasynagogues ». Mais ce reproche n'était pas valable en ce qui concerne la réunion des moines athonites puisque, comme le montre A. Rigo, elle avait pris place dans le cadre régulier de la synaxe de l'Athos : cette circonstance explique que le *Tome hagioritique* ait pu et dû être regardé comme un texte recevable, non contraire aux canons, et qu'il ait pu par conséquent être lu durant le synode de 1341. Il n'en allait pas de même d'un autre document très similaire élaboré par Palamas à Thessalonique durant la même période, aujourd'hui perdu, qui n'a pas été invoqué en 1341 parce qu'il n'avait évidemment pas le même caractère légal.

Ce texte composé par Palamas dans un contexte d'urgence afin de défendre les pratiques hésychastes, en particulier la prière, et de soutenir sa propre doctrine, à savoir la possibilité pour l'être humain d'accéder à la contemplation de Dieu grâce aux énergies divines créées, a fini par devenir une véritable profession de foi. Son auteur s'y réfère plus tard comme à un texte faisant autorité, d'autant plus qu'il le considère comme approuvé par le synode de 1341. Ce *Tome* participe donc pleinement de la production théologique de Palamas et, dans le commentaire qu'il en donne, A. Rigo montre bien les liens qu'il entretient en particulier avec les deux premières *Triades*, composées à la même période de sa vie.

Cet ouvrage, qui est accompagné de trois index répertoriant les manuscrits, les noms de personnes et les noms de lieux, est donc destiné à devenir l'édition de référence du *Tome hagioritique* ; mais c'est aussi une lecture qui s'impose à tous les spécialistes de la pensée de Grégoire Palamas et à tous les historiens travaillant sur l'histoire byzantine du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, tant ce texte est une source indispensable pour

remettre en perspective toute la controverse palamite. Il s'ajoute donc aux nombreuses publications d'A. Rigo qui, depuis ces dernières années, renouvellent très profondément notre compréhension de la période.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET

Gaëlle RIOUAL, *Lire Grégoire de Nazianze au <sup>x</sup>e siècle : études sur Basile le Minime et ses Commentaires aux Discours 4 et 5* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 82). – Brepols, Turnhout 2020. 24 × 16 ; relié. 395 p. Prix : 90 €. ISBN 978-2-503-58972-5.

G. Rioual a fait paraître en 2019 l'édition et la traduction française, au Corpus christianorum, des commentaires de Basile le Minime sur les *Discours* 4 et 5 de Grégoire de Nazianze (voir *REB* 78, 2020, p. 324-326) ; elle propose ici un deuxième livre, lui aussi tiré de sa thèse de doctorat (Québec, Fribourg, 2017), et qui présente une analyse d'ensemble de la personne et de l'œuvre de Basile le Minime, à partir du corpus privilégié du commentaire aux deux discours contre l'empereur Julien. Le plan de l'ouvrage dit bien la dualité du livre, qui en fait la richesse, par son ancrage dans une étude directe de l'œuvre de Basile, et les limites, du fait du caractère partiel de cette étude. Un premier chapitre est consacré à présenter quelques données biographiques sur Basile et à donner un aperçu de son œuvre ; c'est sans doute la partie de l'ouvrage qui est la plus proche de l'introduction du volume d'édition de 2019, même si l'auteur tente de faire avancer certains dossiers, par exemple sur l'attribution de la « lettre du Protothroné à Constantin Porphyrogénète », qu'elle écartait naguère et que l'étude de R. Lionetti de 2020 tend maintenant à lui faire considérer avec plus de prudence. On notera aussi que l'auteur tend à attribuer au même Basile les canons liturgiques transmis sous le nom de Basile Pègoriôtès, avec des arguments qui paraissent très incertains ; il est vrai que G. Rioual indique qu'il faudrait étudier à fond la possibilité d'un tel rapprochement, sans conclure ici. Un deuxième chapitre est consacré à l'état de la réception de Grégoire de Nazianze au 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, en prêtant une attention particulière à son usage comme modèle dans les traités rhétoriques, mais aussi aux autres commentaires aux textes de Grégoire, avant et après Basile. Le troisième chapitre présente les *Discours* 4-5 de Grégoire et leur commentaire par Basile, tandis que le chapitre suivant s'intéresse aux rapports du commentaire de Basile à ces discours avec les commentaires antérieurs, scholies anciennes et *Histoires mythologiques* du pseudo-Nonnos. Le cinquième chapitre tente de tracer un panorama complet de la méthode du commentaire selon Basile, en s'attachant successivement aux domaines ou niveaux de commentaire suivants : grammaire, rhétorique, histoire, littérature, sciences, critique du texte du Nazianzène. Le dernier chapitre, qui manque peut-être un peu d'unité, tente de resituer les commentaires de Basile dans le cycle éducatif byzantin, puis étudie la postérité des textes de Basile le Minime. Après la bibliographie, étrangement placée, figurent deux annexes : l'édition, traduction et étude des extraits du *Commentaire au Discours* 4 qui figurent dans le ms. Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 69 (Diktyon 69540) ; l'auteur cherche à montrer que la sélection obéit à un projet intellectuel, qui vise à isoler les éléments concernant la loi scolaire de

Julien, ce qui serait en harmonie avec les textes de controverse théologique contenus dans la dernière partie du manuscrit – mais cette étude ne prendrait tout son sens que si elle était mise en parallèle avec celle des autres extraits de Basile dans le manuscrit. En outre, il faut noter que les extraits de Basile dans ce livre apparaissent aussi entre des textes de Grégoire de Nysse, qui ne sont en rien des ouvrages de controverse, et non avec les seuls traités de la fin (Léonce de Jérusalem, Nicéas de Byzance). La deuxième annexe est formée d'un tableau qui compare, de manière bienvenue mais peu précise dans l'identification des portions du texte du Nazianzène concernées, les *Commentaires* de Basile sur les *Discours* 4-5 et les commentaires antérieurs (scholies et pseudo-Nonnos). Viennent enfin divers index (noms anciens et médiévaux, lieux géographiques, auteurs modernes et contemporains, *index rerum* et index des manuscrits), fort utiles ; peut-être aurait-il été aussi utile au lecteur d'y faire figurer, de manière détaillée, des renvois aux paragraphes des *Commentaires aux Discours* 4-5 qui forment l'objet de ce livre, afin de faciliter le va-et-vient entre l'édition et traduction, d'une part, et le commentaire, d'autre part.

G. Rioual trace assez nettement le profil exégétique des commentaires de Basile : il s'agit d'une œuvre de nature scolaire, qu'elle situe au niveau de l'enseignement du *grammatikos* plutôt qu'à celui du rhéteur, sans pour autant supposer que ces commentaires aient fait, à quelque moment que ce soit de leur histoire, l'objet d'un enseignement effectif. L'objectif de Basile aurait été simplement de faire comprendre à ses contemporains le texte de Grégoire de Nazianze, en train de devenir un modèle plus encore qu'auparavant, mais éloigné tant par sa langue que par son contenu de son lectorat. Au-delà de l'explication professorale, l'auteur relève de rares interventions personnelles de Basile, qui juge le texte du Nazianzène, au plan philologique, philosophique ou théologique, mais aussi, plus rarement encore, porte un jugement de valeur, le plus souvent laudatif. L'ouvrage offre donc une très utile porte d'entrée dans l'atelier d'un commentateur byzantin de texte patristique, tout autant que dans l'atelier d'un professeur, d'un maître qui cherche à éclairer le lecteur, non à rassembler des raretés et des trouvailles. En outre, G. Rioual a pu montrer que Basile connaît les *Histoires mythologiques* du pseudo-Nonnos et dialogue avec elles, mais que cela ne semble pas être le cas des scholies anciennes – même si, comme le souligne l'auteur, l'état d'édition de ces scholies et la reconstitution de leur histoire interdit pour le moment tout jugement trop tranché.

Dans cet ouvrage de grande qualité, on trouve quelques points qui auraient mérité plus d'attention, ou une relecture plus attentive. Il en va ainsi de la présentation de la postérité de Grégoire de Nazianze, sujet ô combien vaste : la place de Grégoire dans les florilèges doctrinaux, spirituels et sacro-profanes, tout comme dans les chaînes exégétiques, par exemple, est presque totalement passée sous silence, ou du moins largement minorée, alors qu'elle est majeure. G. Rioual se laisse aussi parfois entraîner par des lectures trop partielles, qui l'empêchent de prendre la mesure de dossiers il est vrai complexes et stratifiés : il en va ainsi du rapport entre le *Contre les chrétiens* de Porphyre et son traité de la *Philosophie tirée des oracles*. L'auteur suit sans précaution l'hypothèse hasardeuse et peu fondée de P. F. Beatrice, dans l'une de ses hypostases récentes (2016), qui veut assimiler les deux traités, sans connaître visiblement les étapes antérieures de la controverse à ce sujet, non plus que les réfutations argumentées de divers chercheurs, dont R. Goulet (voir par exemple Hypothèses récentes sur le traité de Porphyre *Contre les Chrétiens*, dans M. Narcy et É. Rebillard [éd.], *Hellénisme et christianisme*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2004, p. 61-109). De même, pour la question pourtant importante dans son propos

de l'*enkyklios paideia*, elle ne semble connaître que la première édition de l'étude fondatrice d'I. Hadot (1984) et non sa nouvelle édition revue et largement augmentée (2005). De même, pour le *Contre les Galiléens* de Julien, l'auteur ne semble connaître que l'édition classique de K. J. Neumann, mais non celle d'E. Masarrachia, non plus que l'étude du texte dans l'édition récente du *Contre Julien* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Mais ce sont là des points assez secondaires au regard du propos de l'auteur, qui offre une très intéressante plongée dans le texte d'un commentateur byzantin de Grégoire de Nazianze, envisagé pour sa pratique de commentateur en son contexte d'origine, et non pour l'éclairage qu'il peut nous apporter aujourd'hui sur le texte de l'auteur tardo-antique.

Matthieu CASSIN

Marie-Josèphe RONDEAU, Paul GÉHIN et Matthieu CASSIN, *Évagre le Pontique, Scholies aux Psaumes. Introduction, édition princeps du texte grec, traduction et notes. I, Psaumes 1-70. II, Psaumes 71-150* (Sources Chrétiennes 614-615). – Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 2021. 19,5 × 12,5. 780 et 771 p. Prix : 64 € le volume. ISBN 978-2-204-14186-4 et 978-2-204-14205-2.

Avec ces deux volumes, les *Scholies aux Psaumes* d'Évagre le Pontique reçoivent leur première édition complète sous le nom de leur véritable auteur. Le présent travail est le fruit de l'heureuse collaboration de trois éminents spécialistes de patristique grecque. En 1959, Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, auteure d'une thèse sur les *Commentaires patristiques du Psautier (III<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles)* et récemment décédée, découvrait dans le ms. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 754 (Diktyon 67385), un témoin qui permettait d'isoler le commentaire évagrien, en détectant une preuve de son authenticité dans le commentaire lui-même (M.-J. Rondeau, Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique, *OCP* 26, 1960, p. 307-348). En effet, ce texte connu depuis le milieu du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle circulait de manière confuse sous des noms d'emprunt. C'est à M.-J. Rondeau que revient la préparation de son édition critique sur la base du Vat. gr. 754 et des fragments transmis dans les marges de deux manuscrits du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Théodoret de Cyr (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1232 [Diktyon 67863] et Barb. gr. 548 [Diktyon 65091]), qui avaient été déjà mis en évidence par G. Mercati (*Alla ricerca dei nomi degli 'altri' traduttori nelle omilie sui Salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune catene del Salterio* [ST 158], Cité du Vatican 1952, p. 156 et 207-208). Le dossier fut par la suite confié à Paul Géhin, qui, ayant longtemps fréquenté l'œuvre d'Évagre le Pontique (voir par exemple SC 340, 397, 514, 589), assura l'essentiel du travail de préparation de ces deux volumes. Cette entreprise de longue haleine fut menée à bon terme grâce au concours de Matthieu Cassin, qui porta notamment sur l'établissement du texte et la révision de la traduction et du commentaire.

Le premier volume s'ouvre sur une introduction, agrémentée d'exemples, qui présente avec clarté divers aspects des *Scholies aux Psaumes*. Le titre de ce commentaire, qui nous est parvenu en tradition caténale, n'est pas conservé et le nom d'Origène a été souvent substitué à celui d'Évagre. La question des destinataires n'est pas sans intérêt, car ces *Scholies*, de contenu parfois quelque peu déconcertant,

semblent déborder les seuls milieux monastiques. Même si la manière dont ils ont été composés nous échappe, l'étude des réemplois littéraires permet de situer leur rédaction à une période intermédiaire de l'activité d'Évagre, entre les *Képhalaia gnostica* et la dernière phase de sa production représentée par trois œuvres, à savoir *Pensées*, *Skemmata* et *Prière*. Quant au texte de la Septante qu'Évagre avait à sa disposition, l'examen de quelques lieux variants n'est pas concluant. Le commentateur vise à promouvoir une lecture spirituelle du Psautier, sans intérêt particulier pour l'histoire, en pratiquant une exégèse à coloration typiquement monastique, bien qu'elle ne soit pas cantonnée aux seuls moines. En termes d'intertextualité, Évagre est redevable à ses prédécesseurs, tout en produisant une exégèse originale. Il retrace les étapes de son parcours spirituel, en défendant une conception cosmique du salut et en voyant le monde comme un système en perpétuel mouvement. La christologie tient une place centrale, mais elle est difficile à saisir, dans sa réflexion, car les *Scholies* éluent les modalités de la relation entre le Christ et le Dieu Verbe.

La tradition manuscrite des *Scholies* se divise en deux branches ( $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ), qui s'articulent autour de deux séries de références offrant une base solide pour délimiter l'exégèse d'Évagre : celle du *Vat. gr. 754* et celle représentée par les manuscrits *Vat. gr. 1232* et *Barb. gr. 548*. Sont présentés de manière systématique les manuscrits qui se rattachent aux différents types de chaînes, en commençant par le *Vat. gr. 754*, le témoin le plus complet et le plus soigné du premier type de chaîne. Aussi trouvera-t-on une description claire et concise des dix-sept témoins utilisés pour l'établissement du texte. Un stemma est proposé à la p. 178. Il est aussi question de la tradition indirecte des *Scholies*, qui furent mises à profit par des auteurs byzantins comme Michel Psellos et le Pseudo-Zonaras. Malgré la barrière étanche qui sépare la tradition des scholies exégétiques de celle des œuvres spirituelles d'Évagre, on retrouve deux scholies (1 *ad Ps.* 193, 3 et 3 *ad Ps.* 139, 6) dans deux compilations ascétiques transmises par le ms. Hagion Oros, Monè Batopediou, 606 (Diktyon 18750) et le ms. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. gr. 436 (Diktyon 65679), qui sont également utilisés pour l'établissement du texte.

Les particularités de la tradition textuelle des *Scholies* sont présentées de manière méthodique. En effet, les *Scholies* d'Évagre ne nous sont jamais parvenues seules ou séparées de matériaux adventices : elles nous ont été transmises de manière anonyme, et secondairement attribuées à Origène, uniquement par le biais de chaînes exégétiques, c'est-à-dire au sein ou en marge d'ensembles plus vastes. Nous avons la chance de disposer de deux séries anonymes de références qui sont parfois complémentaires. Les modalités de la transmission du texte, sa forme, ainsi que les contaminations relevées avec d'autres textes permettent d'étayer le constat que les deux branches de la tradition ( $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ) sont bien des chaînes. Sont traités les problèmes spécifiques liés au début et à la fin du Psautier : les caténistes ont eu très tôt accès à un texte détérioré qu'ils ont essayé de reconstituer, ce qui explique les perturbations constatées. Les éditeurs ont procédé au classement des témoins en fonction de la forme et de la composition de la chaîne, mais aussi des critères philologiques liés à l'état textuel des *Scholies*. Les fautes manifestes tout au long de la tradition textuelle confirment l'existence d'un archétype fautif et endommagé. Alors que le *Vat. gr. 754* reste un témoin d'une valeur exceptionnelle, plusieurs groupes se laissent dégager ; les témoins appartenant à chacun de ces groupes sont présentés avec soin.

La distance parcourue entre la présente édition et les éditions partielles antérieures est considérable : en effet, ces dernières ne donnaient qu'une image confuse du texte,

le nom d'Évagre n'était presque jamais cité et plusieurs scholies étaient dissimulées dans les commentaires attribués à Didyme, à Eusèbe ou à Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Les principes de l'édition sont donnés de façon claire : pour faciliter la lecture, les éditeurs ont choisi de reproduire les versets que les *Scholies* commentent sur la base de l'édition de Rahlfs. L'introduction se clôt sur une riche bibliographie, divisée en six sections.

Le premier volume comprend les scholies aux Psaumes 1 à 70, alors que le second volume inclut celles des Psaumes 71 à 150. L'édition critique se distingue par sa clarté. L'apparat critique négatif, débarrassé de la plupart des *orthographica*, allège la présentation et est agréable à lire. Les coquilles qui se sont glissées sont très rares (vol. I p. 482 : lire *στέρησιν* au lieu de *στρέρησιν*). La traduction française, placée en regard de l'original, est accompagnée d'une annotation qui sert à replacer les *Scholies* dans l'ensemble de la pensée évagrienne.

Le second volume comprend en appendice une traduction française de l'*Opuscule* 37 de Michel Psellos, une œuvre révélatrice de la postérité littéraire des *Scholies*. Quatre *indices* complètent le volume (scripturaire, des sources, des citations et parallèles évagriens, des manuscrits grecs). L'ouvrage se clôt sur un tableau de l'ensemble des scholies attestées dans la tradition manuscrite : ce regroupement systématique permettra au lecteur de suivre la tradition manuscrite de chaque scholie.

Notons que les auteurs de ces deux volumes ont eu le courage de mener à bien une entreprise entamée depuis plus d'un demi-siècle. On ne peut que saluer ce travail exemplaire mené avec rigueur, qui rend accessible aux lecteurs une œuvre jusqu'à présent mal connue, en complétant le portrait du « philosophe du désert ».

Anna LAMPADARIDI

Norman RUSSELL, *Gregory Palamas and the Making of Palamism in the Modern Age* (Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology). – Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019. 24 × 16. XII-272 p. Prix : 73 £. ISBN 978-0-19-964464-3.

Les études sur la théologie de Grégoire Palamas, très limitées il y a encore un siècle, ont connu une croissance exponentielle depuis les premières décennies du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi, depuis l'article de Martin Jugie dans le *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (XI, Paris 1933), et surtout depuis l'édition de la *Défense des saints hésychastes* (Louvain 1959) et de l'*Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) de John Meyendorff, des centaines de travaux de qualité et d'orientation diverses ont vu le jour. Au point où – si elle était possible – une bibliographie exhaustive sur Palamas occuperait aujourd'hui un très fort volume.

Comment s'orienter cependant dans cette forêt épaisse, luxuriante, terrifiante parfois pour le non-spécialiste, sans perdre de vue l'objet même de la quête, à savoir la pensée théologique de l'archevêque de Thessalonique ? Comment déjouer les pièges d'un palamisme érigé en *καινοτομία* par ses adversaires, en se dégageant des violentes controverses qu'il a suscitées ? Comment appréhender, enfin, les questions nouvelles que l'œuvre de Palamas soulève pour les théologiens – fussent-ils ou non orthodoxes – et même en tirer profit ?



Excellent connaisseur de la vie et de l'œuvre de Palamas – bien qu'il appelle de ses vœux les facilités qu'aurait offertes une traduction anglaise complète, similaire à la traduction italienne d'Ettore Perrella (Milan 2003, 2005, 2006 ; voir p. 100-101, 211) –, Norman Russell met à notre disposition un ouvrage qui sert d'abord de guide, même si tel n'est pas son but principal. Lecteur patient et empathique de tout ce qui a été publié sur Palamas depuis un siècle au moins, il nous donne à voir les usages, souvent très orientés, qui furent faits de la pensée palamite, du 14<sup>e</sup> au 20<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais il ouvre aussi le débat, visant à susciter des rencontres autour d'une approche dépassionnée et peut-être même universaliste du théologien byzantin.

Accueillie au sein de la collection *Changing paradigms in historical and systematic theology*, dirigée par Sarah Coakley (Cambridge) et Richard Cross (Notre Dame), l'étude possède une dimension historiographique très appréciable. Il s'agit ainsi d'analyser les aspects implicites de la réception de Palamas pour mieux pénétrer la portée de sa pensée. De lecture agréable, car rédigé sur un ton assez personnel, l'ouvrage se divise en deux grandes parties, dont la première est clairement historiographique (« The historical reception of Palamite theology »), alors que la seconde entreprend une discussion à caractère théologique (« Raising the larger questions »), ce qui lui confère le caractère d'un manifeste.

Dans la première partie, l'aire de réception considérée est vaste : grecque, slave, latine. Toutefois, Russell s'attarde assez peu sur la période moderne – même si l'essentiel est dit dans le chapitre I.1 –, pour passer avec détermination à l'axe principal de sa réflexion, à savoir l'opposition entre les perspectives de l'assomptionniste Martin Jugie (I.2. « Martin Jugie and the invention of Palamism ») et celles de John Meyendorff (I.3. « John Meyendorff's response to Jugie »). Rappelons ici que le premier, auteur des cinq volumes de la *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientaliū ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium* (Paris 1926-1935), mais aussi de l'essai *Où se trouve le christianisme intégral ?* (Paris 1948), faisait siennes les critiques vigoureuses de Denys Petau (Paris 1644-1650), et voyait dans l'œuvre de Palamas l'expression même de la dissidence orientale et du schisme. Déterminé à servir l'infailibilité pontificale contre ce qui, pour lui, n'était que déperdition et obscurcissement de la doctrine universelle de l'Église, il travailla toute sa vie à défendre la mariologie immaculiste en opposition à une théologie de la grâce qui, justement, était celle du théologien byzantin. Pour Jugie, la doctrine de la grâce incréée était le point de bascule qui tenait les Orientaux à l'écart du magistère romain : Palamas devait donc être démasqué et combattu.

Russell perçoit avec aisance l'importance de la position de Jugie et l'illustre avec clarté. Son approche pourrait toutefois être étoffée, à la lumière de ce qui vient d'être dit, mais aussi par référence au volume *L'apport des assomptionnistes français aux études byzantines. Une approche critique* (dir. M.-H. Blanchet et I.-A. Tudorie, Paris 2017 ; voir *REB* 77, 2019, p. 315-321 ; on me permettra de citer également mon article sur La contribution de l'Institut byzantin des Assomptionnistes à la théologie mariale catholique [dans le volume mentionné, p. 277-311], pour moitié consacré à Jugie).

Pour ce qui est du chapitre sur Meyendorff (I.3), et le vaste mouvement suscité par ses travaux, celui-ci est à la fois complet et passionnant, notamment pour les détails fournis sur les courants de pensée qui commencèrent à voir le jour dans les années 1960-1970, aussi bien dans les milieux catholiques qu'orthodoxes, et même protestants. Nous avons à faire ici à une historiographie dans l'historiographie, qui ne manquera pas de susciter des émules. De nombreux noms, pour la plupart bien connus des patristiciens et des byzantinistes, sont cités pour leur implication dans une



nouvelle controverse, qui se déroula cette fois « on the ecumenical stage » (p. 81) : Manuel Candal, Basile Krivochéine, Eric Mascall, Louis Bouyer (à la mémoire duquel l'ouvrage est dédié), Vladimir Lossky, André de Halleux, Juan Nadal, Kallistos Ware, et bien d'autres, jusqu'à la synthèse produite par Meyendorff lui-même dans le *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (XII.1, 1984), où « the basic dichotomies dividing the Byzantine East from the Latin West » étaient toutefois maintenues (cf. p. 97).

L'élargissement du périmètre des études et l'historicisation de celles-ci font l'objet du chapitre I.4 (« New directions since Meyendorff »). Pour retrouver « a more nuanced Palamas » (p. 128) qui est aussi celui de la recherche contemporaine, Russel fait ici le point, non plus sur les controverses (qui sont malgré tout signalées), mais sur le domaine des études palamites au sens large : édition de textes et approches relevant de l'histoire des textes ; contextualisation du débat, avec des travaux sur les opposants ou les partisans de Palamas ; recherches sur les sources patristiques, mais aussi sur les structures philosophiques de la pensée de Palamas ; approfondissements théologiques. Il s'agit, cette fois, d'un clair et utile *status quaestionis*, par lequel s'achève la partie historiographique.

Dans la seconde partie de l'ouvrage, Norman Russell change résolument de ton. Son approche devient plus dynamique, mais aussi plus engagée. Désormais, c'est le théologien qui prend la parole. Son but est de poser de façon explicite une série de questions auxquelles la théologie contemporaine, notamment orthodoxe – mais pas seulement –, est appelée à se confronter. Le chapitre sur la possibilité d'un développement doctrinal (II.5) interroge la supposée *καινοτομία* de Palamas et élargit la réflexion autour de ses fondements théoriques : quelles sont les relations entre philosophie et théologie – plus particulièrement hors du contexte des universités médiévales ? Quels usages privilégier pour le témoignage des Pères ? Quelles sont les relations entre théologie dogmatique et théologie mystique ? Comment les controverses théologiques doivent-elles être résolues, et quel est l'exemple et le modèle que Palamas nous fournit de par sa propre expérience ? Suit un chapitre sur la possibilité pour l'homme de participer au mystère divin (II.6). Russell y pose la question de la nature de la participation et des distinctions entre *οὐσία* et *ἐνέργεια*. Il y discute aussi l'accusation portée contre Palamas d'avoir ouvert la porte à une distinction entre *θεότης ὑπερκειμένη* et *θεότης ὑφειμένη*. Il aborde enfin l'éventuelle rencontre doctrinale entre l'archevêque de Thessalonique et Thomas d'Aquin. Dans le prolongement de ces thématiques, le chapitre II.7 pose les questions de la réalité de la communion divino-humaine : que serait la grâce, considérée sous ce rapport ? Que seraient la vision de la Lumière, l'existence enhypostasiée, la nature des symboles, la *κοινωνία θεώσεως* ? Enfin, dans un dernier chapitre qui éclaire également la partie historiographique et fait le lien avec elle, Russell ouvre le débat, demande si Palamas peut devenir « the inheritance of all Christians » (II. 8), appréhende les obstacles, constate les progrès.

Une sélection bibliographique, un index des citations et un index général complètent l'ouvrage.

À la fois modeste dans sa forme et ambitieux dans son projet, l'ouvrage de Norman Russel sera utile à tous ceux qui entendent aborder la théologie de Palamas avec un regard critique et averti. Mais il constituera aussi un point d'ancrage pour les théologiens, progressivement délivrés des constructions idéologiques du passé pour leurs débats à venir.

Norman RUSSELL, *Gregory Palamas, the Hesychast Controversy and the Debate with Islam: Documents Relating to Gregory Palamas* (Translated Texts for Byzantinists 8). – Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2020. 21,5 × 15,5 ; relié. xii-488 p. Prix : 125 £. ISBN 978-1-78962-153-2.

Cet ouvrage rassemble une série de textes traduits qui sont tous liés à la biographie de Grégoire Palamas, mais dont une minorité seulement ont été rédigés par lui. Norman Russell replace ainsi le personnage dans le contexte très complexe du milieu du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, marqué par la controverse philosophique et théologique, la guerre civile entre Jean VI Cantacuzène – dont Palamas était le protégé dès 1341 – et Jean V Paléologue, et la progression des Turcs en Anatolie, puis en Europe à partir de leur conquête de Gallipoli en 1354, une incursion au cours de laquelle Palamas a été fait prisonnier et emmené en territoire ottoman pendant près d'une année. Tenant compte de la bibliographie récente, en particulier des travaux et nombreuses éditions critiques d'Antonio Rigo qui ont permis de renouveler l'interprétation de la période, N. Russell offre ici des traductions annotées dont plusieurs sont les premières réalisées dans une langue moderne.

Afin de reconstituer les principaux événements de la vie de Grégoire Palamas, N. Russell s'appuie en premier lieu sur la Vie composée peu après sa disparition par l'un de ses proches, Philothée Kokkinos, probablement entre 1357 et 1364, entre ses deux patriarchats. Dans ce très long récit hagiographique édité par Dèmètrios Tsamès, Philothée revient sur toutes les étapes de la vie de Grégoire depuis sa naissance à Constantinople dans une famille de l'entourage impérial, qu'on doit placer vers 1295/1296, jusqu'à sa mort dont la date fait désormais consensus, le 14 novembre 1357 (voir la chronologie établie par N. Russell, p. 45-47, et justifiée dans les pages précédentes). Philothée raconte que la bonne formation de Palamas en rhétorique et en philosophie aristotélicienne a attiré sur lui l'attention du grand logothète, Théodore Métochitès, lors d'une rencontre au palais (p. 61) ; il n'est cependant pas possible d'en déduire que Palamas a été l'élève de Métochitès (voir p. 15 et p. 60 n. 107) : ce dernier exerçait à partir des années 1290 des fonctions officielles à la cour et n'est pas connu pour avoir tenu une école. L'hagiographe insiste avant tout sur l'amour de Palamas pour la vie monastique et sur ses charismes personnels, y compris ses miracles, mais relate aussi en détail les conflits doctrinaux qui l'opposent successivement à Barlaam de Calabre et à Grégoire Akindynos, passant beaucoup plus vite sur ses débats avec Nicéphore Grégoras. Les synodes qui ponctuent la controverse palamite sont tous mentionnés dans la Vie, tant celui de 1341 qui donne raison à Palamas contre Barlaam, que celui de 1347 qui entérine la déposition de Jean XIV Kalékas et l'arrivée des partisans de Palamas à la tête de l'Église, que celui de 1351, destiné à réaffirmer contre toute opposition l'orthodoxie de la doctrine palamite.

Des traductions intégrales des *tomoi* émis lors de ces trois synodes, ainsi que du *tomos* de 1368 qui consacre la canonisation de Palamas, figurent aussi dans l'ouvrage. Ces quatre textes offrent un condensé de la doctrine de Palamas sur la distinction entre essence et énergies divines, sur la possibilité pour l'être humain de participer à la gloire divine et sur la nature de la lumière de la Transfiguration. Ils sont accompagnés par de courts textes de circonstance : le *prostagma* de Jean VI Cantacuzène de mars 1347 ; le *tomos* antipalamite émis en juillet 1347 à l'initiative de Matthieu d'Éphèse ; l'*horismos* de Matthieu Cantacuzène de février 1354. Tous

ces textes sont non seulement importants pour la biographie de Palamas, mais ils constituent aussi des sources historiques de premier ordre qui permettent de mieux connaître les forces en présence, par exemple le groupe des antipalamites mené par les métropolitains d'Éphèse et de Ganos, qui s'opposaient à la fois au patriarche Jean Kalékas et à Akindynos, formant une troisième tendance au sein de l'Église byzantine durant cette période de crise.

Le dernier type de textes traduits par N. Russell correspond à des œuvres de Palamas lui-même, essentiellement des lettres. Autant la plupart des textes précédents – à l'exception du synode de 1351 – ont récemment bénéficié d'une très bonne édition critique, autant l'édition des *Œuvres complètes* de Palamas dirigée par Panagiotès Chrèstou prête le flanc à la critique, en particulier en raison de l'absence de description et de classement chronologique des manuscrits existants, ce qui a empêché la production de *stemmata codicum* et créé des difficultés liées à l'établissement des textes et à leur datation. N. Russell a sélectionné dans ces œuvres complètes quatre lettres datant de la période d'emprisonnement de Palamas à Constantinople – d'abord réfugié à Sainte-Sophie de février à avril 1343, puis enfermé au palais des Blachernes jusqu'en février 1347. Ce sont les lettres à Jean Gabras (fin 1342/début 1343), Philothée Kokkinos (novembre ou décembre 1343), Bessarion (1345, sans doute seconde moitié) et à l'impératrice Anne Paléologue (fin 1345/début 1346). De la même période date une autre lettre importante pour les informations historiques qu'elle fournit, la lettre aux anciens de l'Athos, écrite en novembre ou décembre 1344, qui aurait pu être incluse dans cette sélection. N. Russell livre aussi une traduction du dossier de documents édité par Anna Philippidis-Braat concernant la captivité de Palamas dans l'Empire ottoman : ce sont deux lettres de Palamas lui-même et la transcription – peut-être par lui-même – des débats théologiques qui l'ont opposé à un groupe de convertis à l'islam appelés Chionai.

Cet ouvrage très soigné, doté de traductions claires, bien introduites et annotées, muni d'un glossaire, d'un index des citations et d'un index général, rendra les plus grands services tant aux chercheurs qu'aux étudiants désireux d'approfondir, par une lecture directe des textes, leur connaissance du personnage historique que fut Grégoire Palamas.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET

Kyriakos SAVVIDIS, *Athanasius Werke*. I.1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*. 6, *Epistula ad Marcellinum*. – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 29,5 × 21. IV-(785)-897 p. Prix : 123,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-070317-7.

Kyriakos SAVVIDIS, *Athanasius Werke*. I.1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*. 5, *Epistulae dogmaticae minores*. – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2016. 29,5 × 21. IV-(605)-783 p. Prix : 130,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-044135-2.

Sans doute n'est-ce pas parmi les écrits doctrinaux d'Athanase qu'on chercherait spontanément la *Lettre à Marcellinus*, qui fournit un guide de lecture du Psautier – même si ce guide de lecture s'ancre bien évidemment dans la christologie d'Athanase ; D. Wyrwa en donne cependant, dans la préface, quelques raisons liées à l'histoire de l'édition des œuvres d'Athanase. Cette lettre, célèbre, a connu une large

diffusion, tant à l'intérieur de la tradition manuscrite d'Athanase (x-Tradition) que dans des manuscrits de chaînes exégétiques sur le Psautier, mais aussi dans le manuscrit biblique *Alexandrinus* (dont il aurait été utile de rappeler la cote : London, British Library, Royal 1.D.VII [Diktyon 74392], pour la partie contenant la lettre), ainsi que dans des traductions en syriaque, en arménien et en géorgien (la dernière dérive de la précédente, et toutes deux sont paraphrastiques).

L'éditeur a pris en compte 48 manuscrits, 22 pour la tradition des chaînes et 25 pour les corpus athanasiens, plus le *codex Alexandrinus*. Il les classe en cinq familles principales : la première comporte le *codex Alexandrinus* ainsi que trois manuscrits de chaîne (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1 [Diktyon 46972] ; Laud. gr. 42 [Diktyon 48264] ; Paris, BnF, Coislin 275 [Diktyon 49416]) ; la deuxième rassemble tous les autres manuscrits de chaîne ; la troisième, tous les manuscrits athanasiens ; la quatrième, la traduction syriaque ; la dernière, les traductions géorgienne et arménienne. L'éditeur retient 28 témoins grecs, dont certains ne sont utilisés qu'à titre complémentaire. On notera que la base de données *Pinakes* (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/5083/>) recense 69 témoins pour ce texte, dont quelques-uns, il est vrai, ne comportent que des extraits du texte – mais il est fort probable que beaucoup d'autres ne sont pas encore repérés, vu l'état toujours déficient de la description des prologues des chaînes aux Psaumes. La description des manuscrits est extrêmement sommaire, datée (les catalogues postérieurs à la troisième édition du *Répertoire des bibliothèques et catalogues de manuscrits grecs* de 1995 ne sont pas pris en compte ; certains catalogues pourtant antérieurs sont aussi ignorés) et parfois problématique ; les témoins ne sont jamais traités comme des objets historiques, mais comme de simples réceptacles de variantes. En outre, la famille qui devrait rassembler les chaînes exégétiques est traitée de manière extrêmement confuse : les travaux antérieurs sur les chaînes aux Psaumes ne sont jamais pris en compte, non plus que les éditions qui ont pu les utiliser auparavant. Il aurait donc été utile au moins de discuter ces tentatives pour élaborer le classement des témoins (on permettra au recenseur de renvoyer par exemple au travail qu'il a mené à propos d'un certain nombre de ces manuscrits dans le cadre d'une édition récente : voir *REB* 80, 2022, p. 371-373). Enfin, les manuscrits dont le texte dérive de chaînes, mais qui ne sont pas des chaînes, ne sont pas clairement signalés comme tels. À propos des manuscrits grecs, et sans aucune prétention à l'exhaustivité, on signalera les erreurs suivantes : confusions entre les cotes, les numéros de catalogue et, pour Venise, les *collocazione*, avec un usage incohérent entre les différents manuscrits d'une même bibliothèque (Amsterdam, Grande Laure de l'Athos, Naples, Moscou, Venise) ; erreurs de cote (Patmos : 3 et non A 3) ; erreurs sur la date des manuscrits, par exemple pour Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borg. gr. 2 (Diktyon 65155), que l'éditeur date de 1665, alors qu'il s'agit de la date d'une note d'achat, tandis que le livre est datable du 16<sup>e</sup> s. ; ignorance de catalogues loin d'être récents : Paris, BnF, Supplément grec 1038 (Diktyon 53727), datable de la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 16<sup>e</sup> s. et copié par Christophe Auer (*RKG* I 381, II 525, III 613) pour cette section ; pour le ms. Hagion Oros, Monè Batopediou, 5-6 (Diktyon 18152-18153), il aurait fallu se reporter au catalogue d'E. Lamberz (2006) ainsi qu'à ses travaux plus récents, en particulier l'article dans lequel il analyse les sources utilisées par les copistes de Jean VI Cantacuzène pour la réalisation des manuscrits destinés à la donation impériale (voir E. Lamberz, *Beobachtungen zu den patristischen Corpora in der Schenkung des Johannes Kantakuzenos an das Kloster Vatopedi und ihren*

Vorlagen, dans A. Berger, S. Mariev, G. Prinzing et A. Riehle (éd.), *Koinotaton Doron. Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204-1461)* [Byzantinisches Archiv 31], Berlin-New York 2016, p. 87-99).

On possède deux témoins partiels d'une traduction syriaque, dont le plus ancien appartient à la Syro-hexaplaire, extrêmement fidèle au texte grec ; au contraire, l'arménien, qui n'est connu que par des extraits et un manuscrit du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, est paraphrastique, de même que l'unique témoin géorgien, un manuscrit biblique du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle ou du début du 11<sup>e</sup>, qui ne contient qu'une portion du texte. La tradition indirecte est traitée de manière pour le moins sommaire, au prétexte qu'elle n'apporterait que peu au vu de la tradition directe déjà riche. Les traductions arabe et slavonne sont laissées de côté. L'histoire des éditions est présentée de manière tout aussi sommaire.

Le texte grec est accompagné d'un appareil critique, ainsi que d'un second pour les trois traductions anciennes ; un appareil des sources présente un aspect un peu hétéroclite, dans la mesure où l'éditeur y a également inséré des matériaux critiques modernes, sans pour autant prétendre commenter réellement le texte d'Athanase ni documenter les interprétations qui ont pu en être fournies. On notera par exemple que les *Homélies sur les Psaumes* d'Origène récemment redécouvertes ne semblent pas avoir été prises en compte, en particulier dans le domaine des théories musicales. Le volume est, de manière tout à fait dommageable, dépourvu de tout index.

Il n'est que temps de présenter également le fascicule précédent des *Athanasius Werke*, qui n'avait pas été recensé dans la revue ; il concerne les lettres doctrinales mineures et rassemble l'édition des textes suivants : *Ep. ad Adelphium* (CPG 2098) ; *Ep. ad Epictetum* (CPG 2095) ; *Ep. ad Maximum* (CPG 2100) ; *Epistula catholica* (CPG 2241) ; *In illud: Omnia mihi tradita sunt* (CPG 2099). Ces textes, qui ne sont jamais transmis comme un corpus constitué, sont réunis ici pour des raisons éditoriales et bénéficient donc d'introductions séparées. On notera en particulier l'importance de l'édition de la *Lettre à Épictète*, dont le rôle a été essentiel dans l'élaboration des doctrines et qui avait subi très tôt des altérations pour s'en faire un allié dans les querelles christologiques. On aurait aimé que l'édition permette plus clairement de mesurer les écarts et les variations dans la transmission du texte : tous les matériaux sont rassemblés, mais il revient au lecteur de les exploiter et de les interpréter. Cette lettre, ainsi que celle à Adelphios et à Maxime, ont bénéficié d'une large diffusion et de traductions anciennes ; ce n'est pas le cas de la catholique et d'*Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, dont la transmission est beaucoup plus réduite.

On pourrait malheureusement faire, à propos de ce volume, les mêmes remarques qu'à propos de celui qui a été présenté auparavant – même si le repérage des témoins manuscrits est ici beaucoup plus satisfaisant, dans la mesure où il s'agit uniquement de manuscrits athanasien, et si l'utilisation de la tradition indirecte a été effective. Il manque, ici encore, des index.

Avec ces deux fascicules, l'édition des œuvres d'Athanase d'Alexandrie a donc fait de grands progrès et on dispose maintenant de textes solides et justifiés pour des œuvres d'une grande importance, tant dans le domaine de l'exégèse que de la théologie doctrinale. Il restera à les exploiter pour leur contenu, et à les compléter pour ce qui est de l'histoire des textes et des manuscrits – en espérant que ces recherches ne conduisent pas, surtout dans le cas de la *Lettre à Marcellinus*, à modifier le texte établi.

Gioacchino STRANO, *Nicola di Corcyra. Versi giambici. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note di commento* (Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες 65). – Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Thessalonique 2020. 23,5 × 17. 117 p., 2 pl. Prix : 20 €. ISBN 978-960-7856-60-9.

Nicolas, métropolite de Corfou sous Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène, accablé par les difficultés auxquelles l'île devait faire face, fut amené à démissionner de son poste. Suivant l'hypothèse de Paul Gautier, il rendit publique sa décision lors du synode des Blachernes tenu à la fin de l'année 1094, en lisant 305 vers iambiques où il exposait les motifs de sa décision (P. Gautier, *Le synode des Blachernes* [fin 1094]. Étude prosopographique, *REB* 29, 1971, p. 213-284, ici p. 268-269). Ce poème, qui connut une postérité étonnante, est ici édité à nouveaux frais et traduit pour la première fois dans une langue moderne.

Le présent travail découle de l'intérêt de Gioacchino Strano pour l'histoire de l'île de Corfou, une zone frontalière qui a constitué un trait d'union entre Occident et Orient pendant toute la période byzantine (voir par exemple G. Strano, *Centralità culturale, religiosa e politica dei metropolitani di Corcyra nei secoli XII-XIII*, *Filologia Antiqua e Moderna* 41-42, 2015, p. 21-41 ; *Le relazioni fra Epiro, Corfù e Italia meridionale alla luce delle fonti agiografiche bizantine*, dans A. Vaccaro et G. Strano [éd.], *G. Valentini (S.J.) (1900-1979), storico bizantinista e albanologo*, Lecce 2020, p. 607-626). Dans son introduction, l'auteur retrace les principales phases de l'histoire de l'île de Corfou entre le 9<sup>e</sup> et le 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, en insistant sur le rôle du métropolite qui constituait un point de référence pour la population, comme l'exemple de Géorgios Bardanès (1219-1240/42) le démontre. Il s'agit ici aussi d'une figure de l'histoire ecclésiastique de l'île qui est familière à Strano : Le lettere « italiane » di Giorgio Bardane, metropolita di Corcyra. Un prelado fra mondo bizantino e Occidente, dans M. Re, C. Rognoni et F. P. Vuturo (éd.), *Bizantino-Sicula VII. Ritrovare Bisanzio*, Palerme 2019, p. 159-177. L'auteur s'attarde sur le rôle de l'Église de Corfou, érigée en métropole au milieu du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle. Bien que le présent travail de Strano permette de confirmer l'hypothèse de Gautier autour de la datation du poème, beaucoup de zones d'ombre demeurent concernant les différentes phases de la vie de Nicolas, qui fut ordonné métropolite de Corfou probablement après 1085. En effet, Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène fit preuve d'un intérêt particulier pour cette île frontalière. Néanmoins, le métropolite fut incapable d'affirmer son autorité et devait faire face aux tentatives des fonctionnaires, des propriétaires fonciers ou du clergé local de mettre en péril ses prérogatives.

Le poème de Nicolas de Corfou est également examiné sous l'angle de l'inter-textualité. Pour faire part des motifs de sa *paraitesis*, Nicolas puise chez Grégoire de Nazianze. Il opte pour des références abstraites et générales afin de dénoncer l'abandon et la mauvaise gestion des zones provinciales sous le règne d'Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène. Le poème de Nicolas de Corfou est mis en relation avec deux autres pièces de la « littérature de démission » : la lettre rédigée par Théophylacte d'Achrida et le poème composé par Nicolas Mouzalôn, archevêque de Chypre (à ce sujet, voir aussi K. Chrysogelos, Nikolaos Mouzalon's Resignation from the Patriarchal Throne and Manuel Komnenos as the New Socrates, *Parekbolai* 10, 2020, p. 43-63). C'est avec la dernière pièce que le poème de Nicolas de Corfou partage des affinités incontestables. Les deux auteurs expriment avec amertume leur incapacité à « changer de couleur de peau » pour s'adapter à la volonté des



autres. En recourant au témoignage du ms. Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, Φ N° 906 (Gr.), 250 (Granstrem 454 ; Diktyon 57322), Strano peut confirmer l'hypothèse de Gautier et situer avec certitude la rédaction du poème de Nicolas de Corfou en 1094 ; cette découverte permet de constater que Nicolas Mouzalôn s'inspira de l'œuvre de Nicolas de Corfou pour composer son poème qui accompagnait sa démission aux alentours de 1110. Ce réemploi littéraire est révélateur du succès que connut le poème édité par Strano ; sa diffusion dans les manuscrits, ainsi que la tradition indirecte permettent d'étayer ce constat. Les deux poèmes sont examinés dans le cadre de la poétique de la démission ou de l'exil. Le recours à l'œuvre de Grégoire de Nazianze, qui constitue leur *hypotexte* principal, et le caractère apologétique constituent leur dénominateur commun. Le caractère sensiblement plus bref du poème de Nicolas de Corfou laisse penser qu'il était destiné à être lu à haute voix. Ses destinataires sont clairement définis, car le poète s'adresse à l'assemblée réunie et vraisemblablement à l'empereur Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène lui-même. Son poème revêt la forme d'une *performance* littéraire, dans laquelle Strano voit un caractère théâtral prononcé. Sont également passées en revue les autres compositions poétiques de Nicolas de Corfou, dont certaines demeurent inédites. Dans le ms. København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1899 4° (Diktyon 37185), on lui attribue des poèmes qui reviennent à Christophoros de Mytilène et Michel Psellos. Cette confusion est révélatrice de son talent poétique qui lui permettait d'être comparé à des auteurs confirmés.

Les six témoins utilisés pour cette édition critique s'étalent du 11<sup>e</sup> au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle. Leur description, expédiée en quelques lignes, donne les informations essentielles, avec une bibliographie plus vaste en note. Il serait appréciable que des précisions supplémentaires concernant les aléas de diffusion du texte soient données. Il serait sans doute aussi intéressant de se référer brièvement au type de collection au sein desquelles ce poème circulait dans son intégralité. Sont également présentés les témoins partiels, dont deux sont mis à profit pour l'édition critique (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VII, 51 [coll. 1370 ; Diktyon 70568] et gr. Z. 524 [coll. 318 ; Diktyon 69995]). Strano examine les rapports entre les différents témoins de manière systématique. D'après Strano, la tradition textuelle du poème s'avère très contaminée et il n'y a qu'un seul cas où l'on pourrait détecter une erreur commune à tous les témoins de tradition directe ; néanmoins, cette faute relève d'une simple erreur de voyelle et ne peut pas être considérée comme probante. L'auteur met en évidence les fautes conjonctives que certains témoins partagent, ainsi que les particularités de chaque manuscrit. Un stemma illustrant une tradition textuelle « sous forme de grappes » est proposé à la p. 52. S'ensuit un examen métrique méticuleux qui met en évidence la forme métrique quasi parfaite du poème. Son style limpide et raffiné, qui évite les phrases longues, a dû contribuer à son succès. Nicolas de Corfou met à profit un large éventail de sources, profanes et chrétiennes, qui se divisent en cinq groupes.

Les principes d'édition sont présentés avec clarté. L'éditeur privilégie l'accentuation des manuscrits. En tête de l'édition, il regroupe certaines fautes d'iotacisme, d'accent, d'esprit et de séparation de mots. Ce relevé qui sert à alléger l'apparat critique pourrait être omis. Certaines variantes orthographiques, sans intérêt particulier, se sont glissées dans l'apparat critique (par exemple p. 68). Le poème est édité avec soin et les erreurs orthographiques sont très rares (par exemple, p. 56 : lire  $\delta\rho\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  au lieu de  $\delta\rho\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$ ). L'apparat des sources, qui pourrait parfois gagner en



concision, permet de se faire une idée du vaste panorama des lectures de l'auteur. Une traduction italienne est placée en regard du texte grec. L'annotation éclaire certains points du texte ; plusieurs références pourraient être étoffées, par exemple à propos de la notion de *xeniteia* (p. 94 ; voir, par exemple, M.-F. Auzépy, Les moines et l'errance à Byzance, dans C. Moatti, W. Kaiser et C. Pébarthe [éd.], *Le monde de l'itinérance en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, Pessac 2009, p. 241-252). Cinq indices et deux planches de manuscrits complètent le volume.

On ne peut que saluer ce travail philologique mené avec soin, qui sort de l'ombre la figure de Nicolas de Corfou en replaçant son œuvre dans le contexte littéraire, historique et religieux de l'époque des Comnènes.

Anna LAMPADARIDI

Roumen AVRAMOV, Aleksandar FOTIĆ, Elias KOLOVOS et Phokion P. KOTZAGEORGIS (éd.), *Monastic Economy Across Time. Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends*. – Centre for Advanced Study Sofia, Sofia 2021. 23,5 × 16,5. 315 p. ISBN 978-619-91841-0-3. Disponible en accès ouvert : <https://cas.bg/en/publication/monastic-economy-across-time/>.

Prenons ici le seul point de vue byzantin : les archives monastiques ont été largement exploitées pour écrire une histoire macroéconomique, essentiellement rurale, de l'Empire byzantin, grâce aux fonds documentaires exceptionnels que conservent les monastères du Mont Athos, le monastère Saint-Jean le Théologien de Patmos, auxquels s'ajoutent les archives du monastère du Prodrome de Serrès et celles, sans doute trop peu exploitées, des monastères grecs d'Italie du Sud. Géographiquement mal distribués, ces fonds documentent de façon remarquable l'évolution de la richesse individuelle d'une vingtaine de grands monastères, dont l'histoire s'étend du 10<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle. Malgré tout, cette documentation a été peu utilisée pour dégager les traits d'une économie que l'on pourrait dire spécifiquement monastique. La raison en est simple : les archives des grands propriétaires terriens laïcs ayant disparu, sauf rare exception, les archives monastiques ont joué pour les historiens de l'économie byzantine un rôle de substitut. L'histoire économique de Byzance, telle qu'on l'a écrite, n'en souffre pas moins d'un biais monastique.

Pour autant, a-t-il existé quelque chose comme une « économie monastique » ? Poser cette question revient à admettre comme point de départ la radicale spécificité d'agents économiques dont la recherche de profits a pour but une activité non productive, le culte divin, et dont la production est influencée par de nombreuses anomalies, structurelles autant que conjoncturelles, à savoir des exemptions et des privilèges divers concédés par les autorités civiles, le caractère immuable de la propriété, ou les acquisitions à titre gratuit via des donations privées. Si le monastère n'est donc pas un agent économique comme les autres, la bibliographie la plus récente de l'histoire économique n'a jamais cru bon de lui consacrer des pages

spécifiques – songeons à la vaste synthèse de l'*Economic History of Byzantium* (éd. A. Laiou, Washington, D.C. 2002) ou aux meilleurs manuels (comme celui d'A. Laiou et C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge 2007).

Voilà pourquoi le présent volume – à dire vrai surtout moderne et contemporain dans ses champs d'application – nous semble retenir l'attention, au moins dans son idée. Édité par trois médiévistes et un économiste, tous spécialistes d'Europe orientale, il pose une question centrale, fournit des pistes de recherches comparatives, grâce à des études de cas parfois trop courtes, réparties du Moyen Âge à nos jours et d'Orient en Occident. L'ensemble n'a pas la prétention de fournir une synthèse ; il y manque d'ailleurs un cadre théorique un peu étoffé qu'on aurait pu confier à un économiste, au-delà des remarques introductives. Mais comme les éditeurs le reconnaissent (p. 20), il s'agit de défricher et d'encourager la réconciliation entre l'histoire monastique et l'histoire économique (celle que pratiquent les économistes), pour que ni l'une ni l'autre ne s'ignorent. Voici la liste des dix-sept contributions :

1. – Roumen Avramov *et alii*, Does monastic economy matter?
- I. *Wealth management: Real estate*
2. – Dimitrios Kalpakakis, Beyond the borders: The vital space of Byzantine Athos. A geographical overview of the Athonite estates up to the Ottoman conquest.
3. – Styliani Lepida, Transactional activity of Kykkos Monastery (Cyprus) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Real estate contacts.
4. – Preston Perluss, Urban catholic monasteries and urban growth in eighteenth-century European cities.
- II. *Flow of funds and governance*
5. – Aleksandar Fotić, How to run a big monastic Çiftlik: The case of Hilandar's Bulgar Metochion in Karviya (Kalamaria), sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.
6. – Phokion Kotzageorgis, Crisis and survival of the Athonite monasteries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
7. – Gheorghe Lazăr, Between piety and economics: Nucet monastery (Wallachia) and its register of revenue and expenses (1731-1739).
8. – Konstantinos Giakoumis, Monastic financial management in the provinces of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (1867-1873).
- III. *Dealing with finance*
9. – Lidia Cotovanu, Orthodox monasteries as banks: A comparison with Catholic mounts of Piety.
10. – Andreas Bouroutis, Assets, interest and national preferences: The Athonite monasteries and the Greek banks in the early twentieth century.
11. – Brian Heffernan, Nuns' funds: The 1874 and 1925 accounts of the Carmel of 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands.
- IV. *Vis-à-vis the secular power*
12. – Elias Kolovos, Monasteries, economy and politics in the Orthodox World from Medieval to Modern Times.
13. – Antoine Roulet, The economics of patronage in Western Catholic nunneries (sixteenth-eighteenth century).
14. – Michalis Michael, The Church of Cyprus and the transition from Ottoman rule to British modernity.
15. – Daniela Kalkandjieva, The monastic economy of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church between the two World Wars.

V. *Contemporary monasticism*

16. – Isabelle Depret, Female Orthodox monasticism, ecology and productivist capitalism: The case of the monasteries of Ormylia (Greece) and Solan (France), late twentieth – early twenty first century.
17. – Isabelle Jonveaux, Does monastic economy still matter? The economy of Catholic monasteries and the expectations of society.

Ivan BILIARSKY, Mihael MITREA et Andrei TIMOTIN (éd.), *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'études sud-est européennes 15). – Istros-Muzeul Brăilei Carol I, Brăila 2021. 24 × 16,5 ; relié. 402 p. ISBN 978-606-654-432-0.

Ces quatorze contributions ont été présentées lors d'une session du 12<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études sud-est européennes, qui s'est tenu à Bucarest du 2 au 6 septembre 2019. Rhétorique doit ici être entendu en un sens large, comme moyen de persuader – y compris par l'image par exemple –, tandis que le thème de l'ouvrage porte sur les formes d'exercice d'un pouvoir religieux. Le jeu des constructions comparatives entre passé et présent, le recours à des typologies bibliques dans lesquelles une figure en annonce une autre, les ressorts de l'hagiographie, l'usage politique des reliques, tels sont les thèmes essentiels traités dans la longue durée de façon très cohérente par l'ensemble des auteurs. Les articles s'étendent de la période méso-byzantine jusqu'au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle et couvrent l'espace byzantin dans son ensemble, plus précisément l'Empire byzantin, les régions slaves – Bulgarie et Serbie – et les principautés roumaines. La table des matières est la suivante :

*Byzantium*

1. – Paul Magdalino, The Religious Rhetoric of Political Prophecy.
2. – Andrei Timotin, Religious Rhetoric of Power in the Middle-Byzantine Period. Some Reflections.
3. – Adrian C. Pirtea, Manuscripts, Paratexts and the New Testament Canon: Arethas of Caesarea and the Reception of St John's *Apocalypse* in Byzantium (Ninth-Eleventh Centuries).
4. – Florin Filimon, Weaving Saintly Authority: *Synkrisis* and Typology in the *Lives* of Meletios.
5. – Mihail Mitrea, Spiritual and Imperial Authority in the Hagiographic Works of Philotheos Kokkinos.

*Byzantino-Slavic World*

6. – Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, Le rituel liturgique et la rhétorique du pouvoir dans le royaume serbe du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.
7. – Ivan Biliarisky, *Images Virginis* et la rhétorique du pouvoir dans l'œuvre littéraire du patriarche Euthyme de Tărnovo et de son cercle.
8. – Tudor Teoteoi, Qualités du souverain orthodoxe, vues à travers l'*Histoire* de Jean VI Cantacuzène et les chroniques slavo-roumaines.
9. – Andrei Prohin, The Sovereign's Dream as Historical Parable in the Byzantine World Chronicles from the Romanian Principalities (16th-17th c.).

*Romanian Speaking Regions*

10. – Marian Coman, The Reign of a Defrocked Monk. A Late Fifteenth-Century Case Study in the Wallachian Political Language.
11. – Ovidiu Cristea, War and Religious Rhetoric in Wallachia during the “Long Turkish War”.
12. – Lidia Cotovanu, Le κτητορικὸν δίκαιον, les patriarches grecs et les limites du pouvoir absolu des princes valaques. Autour de la prétendue « réforme monastique » de Matei Basarab (1632-1654).
13. – Radu Nedici, Wondrous Icons between Politics and Religion: Building Legitimacy among the Romanians in Transylvania in a Time of Internal Power Struggles and Confessional Dissent.
14. – Radu G. Păun, La mise en rituel du pouvoir. Une prière de couronnement copiée par Dionisie Eclesiarhul (1813).

André BINGGELI, Stéphanos EFTHYMIADIS et Sophie MÉTIVIER (éd.), *Les nouveaux martyrs à Byzance. I, Vie et Passion de Bacchos le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre*, éditée, traduite et commentée par André BINGGELI et Stéphanos EFTHYMIADIS. II, *Études sur les nouveaux martyrs*, réunies par André BINGGELI et Sophie MÉTIVIER (Byzantina Sorbonensia 31). – Éditions de la Sorbonne, Paris 2021. 23,5 × 16. 404 p. Prix : 35 €. ISBN 979-10-351-0616-4.

La première partie de cet ouvrage est l'édition, introduite, traduite et commentée, de la *Vie et Passion de Bacchos le Jeune* par Étienne Diacre, qui retrace la vie et le martyre de Bacchos, Palestinien musulman (né dans une famille de Maiouma convertie à l'islam), devenu chrétien et moine à Mar Saba, qui fut martyrisé en 787 pour apostasie ; la seconde partie réunit des articles issus d'une table ronde au Congrès International des Études Byzantines de Belgrade (2016) sur le culte des néomartyrs à Byzance.

L'édition critique, accompagnée de la traduction, est précédée d'une introduction et suivie d'un commentaire (sous forme de notes développées), d'index (citations scripturaires, mots grecs, index général) et d'une bibliographie. La seconde partie comporte les articles suivants (un index des saints cités clôt le volume) :

1. – Sophie Métivier et André Binggeli, Les nouveaux martyrs des Byzantins. Pour une analyse de l'usage du terme *néos* dans l'hagiographie martyriale des VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles.
2. – Francesco D'Aiuto, Neo-martiri e neo-confessori nel « Menologio Imperiale » di Michele IV Paflagone.
3. – Eleonora Kountoura Galaki, Rewriting on Martyrs of Iconoclasm during the Palaiologan period.
4. – Alessandra Cozzi, Da Giovanni IV Lascaris a s. Ioasaf: parabola culturale e riletture ideologiche della figura di un « martire » imperiale dell'usurpazione paleologa.
5. – Michel Kaplan, Les saintes mariées battues par leur époux sont-elles des néomartyres ?

6. – Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, Les néomartyrs dans la piété serbe du Moyen-Âge tardif.
7. – Marco Fanelli, La memoria e l'immagine dei neomartiri di età paleologa.

Reinhart CEULEMANS et Barbara CROSTINI (éd.), *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts and their Readers* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia byzantina Upsaliensia 20). – Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala 2021. 24 × 16,5. xx-534 p. Prix : 436 SEK. ISBN 978-91-513-1017-6. Accès ouvert : <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-420968>.

Cet épais volume, également disponible gratuitement en ligne, rassemble les travaux de deux sessions du 23<sup>e</sup> Congrès des études byzantines de Belgrade (2016), complétés par quelques contributions supplémentaires. Il est consacré aux réceptions de la Bible, c'est-à-dire de l'Ancien Testament, dans le monde byzantin ; les textes sont organisés en sections thématiques, après une ample introduction des deux éditeurs, qui offre un très utile panorama historiographique. Exégèses, citations, réécritures, manuscrits enluminés (avec de nombreuses planches couleur) et chaînes exégétiques (pour l'essentiel) forment l'ossature du livre. Chaque contribution est munie d'une bibliographie ; le volume est complété par différents index : noms propres, lieux bibliques, textes anciens (avec un appendice liturgique), manuscrits (avec mention des numéros Diktyon pour les livres grecs). Mobilisant des méthodes et des approches très différentes (critique textuelle et philologie, analyse littéraire, étude des manuscrits, étude des décors, etc.), ce livre collectif ouvre de riches perspectives d'étude sur la Bible dans le monde byzantin, certaines assez classiques, d'autres plus nouvelles.

1. – Reinhart Ceulemans et Barbara Crostini, Why the Bible in Byzantium Matters. *Politics of Interpretation*
2. – Gábor Buzási, Julian the Apostate as a Biblical Literalist.
3. – Paul M. Blowers, George of Pisidia among the Hexaemeral Commentators.
4. – Sysse Gudrun Engberg, The Emperor Leo V, his Choir Master, and the Byzantine Old Testament Lectionary.
5. – Meredith L. D. Riedel, Photios's Hermeneutic for Wisdom Literature in *Amphiloquia* 9.

#### *Quotations*

6. – Sébastien Morlet, Les *Testimonia*, de la fin de l'Antiquité à Byzance : remarques sur une histoire qu'il reste à écrire.
7. – Alexandru Ioniță, Biblical Sources and Hymnographic Parallels for Anti-Jewish Rhetoric in the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*.
8. – Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe, "A Child in Zion": The Scriptural Fabric of Armenian Colophons.
9. – Panagiotis Ch. Athanasopoulos, The Greek and Latin Background to the Thomistic Scriptural Quotations in Gennadios Scholarios, *Compendium of Summa Theologiae* I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>.

#### *Rewritten Bible*

10. – Francesca Prometea Barone, Un document synoptique en marge de la *Synopse de la Sainte Écriture* attribuée à Jean Chrysostome : le ms. *London, Lambeth Palace, Sion* L40.2/G11.

11. – Guillaume Bady, Les vers inédits sur les Psaumes transmis sous le nom de Nicéas Chartophylax.
12. – Rachele Ricceri, The Byzantine Reception of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*: Paratextuality and Visual Representation.

*Visual Exegesis*

13. – Anne-Catherine Baudoin, Joseph of Arimathea as the “Blessed Man”: Patristic, Apocryphal and Iconographic Witnesses to an Original Interpretation of Psalm 1.
14. – Kathleen Maxwell, Dating Middle Byzantine Gospel Books: The Gospels of Dionysios and Paris. gr. 63.
15. – Élisabeth Yota, Le tétraévangile byzantin : modes d’illustration et sources d’inspiration.
16. – Engelina Smirnova, Christian Instruction in the Miniatures of the Simonov Psalter of Novgorod (MS Moscow, Hist. Mus., Chlud. 3).
17. – Massimo Bernabò, The Illuminations of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

*Technical Exegesis*

18. – Theodora Panella, Re-classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians.
19. – Laurence Vianès, Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire sur les Grands Prophètes, ou chaînes prosévériennes ?
20. – Leontien Vanderschelden, The Composition and Transmission of the Catena on Psalm 11 in the Paris Psalter.
21. – Mariachiara Fincati, The Exegetical Annotations from the End of the Twelfth Century in Codex Marchalianus: Jeremiah and Hosea.

Stavroula CONSTANTINOÛ et Christian HØGEL (éd.), *Metaphrasis. A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products* (The Medieval Mediterranean 125). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2021. 24 × 16 ; relié. XIII-393 p. Prix : 143 €. ISBN 978-90-04-39217-5.

Ce volume consacré au concept de réécriture en hagiographie est, pour sa plus grande partie, le fruit d’un colloque international tenu à l’Université du Danemark du Sud en octobre 2015. Entretemps d’autres collègues ont rejoint le projet en apportant leur pierre à l’édifice. Ce travail vise à revisiter la notion de réécriture en hagiographie médiévale, tout en soulignant son importance à Byzance. L’introduction de Stavroula Constantinou constitue une belle entrée en matière, qui passe en revue toutes les théories littéraires qui peuvent contribuer à une meilleure compréhension du concept de réécriture hagiographique. La *métaphrase* est ici abordée dans une perspective large, en prenant en considération un riche éventail de textes, rédigés en grec ou dans d’autres langues, comme les *Apophtegmes*, les *Passions*, les *Vies de saints* et les collections de miracles, sans oublier l’étude de collections, comme le ménologe métaphrastique et le Synaxaire de Constantinople. La fourchette chronologique s’étend de l’Antiquité tardive jusqu’à la fin de Byzance et les articles s’articulent autour de trois axes : aux dossiers entre Orient et Occident qui remontent à une période haute succède une série d’articles, le gros du volume, qui traitent de la cristallisation et de la canonisation de la réécriture hagiographique à Byzance ; les deux dernières contributions complètent ce

tableau en apportant le témoignage de textes datés de la dernière période de Byzance. Une bibliographie fournie (p. 343-385) et un index (p. 387-393) complètent le volume.

I. *Introduction*

1. – Stavroula Constantinou, *Metaphrasis. Mapping Premodern Writing*.

II. *Early Rewriting: East and West*

2. – Robert Wiśniewski, *Relate and Retell. Eastern Monastic Stories and the Beginnings of Latin Hagiography*.
3. – John Wortley, *The Anomalous Transition of Beneficial Tales*.
4. – Klazina Staat, Julie Van Pelt et Koen De Temmerman, *The Greek Vita Malchi. Translating and Rewriting Jerome*.
5. – Andria Andreou, *Many Faces, a Single Pair. Rewriting Mary and Zosimas in the Legend of Mary of Egypt*.

III. *Development of a Praxis and a Concept*

6. – Daria D. Resh, *What is Metaphrasis? The Case of John of Sardis (BHG 215i)*.
7. – Anne Alwis, *The Shape of Water. Rewriting Iconoclasm, Islam, and Deleuze in Byzantine Hagiography*.
8. – Kristoffel Demoen, *Metaphrasis and Versification. The Paradeisos as a Rewriting of Apophthegmata Patrum*.
9. – Marina Detoraki et Bernard Flusin, *À la recherche d'Évariste. Remarques sur les notices du Synaxaire de Constantinople*.
10. – Laura Franco, *Psychological Introspection and the Image of Sanctity in the Metaphrastic Menologion*.
11. – Christian Høgel, *Sanctification of Hagiographers in Byzantium. The Canonization of Symeon Metaphrastes*.

IV. *Late Rewriting*

12. – Martin Hinterberger, *Hagiographical Enkomia as Metaphrasis in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. Some Preliminary Observations*.
13. – Stavroula Constantinou, *A Rewriter at Work. Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and the Pege Miracles*.

Salvatore COSENTINO (éd.), *A Companion to Byzantine Italy* (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World 8). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2021. 24,5 × 16 ; relié. XVIII-829 p., avec illustrations, cartes, plans. Prix : 249 €. ISBN 978-90-04-30769-8.

Ce recueil sur l'Italie byzantine s'articule en trois grandes parties qui organisent les 27 études publiées, lesquelles concernent la société, la politique, les institutions, l'économie ou encore la culture : en proposant tantôt un état des lieux, tantôt des réflexions nouvelles, ce volume offre une synthèse de grande importance sur un territoire qui a suscité l'intérêt de l'Empire byzantin pendant plusieurs siècles et qui, par conséquent, nous a laissé des témoignages très nombreux et de natures très différentes. Ceci explique la nécessité de l'approche ample et diversifiée retenue pour cet ouvrage, qui n'en perd pas son unité ; enfin, le profil scientifique des auteurs qui interviennent dans ce recueil est un indice fiable de la qualité de cette publication. Les études sont précédées par des listes des abréviations bibliographiques, des cartes, des plans et des illustrations, et par des biographies scientifiques des auteurs ; elles sont suivies par un index des noms de personne et de lieu, et un index des sujets.



Salvatore Cosentino et Enrico Zanini, Introduction: Mapping the Memory of Byzantine Italy.

I. *Society and Institutions*

1. – Salvatore Cosentino, Politics and Society.
2. – Salvatore Cosentino, Ecclesiastic Life and Its Institutions.
3. – Enrico Morini, Monastic Life and Its Institutions.
4. – Vivien Prigent, Byzantine Administration and the Army.
5. – Federico Marazzi, Byzantines and Lombards.
6. – Annliese Nef, Byzantium and Islam in Southern Italy (7th-11th Century).
7. – Annick Peters-Custot, Greek Communities in Post-Byzantine Italy.

II. *Communications, Economy and Landscape*

*General Frameworks*

8. – Denis Sami, The Network of Interregional Roads and Harbours.
9. – Jean-Marie Martin, Rural Economy: Organization, Exploitation and Resources.
10. – Enrico Zanini, Non-Agricultural Items: Local Production, Importation and Redistribution.
11. – Vivien Prigent, Mints, Coin Production and Circulation.

*Settlements and Landscape: Regional Morphologies*

12. – Sauro Gelichi, The Venetiae, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.
13. – Alessandra Molinari, Rome and the Roman Duchy.
14. – Federico Marazzi, Byzantine Naples and Gaeta.
15. – Ghislaine Noyé, Byzantine Calabria.
16. – Paul Arthur, Byzantine Apulia.
17. – Lucia Arcifa, Byzantine Sicily.
18. – Pier Giorgio Spanu, Byzantine Sardinia.
19. – Brunella Bruno et Nathaniel Cutajar, Byzantine Malta.

III. *Culture and Education*

20. – Vera von Falkenhausen, Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy (6th-11th Century).
21. – Deborah M. Deliyannis, Bishops, Cities, and Historical Memory in Byzantine Italy.
22. – Mario Re, Telling the Sanctity in Byzantine Italy.
23. – Francesco D'Aiuto, Devotion and Prayer in Byzantine Italy.
24. – Massimo Bernabò, Medieval Art in Italy and Byzantium (ca. 550-1050): A Viaticum.
25. – Isabella Baldini, Conceiving Social Space in Byzantine Italy: Monumental Architecture and Building Typologies.
26. – Paola Degni, Literacy and Book Production in Byzantine Italy.
27. – Cristina Rognoni, Legal Texts and Juridical Practice in Byzantine Italy.

Ioannis DELIGIANNIS, Vasileios PAPPAS et Vaios VAIPOULOS (éd.), Dimitrios NIKITAS (intro.), *Post-Byzantine Latinitas. Latin in Post-Byzantine Scholarship (15th-19th centuries)* (Corpus Christianorum, Lingua Patrum 12B). – Brepols, Turnhout 2020. 25 × 16 ; relié. 490 p. Prix : 95 €. ISBN 978-2-503-58994-7.

Le présent travail émane d'un projet de longue haleine qui traite de la connaissance de la langue et de la littérature latines par les érudits byzantins et post-byzantins.

Aussi rassemble-t-il une vingtaine de contributions qui passent en revue des œuvres écrites directement en latin, mais aussi des traductions du latin vers le grec et du grec vers le latin, dans une période qui s'étend de la chute de Constantinople jusqu'à la guerre de l'indépendance grecque. Ce recueil d'articles s'inscrit dans la continuité de l'ouvrage publié en 2019 autour de la place de la langue et de la culture latines à Byzance entre le 4<sup>e</sup> et le 9<sup>e</sup> siècle (*REB* 79, 2021, p. 356-359). On annonce la préparation du deuxième volume qui viendra compléter le tableau en incluant la période entre le 10<sup>e</sup> et le 14<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le volume s'ouvre sur une présentation synthétique qui retrace les grandes lignes de la production littéraire en langue latine des érudits post-byzantins (1453-1821). Cette introduction rédigée par D. Nikitas permet d'appréhender les principales étapes de ce mouvement, ainsi que leurs représentants. Par souci de cohérence, les textes réunis s'articulent autour de deux axes thématiques : d'une part, les études grecques en Occident (Ciccolella, Milette, Bastin-Hammou), les études latines en Orient (Akopyan, Karapidakis, Pylarinos-Vaiopoulos) et les traductions (Deligiannis, Athanasiadou, Malone-Lee, Pappas, Michalopoulos-Michalopoulos) et, d'autre part, les traités de contenu théologique, philosophique (Papaioannou, Bennett), politique ou idéologique (Giarenis, Abenstein, Lamers, Mavrelou, Staikos, Rooy) écrits en latin par les érudits post-byzantins. Le premier axe ne se réduit pas à un examen philologique des textes, mais prend en considération leur tradition textuelle, ainsi que la circulation des manuscrits et l'histoire des bibliothèques. Le deuxième axe concerne des domaines qui jouèrent un rôle important dans l'interaction entre Occident et Orient, telle la religion, et s'interroge sur les raisons qui poussèrent les écrivains post-byzantins à rédiger ces textes en latin. Les éditeurs ont veillé à organiser le contenu du volume de manière rationnelle : les textes sont présentés par ordre chronologique et, à l'intérieur de chaque unité thématique, les articles sur des sujets restreints sont précédés de contributions qui dressent un tableau général. Les contributeurs du volume s'intéressent au contexte historique, politique et social dans lequel les textes examinés virent le jour, non sans s'interroger sur les modalités de leur composition, en termes d'intertextualité, et sur le public visé.

Une bibliographie abondante et fort utile à tout chercheur s'intéressant aux interactions entre Occident et Orient accompagne le volume (p. 397-416). Trois *indices* (noms propres, lieux, manuscrits) aideront le lecteur à cheminer, sans s'égarer, dans les méandres de cette production littéraire d'une grande richesse qui constitue encore un terrain en friche.

Dimitrios Nikitas, *An Overview of the Post-Byzantine Latinitas*.

I. *Greek Studies in the West – Latin Studies in the East – Translations*

*Greek Studies in the West*

1. – Federica Ciccolella, *When Cicero Meets Hermogenes: The Defence of Greek Studies in Quattrocento Italy*.
2. – Lorenzo Milette, *Between Herodotus and the Poison Maiden. Laonikos Chalkondyles and the Death of King Ladislaus of Durazzo*.
3. – Malika Bastin-Hammou, *Aemilius Portus, Greek Scholar and Latin Humanist: Some Reflexions on Aemilius Portus's Edition of Aristophanes (1607)*.

*Latin Studies in the East*

4. – Ovanes Akopyan, *Latin Studies and Greek Scholars in Early Modern Russia*.
5. – Nikolaos E. Karapidakis, *Latinitas or Romanitas Nostra: Latin Culture in the Ionian Islands under the Venetian Domination (Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)*.

6. – Theodosios Pylarinos et Vaios Vaiopoulos, Life and Work of a Latin-taught Corfiot: Antonio Rodostamo (Ἀντώνιος Ροδόσταμος).

*Translations*

7. – Ioannis Deligiannis, The Diffusion of the Latin Translations of Greek Texts Produced by Late and Post-Byzantine Scholars and Printed from the Mid-Fifteenth to Late Sixteenth Century.
8. – Garyfallia Athanasiadou, Reforming a Translation: Nicholas Sekoundinos's Contribution to the Revised Translation of Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* Made by Bartolomeo Facio.
9. – Michael Malone-Lee, The Latin Translations of Cardinal Bessarion.
10. – Vasileios Pappas, The Translation of Justin's *Epitome of Trogu* by John Makolas (1686).
11. – Andreas N. Michalopoulos et Charilaos N. Michalopoulos, Modern Greek Translations of Latin Poetic Quotations in the *Θέατρον Πολιτικόν* (*Theatrum Politicum*).

II. *Religion, Theology and Philosophy – Politics, Ideology and National Identity Religion, Theology and Philosophy*

12. – Sophia Papaioannou, *Exempla Virtutis* and Augustinian Ethics in *De Statu Hominis* by Leonardus, Archbishop of Mytilene.
13. – Byard Bennett, Augustine's Theology as a Resource for Reconciling the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches in the Post-Byzantine Period: Maximus Margunius's Greek and Latin Works on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

*Politics, Ideology and National Identity*

14. – Ilias Giarenis, Leonardo Bruni and Bessarion: Two Scholars, Two Languages, and Two Versions of Liberty in the Fifteenth Century.
15. – Christina Abenstein, Treason, Ambition, and Hardship: On the Cultural Entanglement of George of Trebizond's Revised Draft of his Translation of Saint Basil.
16. – Han Lamers, What's in a Name? Naming the 'Post-Byzantines' in Renaissance Italy (and Beyond).
17. – Nikolaos Mavrelas, *Latinitas Graecorum*: Latin Language Used by Greeks and Greek Identity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Texts.
18. – Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, Eugenios Voulgaris's Edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*: Ideology and Politics.
19. – Raf Van Rooy, A Latin Defence of Early Modern Greek Culture: Alexander Helladios's *Status Praesens* (1714) and its Linguistic Arguments.

Charalambos DENDRINOS et Ilias GIARENIS (éd.), *Bibliophilos. Books and Learning in the Byzantine World. Festschrift in Honour of Costas N. Constantinides* (Byzantinisches Archiv 39). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 24,5 × 17,5 ; relié. xvii-442 p. Prix : 179,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-071709-9.

Ces mélanges en l'honneur de Costas N. Constantinides rassemblent les contributions de nombreux collègues et étudiants de cet éminent spécialiste de l'histoire de l'enseignement à Byzance. Sa thèse de doctorat, soutenue à King's College sous

la direction de Donald Nicol, publiée à Nicosie en 1982, sous le titre *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: 1204-ca. 1310*, a marqué un tournant dans l'historiographie d'une question jusqu'alors très rarement replacée dans un contexte historique précis. Deux autres mentors ont entouré Costas Constantinidès durant sa formation en Angleterre, Julian Chrysostomidès et Robert Browning, et c'est avec ce dernier qu'il a produit le catalogue des manuscrits datés de Chypre. Professeur émérite d'histoire byzantine de l'Université de Ioannina, Costas Constantinidès a effectué dans cette institution la presque totalité de sa carrière universitaire depuis 1982. On trouvera à la fin de l'ouvrage (p. 411-417) une bibliographie complète de ses travaux de 1980 à 2021. Ses amis et disciples lui rendent ici hommage en traitant de sujets liés à l'histoire des textes et à la littérature byzantine, selon la table des matières suivante :

1. – Demetrios C. Agoritsas, A poem by Manuel, a baptised Jew: was he a student of Nikephoros Blemmydes?
2. – Michael Angold, Niketas Choniates in exile.
3. – Panagiotis Antonopoulos et Évangelós Chrysos, Το Ψαλτήριο στην εκπαίδευση του χριστιανικού κόσμου.
4. – Daniele Bianconi et Anna Gioffreda, Tra le carte e i libri di un anonimo impiegato del catasto (Tessalonica, intorno all'anno 1300).
5. – Annaclara Cataldi Palau, Greek Manuscripts from Epirus and Southern Italy in the Library of the Monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos.
6. – Charalambos Dendrinos, Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' unpublished Letter to his spiritual fathers David and Damianos.
7. – Patricia Easterling, Reading Sophocles with Manuel Moschopoulos.
8. – Ilias Giarenis, Behind the mask: a letter of Nikolaos Mesarites to Emperor Theodoros I Komnenos Laskaris.
9. – Archim. Gregorios A. Ioannidès, A new Manuscript of the scribe Ambrosios from the Monastery of Andrion: Larnaca, *Metropolis of Kition* 18.
10. – Christos Kafasis, From Tabriz to Trebizond and Constantinople: the introduction of Persian astronomy into the Byzantine World (ca. 1300-1350).
11. – Paul Magdalino, The *Patria of Constantinople*: scholarship or literature?
12. – Ilias Nesseris, The scribal formula *Διπλοῦν τὸν ἀπλοῦν*.
13. – Fevronia Nousia, John Pothos Pediasimos' schedographical corpus.
14. – Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Once more on the life and handwriting of the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* John Pothos Pediasimos.
15. – Elias Petrou, A game between a copyist and a binder of a manuscript: the case of cod. *Vat. gr.* 897.
16. – Andreas Rhoby, *Sein Geist dürfte auf den Olymp geflogen sein, zum elysischen Gefilde!* Zwei Grabgedichte (Ende 15. Jh.) des Andreas Arnes auf seinen Vater im Cod. *Par. gr.* 3048.
17. – Antonio Rigo et Michele Trizio, Eustratios of Nicaea: a hitherto unknown 'master of rhetors' in late eleventh century.
18. – Èka Tchikoidzè, Το βιβλίο ως δώρημα προς τα μοναστήρια. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της λογιουσύνης της Μονής Ιβήρων.
19. – Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos, Μεταξύ Βασιλεύουσας, Φράγκων και Γαληνοτάτης. Ένας Κωνσταντινουπολίτης ζωγράφος στην Κύπρο.
20. – Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt, *Τοῖς ἀθετοῦσι τὴν δίκην τοῦ σεκρέτου...* Die Restaurierung des Kaisergerichts in Konstantinopel durch Michael VIII. Palaiologos.
21. – Bibliography of Costas N. Constantinides.

Vincent DÉROCHE, Bryan WARD-PERKINS et Robert WIŚNIEWSKI (éd.), *Culte des saints et littérature hagiographique. Accords et désaccords* (Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 55). – Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT 2020. 24 × 17,5. xiv-226 p. Prix : 62 €. ISBN 978-90-429-4321-6.

Cette riche collection de communications, tirées de l'ensemble du monde chrétien, est le fruit de l'heureuse rencontre de spécialistes d'hagiographie qui a eu lieu à Paris en 2015 dans le cadre d'un colloque accueilli par le Centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, en partenariat avec le projet ERC Cult of Saints dirigé par Bryan Ward-Perkins (Université d'Oxford).

Bien que culte et hagiographie soient intimement liés, leur relation est souvent très complexe. Les textes réunis dans ce volume visent à jeter un regard neuf sur la disjonction entre pratique cultuelle et production littéraire. Le point de départ est toujours un texte narratif, et non un culte. Le livre se divise en trois parties. La première traite du lien complexe entre d'une part l'hagiographie et de l'autre les institutions cultuelles, les pratiques et les sanctuaires, non sans s'intéresser à des textes qui à première vue n'ont guère à voir avec l'hagiographie. Certains récits hagiographiques visent à soutenir un culte, au point que le texte hagiographique et son support revêtent le rôle d'objets sacrés, mais d'autres reflètent les pratiques cultuelles comme un miroir déformant. La deuxième partie met l'accent sur la figure de trois saints dont l'image fut forgée par les hagiographes : Joseph d'Arimathie, présenté comme le premier témoin de la Résurrection, Étienne, considéré comme le premier témoin du Christ, et Félix de Nole, présenté comme martyr et confesseur. La troisième partie traite de récits hagiographiques qui n'ont pas été composés en vue d'établir un culte, mais qui finirent par contribuer à l'établissement du culte de leurs protagonistes par la suite, même plusieurs siècles plus tard. Tels sont les cas des héros orientaux de l'hagiographie monastique dans l'imaginaire occidental ou des fols-en-Christ (*saloï*), dont les récits manquent de toute ambition cultuelle.

#### I. Textes, cultes et sanctuaires

1. – Bryan Ward-Perkins, The relationship between hagiography and cult: some thoughts for the « Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity » project.
2. – Phil Booth, Between texts and shrines in the Greek cult of saints.
3. – Bernard Flusin, Le contrat de Marina : passions épiques et culte des saints.
4. – Arietta Papaconstantinou, Hagiography in the archives: real-life miracles and the sacred economy in eighth-century Egypt.
5. – Nikoloz Aleksidze, The disputed saints of the early medieval Caucasus.

#### II. Des apôtres aux martyrs

6. – Anne-Catherine Baudoin, Joseph d'Arimathie premier témoin de la résurrection : entre littérature apocryphe et hagiographie.
7. – Damien Labadie, La Passion hagiopolite du protomartyr Étienne.
8. – Michael Stuart Williams, Always already a martyr? Felix of Nola as martyr and confessor.

#### III. Du succès littéraire au culte

9. – Robert Wiśniewski, Entre la popularité et le culte : les histoires monastiques et la vénération des saints moines en Occident.
10. – Flavia Ruani, Qui est le saint, qui est le héros, dans l'*Histoire syriaque de l'écolier tué par son maître* ?

11. – Vincent Déroche, Du rejet à l'adulation, de la vie scandaleuse au culte établi : le paradoxe des *saloi*.

Denis FEISSEL, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire des premiers siècles de Byzance* (Bilans de recherche 10). – Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Paris 2020. 24 × 17,5. xxiv-696 p. Prix : 60 €. ISBN : 978-2-916716-77-0.

Quinze ans après *Les chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987-2004*, éditées en 2006, et plus de dix ans après un premier volume dans Bilans de recherche, intitulé *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif*, la collection publie à nouveau trente-deux études de Denis Feissel, initialement parues de 1976 à 2014. Pendant ces presque quarante ans, Denis Feissel a incarné l'épigraphie du monde protobyzantin, à laquelle la presque totalité des articles est dédiée. Précédées d'un bref avant-propos, ces contributions, qui ont pu faire l'objet d'une révision partielle (systématiquement indiquée), conformément au principe de la collection, reflètent l'extrême richesse et la diversité géographique de ce corpus documentaire, ainsi que la pluralité des thématiques et des problématiques que ce dernier a conduit l'auteur à examiner : prosopographie, géographie historique et topographie, onomastique, linguistique, systèmes chronologiques, histoire des mobilités, histoire de la construction et de Constantinople, droit et institutions, touchant à l'ensemble de l'Empire et à quatre espaces en particulier, Constantinople, l'Asie, l'Isaurie et la Cilicie et, pour finir, la Syrie. Les dernières études font appel aux œuvres de trois lettrés du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle, Malalas, Procope et Jean Lydos. L'ouvrage se termine par la bibliographie des travaux de l'auteur, publiés de 1976 à 2020, et par plusieurs index. L'indispensable et immense érudition de ces études, la grande élégance de l'écriture, la clarté des démonstrations doivent faire de ce recueil d'études le compagnon de tout spécialiste de l'Empire romain d'Orient.

I. *Quatre aspects de l'épigraphie protobyzantine*

1. – L'évêque, titres et fonctions d'après les inscriptions grecques jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle.
2. – Un siècle d'épigraphie chrétienne et byzantine : l'œuvre des savants français et belges en Grèce et en Asie Mineure.
3. – Les inscriptions latines dans l'Orient protobyzantin.
4. – L'épigraphie protobyzantine et la continuité de l'onomastique antique.

II. *Épigraphie et aires régionales du monde protobyzantin : Constantinople, Asie Mineure, Proche-Orient, Italie*

5. – Inscriptions grecques en Vénétie.
6. – Aspects de l'immigration à Constantinople d'après les épitaphes protobyzantines.
7. – Le Philadelphion de Constantinople : inscriptions et récits patriographiques.
8. – De Sainte-Irène au domaine de Rufin : trois notes de toponymie constantino-politaine.
9. – Kerdanetta : une localité de Lydie d'après l'épigraphie et les Actes conciliaires.
10. – Gouverneurs et édifices dans des épigrammes de Smyrne au Bas-Empire.
11. – Vicaires et proconsuls d'Asie du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Remarques sur l'administration du diocèse asianique au Bas-Empire.

12. – Le Roufinion de Pergame au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après un sceau nouvellement publié.
13. – Deux grandes familles isauriennes du V<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après des inscriptions de Cilicie Trachée.
14. – Noms épichoriques et géographie : deux notes d'onomastique isaurienne.
15. – Remarques de toponymie syrienne d'après des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes trouvées hors de Syrie.
16. – Noms de villages de Syrie du Nord : éléments grecs et sémitiques.
17. – Ères locales et frontières administratives dans le Proche-Orient protobyzantin.
18. – Laodicée de Syrie sous l'empereur Julien d'après des lettres méconnues de Libanios.
19. – L'épigraphie des mosaïques d'églises en Syrie et au Liban.
20. – Les martyria d'Anasartha.
21. – Deux épigrammes d'Apamène et l'éloge de l'endogamie dans une famille syrienne du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.
22. – Toponymes orientaux dans les épitaphes grecques de Concordia.
23. – Contributions à l'épigraphie grecque chrétienne de Rome.
24. – Grecs d'Asie Mineure dans l'Italie de l'Antiquité tardive.
- III. *Prosopographie et historiographie au siècle de Justinien*
25. – Magnus, Mégas et les curateurs des « maisons divines » de Justin II à Maurice.
26. – Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VI<sup>e</sup> et au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle.
27. – L'architecte Viktôrinus et les fortifications de Justinien dans les provinces balkaniques.
28. – Les édifices de Justinien au témoignage de Procope et de l'épigraphie.
29. – Les itinéraires de Procope et la métrologie de l'Antiquité tardive.
30. – Dates et durées de règne selon Malalas de Théodose II à Justinien.
31. – Traduire Lydos. Notes en marge de la nouvelle édition de Jean le Lydien.
32. – Trois notes sur l'empereur Maurice.

Sarah GADOR-WHYTE et Andrew MELLAS (éd.), *Hymns, Homilies and Hermeneutics in Byzantium* (Byzantina Australiensia 25). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2021. 24 × 16 ; relié. x-247 p. Prix : 139 €. ISBN 978-90-04-43956-6.

Le présent volume est issu d'un workshop organisé à la Macquarie University (Australie) en août 2018 ; il s'inscrit dans un courant plus large, et dont les deux éditeurs sont partie prenante, d'étude renouvelée de la liturgie byzantine, qui porte sur la pratique liturgique et l'implication des fidèles dans sa célébration, plus que sur une histoire des textes liturgiques et de leurs évolutions. Les onze contributions de l'ouvrage s'intéressent aux aspects sociaux de la liturgie et envisagent en particulier les effets produits par le chant, la poésie et la prédication dans le cadre liturgique, pour les périodes anciennes et médio-byzantines. Les sources utilisées, homélies et chants, conduisent à tourner l'attention moins vers l'explication et les évolutions de la liturgie que vers sa perception et ses effets sur les fidèles. Les émotions et les outils employés pour les susciter sont au cœur de l'étude, non pour elles-mêmes, mais dans la perspective de construction de la communauté et, corrélativement, d'exclusion de ceux qui lui sont étrangers. Une grande attention est



également prêtée aux images ainsi qu'à l'actualisation des personnages de l'Écriture. La question du lieu et de l'incarnation des discours et chants liturgiques est également présente dans plusieurs contributions. Le livre comporte, outre des bibliographies pour chaque étude, un index général, mais ni index biblique, ni index des textes cités.

### I. *Hermeneutics of Preaching*

1. – Wendy Mayer, The Homiletic Audience as Embodied Hermeneutic: Scripture and Its Interpretation in the Exegetical Preaching of John Chrysostom.
2. – Fr. Damaskinos (Olkinuora) of Xenophontos, John Damascene's Homily on the Withered Fig Tree (CPG 8058): Parable in Action, or Exegetical and Pene-gyric Preaching in Interaction.
3. – Vassilis Adrahtas, John Damascene on the Transfiguration of the Lord: Mystical Homiletic Performance and Eschatological Hermeneutics.
4. – Doru Costache, Andrew of Crete's *Great Canon*, Byzantine Hermeneutics, and Genesis 1-3.

### II. *Performing and Experiencing Christianity*

5. – Sarah Gador-Whyte, Knowledge in Song: Liturgical Formation and Transformation in Romanos the Melodist.
6. – Mary B. Cunningham, Is There Room for Doubt in Christian Faith? Romanos the Melodist and John the Monk on the Apostle Thomas.
7. – Andrew Mellas, The Tears of a Harlot: Kassia's Hymn *On the Sinful Woman* and the Biblical Mosaic of Salvation.
8. – Brian Croke, Looking, Listening and Learning: Justinian's Hagia Sophia.
9. – Daniel Galadza, "Blessed Is He Who Has Come and Comes Again": Mimesis and Eschatology in Palm Sunday Hymns and Processions of Twelfth-Century Jerusalem.

### III. *Tradition and Reception*

10. – Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, Syriac Hymnography before Ephrem.
11. – Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides, The Eye of the Soul in Plato and Pseudo-Macarius: Alexandrian Theology and the Roots of Hesychasm.

Job GETCHA, *Participants de la nature divine. La spiritualité orthodoxe à l'âge de la sécularisation*. – Apostolia, Suceava 2020. 20,5 × 14,5. 265 p. ISBN 979-10-97454-84-5.

Job GETCHA, *Abécédaire de la vie spirituelle*. – Apostolia, Suceava 2021. 20 × 12,5. 430 p. ISBN 978-2-38330-020-5.

Job GETCHA, *La Divine Liturgie byzantine. Une manifestation du sublime*. – Mimésis, Sesto San Giovanni 2021. 17 × 11. 131 p. ISBN 978-88-6976-306-9.

Liturgiste chevronné, Job Getcha a habitué ses lecteurs à des travaux sans concessions sur la technicité propre à ce domaine ardu des études byzantines. Son *Typikon décrypté. Manuel de liturgie byzantine* (Paris 2009 ; *REB* 69, 2011, p. 288) – désormais traduit en anglais sous le titre *The Euchologion Unveiled. An Explanation of Byzantine Liturgical Practice* (Crestwood, NY 2021) – constituait une première

ouverture vers les non-spécialistes. Ses trois récentes publications visent de façon plus résolue encore le grand public cultivé.

La *Divine liturgie byzantine* est la plus accessible des trois. J. Getcha y réussit l'exploit de présenter la liturgie byzantine comme un spectacle complet, sans jamais rendre son sujet trivial. Agréable pour tous, la lecture de l'opuscule est également attrayante pour les byzantinistes. En sept courts chapitres, l'auteur traite successivement des « acteurs » (ou célébrants), des « costumes » (ou du symbolisme), du « décor » (ou de l'espace ecclésial), puis passe aux « trois actes » de la célébration, à savoir la liturgie de la Parole, la liturgie eucharistique et le congé – que l'auteur qualifie aussi de « liturgie après la liturgie » (p. 111).

L'*Abécédaire de la vie spirituelle* se présente comme un dictionnaire composé de 58 courts chapitres ou lemmes classés selon l'ordre de l'alphabet grec. La sélection retient d'une part des intraduisibles (ἀκηδία, βάπτισμα, ἐγκράτεια, ἐπιτίμιον, εὐχαριστία, ἡσυχία, μυστήριον, ξηροφαγία, οἰκονομία, συνεργία, etc.), d'autre part des termes dont la traduction courante altère généralement la teneur (ἁμαρτία, ἀπάθεια, αὐτεξούσιον, γέρον, διάκρισις, εἰκών, λογισμοί, μοναχός, etc.). Chaque fois, l'auteur parcourt l'histoire de la notion, depuis les textes vétérotestamentaires jusqu'à ceux des Pères du désert. Dans certains cas, des usages contemporains sont aussi explicités. Deux ou trois coquilles accrochent le regard, mais elles sont sans conséquence.

*Participants de la nature divine* est également un ouvrage destiné à un lectorat de non-spécialistes, mais plus particulièrement au grand public de confession orthodoxe. Il s'agit en effet d'un essai original, porteur d'une réflexion personnelle qui est plus celle du liturge que du liturgiste, de l'archevêque que du spécialiste. J. Getcha y aborde la difficile question de la sécularisation, qu'il perçoit, dans les pas d'A. Schmemmann, comme un déni du culte plus qu'une négation de Dieu (p. 52-54). Une réflexion sur l'homme contemporain comme « individu auto-entrepreneur » coupé de la tradition (p. 95-100), aboutit à une série de conclusions provisoires stimulantes, dans lesquelles l'auteur met en avant la dimension festive de l'expérience liturgique et la puissance salvatrice de la beauté du monde créé.

Pierre GONNEAU, *Novgorod. Histoire et archéologie d'une république russe médiévale (970-1478)* (L'esprit des lieux). – CNRS Éditions, Paris 2021. 23 × 16,5. 246 p., avec nombreuses illustrations, cartes, plans. Prix : 29 €. ISBN 978-2-271-12713-6.

Ce livre, richement illustré, est le sixième à paraître dans une série consacrée à la présentation, au bénéfice d'un large public, de sites d'intérêt historique et archéologique, entre Antiquité et époque moderne. L'auteur est un expert largement reconnu de l'histoire de la Rus', de la Moscovie et de la Russie entre Moyen Âge et époque moderne : dans ce livre, il dresse au bénéfice du lecteur un tableau riche, clair et vivant de Novgorod, « cette cité qui fut, bien avant Saint-Petersbourg, la fenêtre de la Russie sur l'Europe » (p. 8).

La présentation s'articule à travers six chapitres et une annexe ; les notes suivent chacun des chapitres et la bibliographie figure à la fin du livre. Les trois premiers chapitres, tout en illustrant les grandes étapes de l'histoire de Novgorod, appa-

vers 900, décrivent d'abord la naissance et le développement de Novgorod, avec la description de la topographie de la ville et de ses deux rives sur le Volkhov (chap. 1), ensuite l'« espace novgorodien », avec un pays proche marécageux au bord duquel se situent les deux villes dépendantes de Ladoga et Pskov, tandis que plus loin encore, au nord-est, la vallée de la Dvina donne accès à la mer Blanche (chap. 2) ; enfin, l'attention se porte sur l'évolution des formes de gouvernement qu'a connues la ville entre 10<sup>e</sup> et 15<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu'à l'annexion par Moscou (chap. 3).

Le quatrième chapitre décrit d'abord la vie économique de Novgorod, notamment dans le cadre du commerce baltique, puis quelques aspects de la vie quotidienne. Le cinquième chapitre vient compléter le tableau, en commençant par présenter la vie religieuse et la centralité de l'Église locale, incarnée par l'évêque, les grands monastères et les églises de quartier, en poursuivant avec le domaine artistique et la production de manuscrits, miniatures et icônes, pour terminer avec les arts appliqués et l'art populaire. Un dernier chapitre, le sixième, porte sur « le mythe de Novgorod dans la pensée russe » : certains épisodes de l'histoire de la ville ont particulièrement retenu l'attention et, opportunément réécrits, ont joué un rôle dans la pensée politique et dans la culture russes. Le livre se termine par une annexe, dans laquelle sont retranscrits les passages du voyageur Gilbert de Lannoy concernant Novgorod et Pskov à l'hiver 1413, auxquels l'auteur fait à plusieurs reprises référence dans son ouvrage.

Michael GRÜNBART, *Epistularum Graecarum Initia usque ad annum MD* (Alpha-Omega. Reihe A, Lexika, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie 265). – Olms-Weidmann, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2020. 30 × 21 ; relié. LXXVIII-392 p. Prix : 198 €. ISBN : 978-3-487-15873-0.

Voici la deuxième édition du très utile répertoire publié par M. Grünbart en 2001 (voir le compte rendu d'A. Failler dans *REB* 60, 2002, p. 244-246, pour une présentation détaillée). Il s'agit d'un incipitaire de toutes les lettres grecques, qui inclut aussi, dans sa nouvelle édition, les lettres, fictives ou non, de l'époque classique – alors que la première édition comprenait uniquement les textes à partir de l'an 300, environ. Le second terme chronologique, les environs de 1500, reste inchangé. Le répertoire comprend 17 373 entrées, dont un peu moins de 1 000 concernent des textes inédits. La première partie de l'ouvrage présente un répertoire des épistoliers, avec référence à l'édition et nombre de lettres, qui permet d'avoir un aperçu fort utile de la production épistolaire ; ce répertoire est suivi d'une liste des catalogues de manuscrits dépouillés. Vient ensuite l'incipitaire, suivi par un répertoire bref des *desinits* de lettres mutilées du début, puis quelques *addenda*. Le volume se clôt par un index des lieux cités.

Wolfram HÖRANDNER, Andreas RHOBY et Nikos ZAGKLAS (éd.), *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry* (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World 4). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2019. 24 × 16 ; relié. XIV-576 p. Prix : 215 €. ISBN 978-90-04-39108-6.

Andreas RHOBY et Nikos ZAGKLAS (éd.), *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Texts and Contexts* (Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 14). – Brepols, Turnhout 2018. 23,5 × 15,5. 414 p. Prix : 85 €. ISBN 978-2-503-57886-6.

Abondance de biens ne nuit pas : le proverbe vaut désormais pour la poésie byzantine dont l'intérêt qu'elle suscite depuis quelques années se traduit par une grande fébrilité éditoriale. On se souvient d'avoir signalé, il y a déjà quelque temps, deux ouvrages sur la poésie du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'un dirigé par Floris Bernard et Kristoffel Demoen (*Poetry and Its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, 2012 ; voir *REB* 72, 2014, p. 408-409), l'autre de la plume du seul Floris Bernard (*Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025-1081*, 2014 ; voir *REB* 76, 2018, p. 383-384). Il y a peu, c'est le remarquable diptyque de Marc Lauxtermann qui trouvait son achèvement (*Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres*, II, 2019 ; voir *REB* 78, 2020, p. 309-310). Or deux volumes collectifs viennent encore de paraître, qui n'épuisent sans doute toujours pas l'argument. Ils sont de nature bien différente, du moins en apparence.

Le premier est un recueil collectif paru en 2018 dirigé par Andreas Rhoby et Nikos Zagklas, principalement consacré à la poésie d'époque comnène et paléologue. Signalons la riche moisson d'œuvres inédites proposées au lecteur, notamment un canon attribué à Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, des *Théotokia* de Jean Pédiasimos Pothos et Dèmètrios Staphidakès (auteurs d'époque paléologue), et un cycle de quatre paratextes métriques du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle sur Jean Climaque. Les titres des contributions renseigneront suffisamment sur le contenu de l'ouvrage :

I. *Studies in the Poetry of the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*

1. *Forms, Perceptions & Functions*

1. – Floris Bernard, Rhythm in the Byzantine Dodecasyllable: Practices and Perceptions.
2. – Nikos Zagklas, Metrical Polyeideia and Generic Innovation in the Twelfth Century: The Multimetric Cycles of Occasional Poetry.

2. *Authors & Texts*

3. – Maria Tomadaki, The Reception of Ancient Greek Literature in the Iambic Poems of John Geometres.
4. – Przemysław Marciniak & Katarzyna Warcaba, Theodore Prodromos' Katomyomachia as a Byzantine Version of Mock-Epic.
5. – Andreas Rhoby, The Poetry of Theodore Balsamon: Form and Function.
6. – Krystina Kubina, Manuel Philes – A Begging Poet? Requests, Letters and Problems of Genre Definition.
7. – Marina Bazzani, The Art of Requesting in the Poetry of Manuel Philes.

3. *Hymnography & Its Contexts*

8. – Theodora Antonopoulou, Imperial Hymnography: The Canons Attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. With the Critical Edition of the First Canon on St John Chrysostom.
9. – Dimitrios Skrekas, Translations and Paraphrases of Liturgical Poetry in Late Byzantine Thessalonica.

II. *The Editio Princeps of a Completely Unknown Text*

10. – Renaat Meesters & Rachele Ricceri, A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax: Editio princeps.
11. – Renaat Meesters, A Twelfth-Century Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax: A Brief Analysis.

Partant du constat que, malgré le dynamisme que l'on vient de rappeler, il n'existait aucune synthèse d'ampleur sur la poésie byzantine et que cette synthèse était désormais possible, un groupe de chercheurs du département byzantin de l'Académie des sciences autrichienne a mené à bien un autre projet qui a rejoint la série des « Brill's Companions to the Byzantine Word ». L'entreprise impressionne même si son foisonnement s'explique par la juxtaposition d'études thématiques relevant bien de l'exercice du « Companion », et d'études particulières consacrées à un auteur ou à une œuvre qui auraient pu trouver place ailleurs, par exemple dans le volume précédent. Relevons l'absence d'exposé sur la technique du poème – on cherchera en vain un manuel de métrique, ce que relève d'ailleurs Michael Jeffreys (p. 67) – ou celle d'une étude sur l'usage social de la poésie byzantine ; l'hymnographie ne fait l'objet que d'un seul article, malgré le volume immense des canons liturgiques conservés – mais il est vrai que le genre mériterait lui-même un « Companion » ; de même, la poésie de l'Antiquité tardive, heureusement traitée par Gianfranco Agosti, ne reçoit qu'une seule et unique étude. À ces réserves de construction près, il va de soi que ce recueil rendra d'immenses services et qu'il recueille avec bonheur les fruits des fulgurants et récents progrès dans l'étude de la poésie byzantine. En voici la table des matières :

I. *Preliminaries: Contexts, Language, Metrics and Style*

1. – Marc D. Lauxtermann, Texts and Contexts.
2. – Martin Hinterberger, The Language of Byzantine Poetry: New Words, Alternative Forms, and “Mixed Language”.
3. – Michael Jeffreys, From Hexameters to Fifteen-Syllable Verse.
4. – Elisabeth Jeffreys, Byzantine Poetry and Rhetoric.

II. *Periods, Authors, Social and Cultural Milieus*

5. – Gianfranco Agosti, Late Antique Poetry and Its Reception.
6. – Ioannis Vassis, George of Pisidia: the Spring of Byzantine Poetry?
7. – Kristoffel Demoen, Monasticism and Iconolatry: Theodore Stoudites.
8. – Emilie van Opstall et Maria Tomadaki, John Geometres: a Poet around the Year 1000.
9. – Floris Bernard, The 11th Century: Michael Psellos and Contemporaries.
10. – Nikos Zagklas, “How Many Verses Shall I Write and Say?”: Poetry in the Komnenian Period (1081-1204).
11. – Andreas Rhoby, Poetry on Commission in Late Byzantium (13th-15th Century).

III. *Poetry in Byzantium and Beyond*

12. – Kurt Smolak, “Accept a Roman Song with a Kindly Heart!”: Latin Poetry in Byzantium.
13. – Eirini Afentoulidou et Jürgen Fuchsbaauer, Philippos Monotropos in Byzantium and the Slavonic World.
14. – Carolina Cupane, Byzantine Poetry at the Norman Court of Sicily (1130-c.1200).

IV. *Transmission and Circulation*

15. – Foteini Spingou, Byzantine Collections and Anthologies of Poetry.
16. – Floris Bernard et Kristoffel Demoen, Byzantine Book Epigrams.
17. – Ivan Drpić et Andreas Rhoby, Byzantine Verses as Inscriptions: the Interaction of Text, Object, and Beholder.

V. *Particular Uses of Verse in Byzantium*

18. – Wolfram Hörandner, Teaching with Verse in Byzantium.
19. – Antonia Giannouli, Hymn Writing in Byzantium: Forms and Writers.

20. – Ingela Nilsson, *The Past as Poetry: Two Byzantine World Chronicles in Verse.*
21. – Roderick Beaton, *Byzantine Verse Romances.*

Géôrgios Th. KARDARAS (éd.), *Το Βυζάντιο και η Ρωσία του Κιέβου (882-1240)* (Τὸ Βυζάντιο σήμερα 8). – Εθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑρευνῶν, Αθήνες 2020. 24 × 17. 267 p. ISBN 978-960-7905-60-4.

Ce volume collectif, fruit d'un cycle de conférences initié en 2017 au Centre national de la recherche hellénique et complété de contributions ultérieures, regroupe onze articles illustrant de façon interdisciplinaire les relations entre Byzance et la Rus' de Kiev. La période chronologique concernée s'étend du début du règne d'Oleg le Sage (882) à la prise de Kiev par les Mongols (1240). Les contributions, qui se répartissent autour de quatre thématiques générales (I. Aspects historiques ; II. Sources archéologiques ; III. Littérature byzantine ; IV. Église et droit) portent sur des aspects variés des échanges, tant politiques que culturels. L'objectif est de souligner la part de Byzance dans la vie de la plus importante principauté d'Europe orientale, mais aussi de discuter de l'émergence de ce qui sera – bien plus tard – qualifié de « Commonwealth byzantin ».

Les huit contributions en grec sont suivies de résumés anglais et, inversement, les trois contributions en anglais sont suivies de résumés en grec. Deux index (*nominum* et *locorum*) sont donnés en clôture.

*Ιστορικές όψεις*

1. – Geōrgios Th. Kardaras, Η Ρωσία του Κιέβου (882-1240). Γενική επισκόπηση.
2. – Panos Sophoulis, Ο Βυζαντινο-ρωσικός ανταγωνισμός στη Βαλκανική και στην Κριμαία.
3. – Geōrgios Theotokis, The Rus'-Varangian Guard in Byzantium.
4. – Alexandr Musin, The Byzantine Materiality in/of Eastern Europe: Archaeological Approach.
5. – Nikos Melvani, Εικόνα και θέαμα: ο ναός της Αγίας Σοφίας Κιέβου και το πολιτικό πρόγραμμα του Γιαροσλάβου.
6. – Pavla Drapelova, Βυζαντινά νομίσματα στη Ρωσία του Κιέβου: Εισαγωγική μελέτη.

*Η Βυζαντινή γραμματεία*

7. – Tatiana Borisova, Οι απαρχές της ρωσικής γραμματείας και τα βυζαντινά της πρότυπα.
8. – Iōanna Tzipha, Το βυζαντινό υπόβαθρο της Νουθεσίας του Βλαδίμηρου Μονομάχου.

*Εκκλησία και δίκαιο*

9. – Èlias G. Euaggelou, Όλγα και Βλαδίμηρος. Οι πρώτοι άγιοι ηγεμόνες του Κιέβου και η καθιέρωση της αγιολογικής τους τιμής.
10. – Eirènè Kasapè, Η αντιμετώπιση των περιστατικών μαγείας στη Ρωσία του Κιέβου.
11. – Slawomir Godek, The Influence of Byzantine Law on Tutelage in *Russkaia Pravda* and the *First Lithuanian Statute*.

Matthew LEVERING et Marcus PLESTED (éd.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception of Aquinas*. – Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York 2021. 25 × 18 ; relié. xx-730 p. Prix : 125 £. ISBN 978-0-19-879802-6.

Ce volume collectif rassemble quarante-quatre contributions portant sur la réception catholique, protestante et orthodoxe de la pensée de Thomas d'Aquin jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. Comme l'indiquent les éditeurs dans leur introduction, une telle entreprise n'aurait pas été possible avant ces dernières années, car les études sur la diffusion de la théologie thomiste hors de la sphère catholique ne se sont développées que récemment. L'orthodoxie occupe une place significative dans cet ouvrage, non seulement pour l'époque de la première traduction des œuvres de Thomas d'Aquin par les frères Kydonès au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle – thème ici traité par I. Polémis –, mais aussi pour les siècles suivants, jusqu'à la théologie orthodoxe contemporaine. Alors que Thomas d'Aquin incarne l'archétype de la tradition scolastique occidentale, son influence sur l'orthodoxie grecque et russe, le rejet dont sa méthode a fait l'objet, mais aussi les emprunts, parfois tacites, à sa doctrine, sont ici présentés. Le livre est en outre doté d'un index qui permet des recherches thématiques. Voici les chapitres du volume qui pourront intéresser les byzantinistes :

1. – Ioannis Polemis, Thomas Aquinas' Reception in Fourteenth-Century Byzantium.
2. – Pantelis Golitsis, Fifteenth-Century Eastern Reception of Aquinas.
3. – Klaus-Peter Todt, Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Reception of Aquinas in the East.
4. – Vassa Kontouma, Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Greek Reception of Aquinas.
5. – Kirill Karpov, Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Russian Reception of Aquinas.
6. – Marcus Plested, Twentieth-Century Orthodox Reception of Aquinas.

Liliane LOPEZ-RABATEL, Virginie MATHÉ et Jean-Charles MORETTI (éd.), *Dire la ville en grec aux époques antique et byzantine. Actes du colloque de Créteil, 10-11 juin 2016* (Littérature & linguistique 1). – MOM Éditions, Paris 2020. 30 × 21. 348 p. Prix : 45 €. ISBN : 978-2-35668-064-8.

Actes d'un colloque international réuni à Créteil en 2016, ce livre, soigneusement édité, rassemble dix-huit contributions dédiées aux manières de dire la ville dans le monde grec, classique, hellénistique et romain principalement. Organisé dans la continuité d'un séminaire consacré aux paragraphes 6-50 du livre IX de l'*Onomasticon* du lexicographe Pollux de Naucratis (2<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère), sur les mots de la *polis*, le colloque explore les perceptions et les représentations mentales de la ville, construites dans et par les discours, qu'il s'agisse de textes littéraires (à commencer par les poèmes homériques), des œuvres des historiens, des géographes ou des rhéteurs, ou encore d'inscriptions. À travers l'examen des mots, y compris les noms des villes, par ailleurs inventoriés dans les lexiques qui clôturent le livre, sont analysées les relations des populations grecques avec leurs



cités et les cités étrangères, les perceptions des formes urbaines, les classifications des implantations urbaines et, dans une dernière partie, les discours propres à la période impériale. On peut certes regretter le nombre réduit d'études qui portent sur le monde byzantin, et ce en dépit des intentions et des efforts des organisateurs du colloque, mais, outre les articles de Catherine Saliou sur l'emploi du terme *kas-tron* dans l'Antiquité tardive (13), et de Brendan Oswald sur les villes de l'Épire au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle (14), l'ensemble du livre intéressera les byzantinistes, constamment appelés à contextualiser et interroger les mots grecs dont ils sont les lecteurs, par la richesse de son contenu.

*Des hommes et des villes*

1. – Cinzia Bearzot, L'amour de la cité (*to philopoli*) entre Thucydide et Pollux.
2. – Thierry Grandjean, Μικροπολῖται et μεγάλοπολις dans le *Banquet des Sophistes* d'Athénée.
3. – Stefania De Vido, Villes visibles dans les *Histoires* d'Hérodote.
4. – Flavia Frisone et Mario Lombardo, Dire les villes des « Autres ». Les établissements des peuples non grecs de l'Occident dans l'historiographie grecque, d'Hécatee à Thucydide.

*Composantes et composition de l'espace urbain*

5. – Stéphanie Maillot, *Synoikia* : remarques sur l'habitat locatif et collectif dans le monde égéen classique et hellénistique.
6. – Sylvie Rougier-Blanc, Des mots pour dire la maison dans la ville. Usages poétiques et représentations de l'habitat domestique.
7. – Cécile Durvy et Jean-Charles Moretti, Θεατροειδής. De la comparaison architecturale à la métaphore spectaculaire.
8. – Dominique-Marie Cabaret et Anca Dan, Jérusalem comme théâtre hasmonéen et hérodien.
9. – Gabrièle Larguinat-Turbatte, Nommer les lieux et se repérer dans la ville : exemples en Carie et en Ionie hellénistiques.

*Nommer et classer les villes*

10. – Valeria Tosti, Dire la πόλις κατὰ κόμας à Sparte. Simple classification ou description d'une réalité urbaine ?
11. – Franca Landucci, The vocabulary of the city in Macedonia from Archelaos to Kassandros.
12. – Julien Demaille, Dire en grec les évolutions juridiques, urbanistiques et culturelles des cités macédoniennes de Dion et de Philippes.
13. – Catherine Saliou, Entre lexicographie, histoire et géographie historique : κάστρον.
14. – Brendan Oswald, Les villes de l'Épire byzantine (xiii<sup>e</sup>-xv<sup>e</sup> siècle) à travers les sources écrites.

*Des villes dans un Empire*

15. – Éric Guerber, Les monuments symboles de l'identité urbaine et politique dans les *Discours aux villes* de Dion de Pruse.
16. – Matteo Di Franco, Dire l'*Urbs* et l'Empire en grec. La Ville, l'Empire et l'écoumène dans le discours *En l'honneur de Rome* d'Aelius Aristide.
17. – Jean-Luc Vix, L'espace urbain dans le discours encomiastique : l'exemple des discours smyrniotes d'Aelius Aristide.
18. – Olivier Gengler, Pausanias et la ville grecque : autour de la description de Panopée.

Angeliki LYMBEROPOULOU et Rembrandt DUITs (éd.), *Hell in the Byzantine World. A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean*. I, *Essays*. II, *A Catalogue of the Cretan Material*. – Cambridge University Press, Cambridge-New York 2020. 25,5 × 18 ; relié. XXXI-411, XXIV-(412)-919 p., 260 images, 7 cartes. Prix : 200 £. ISBN 978-1-108-47415-3 ; 978-1-108-47416-0.

Cet ouvrage monumental, qui a mobilisé une équipe d'historiens et d'historiens d'art durant quatre ans, recense les très nombreuses représentations de l'enfer dans les peintures murales des églises de Crète sous domination vénitienne. Un premier volume (édité par Angeliki Lymberopoulou) regroupe des études littéraires et historiques concernant la formation de la tradition sur le sort des pêcheurs dans l'autre monde à l'issue du Jugement dernier, le contexte ecclésiastique de la Crète sous domination vénitienne, les influences occidentales qu'implique cette domination, tant sur la mentalité des Crétois (par la prédication des ordres mendiants et la résistance du clergé orthodoxe) que sur les artistes. Des études sur la représentation de l'enfer dans les églises d'autres régions byzantines permettent d'élargir le contexte et de rechercher l'originalité des représentations crétoises. Le second volume (édité par Rembrandt Duit) analyse le matériel crétois, image par image. Chacune des images, datée et localisée, est accompagnée d'un commentaire qui présente la structure et l'état actuel de la peinture, le programme iconographique, la vision de l'enfer (partagé en divers lieux : Jugement dernier, fleuve de feu, châtiments individuels ou collectifs, etc.), les mensurations et la bibliographie.

I. *Essays*

A. *Crete*

1. – Dionysios Stathakopoulos, From Crete to Hell: The Textual Tradition on Punishments in the Afterlife and the Writings of Joseph Bryennios on Crete.
2. – Charalambos Gasparis, Venetian Crete: The Historical Context.
3. – Angeliki Lymberopoulou, Hell on Crete.
4. – Rembrandt Duit, Hell from West to East: Western Resonances in Cretan Wall Painting.

B. *Eastern Mediterranean*

5. – Rainer Warland, When the Visual Order Was Established: The Last Judgement and Punishments in Hell in Byzantine Cappadocia.
6. – Athanasios Semoglou, Damned in Hell, Damned in the Church: Imagery and Space in Byzantium.
7. – Sharon E. J. Gerstel et Panayotis Katsafados, Images of Hell and the Afterlife in the Churches of Lakonia.
8. – Annemarie Weyl Carr, Hell in the 'Sweet Land': Hell's Place in the Last Judgements of Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus.

II. *A Catalogue of the Cretan Material*

1. – Chania.
2. – Rethymnon.
3. – Herakleion.
4. – Lassithi.
5. – Chronological Arrangement of the Cretan Churches.

Élisabeth MALAMUT et Mohamed OUERFELLI (éd.), *De la guerre à la paix en Méditerranée médiévale. Acteurs, propagande, défense et diplomatie* (Le temps de l'histoire). – Presses Universitaires de Provence, Aix-en-Provence 2021. 24 × 16. 273 p. Prix : 26 €. ISBN : 979-10-320-0312-1.

Issu pour partie d'un séminaire de recherche de l'université d'Aix-en-Provence, tenu de 2012 à 2014 et consacré au thème Guerre et paix, cet ouvrage réunit onze contributions, rédigées en français, par des historiens et des archéologues spécialistes de l'histoire de la Méditerranée médiévale, notamment des cités marchandes de l'Italie, du monde byzantin, de l'Ifrīqiya ou du monde islamique en général. Il entend explorer les temps et les espaces qui séparent la guerre de la paix et inversement, dans l'ensemble de la Méditerranée, qu'elle soit latine, byzantine ou islamique. Dans quelle mesure la guerre ne se limite pas aux temps et aux protagonistes habituels des combats, c'est ce qui est examiné dans une première partie intitulée « Préparer et conduire la guerre ». Dans la deuxième, « Défendre le littoral », les espaces qui protègent du « domaine de la guerre », pour reprendre l'expression usuelle dans le monde islamique, font l'objet de plusieurs analyses, lesquelles dessinent, à différentes échelles, à la fois une géographie de la guerre et des échanges économiques qui doivent être préservés. La guerre y apparaît d'ailleurs comme protéiforme, du brigandage et de la piraterie aux campagnes militaires des puissances ennemies. Enfin, dans la troisième partie, « De la guerre à la négociation », les contributions analysent ce qui semble avoir été au fondement de cette réflexion collective, le temps de la négociation qui conduit de la guerre à la paix ou qui se contente d'aménager une situation de guerre quasi permanente. La diplomatie a-t-elle pour fonction de fonder la paix ou d'organiser la guerre ? Dans plusieurs des cas abordés, elle entend, de manière attendue, protéger les intérêts économiques ou financiers des différents protagonistes, en même temps qu'elle favorise les échanges culturels. Cet ouvrage collectif, soucieux de s'inscrire dans la continuité d'une abondante historiographie sur le thème de la guerre et de la paix au Moyen Âge, éclaire divers sujets qui intéresseront au premier chef les historiens de la guerre et des échanges en Méditerranée.

*Préparer et conduire la guerre*

1. – Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Comment préparer une croisade ? Renseignement, prédication et propagande avant la cinquième croisade.
2. – Farid Bouchiba, Le *ḡihād* à l'époque nasride selon la *Tuhfat al-anfus* d'Ibn Huḍayl (m. vers 812/1409).
3. – Georges Sidéris, Eunuques de guerre à Byzance. Les origines, du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle au règne de Justinien I<sup>er</sup>.

*Défendre le littoral*

4. – Salah Abidi, Le rôle des ribāts dans la protection des ports et des mouillages en Ifrīqiya au Moyen Âge.
5. – David Ollivier, La tour du Gapeau et la défense de la rade d'Hyères à la fin du Moyen Âge. L'exemple d'un partenariat « public-privé ».
6. – Véronique Rinalducci, La maison-tour de Giannoudi à Réthymnon (Crète). Une expression architecturale éclectique en contexte de guerre de conquête.

*De la guerre à la négociation*

7. – Bernard Doumerc, Du combat à la négociation, le doge face au sultan. Venise, fin du Moyen Âge.

8. – Nicolas Drocourt, La diplomatie byzantine (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Instrument pour la paix ou arme de guerre ?
9. – Mohamed Ouerfelli, Les premiers contacts diplomatiques entre l'Ifrīqiya et la commune de Pise au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.
10. – Alessandro Rizzo, L'ambassade florentine de 1422 et l'établissement des relations commerciales avec les Mamelouks. Les premiers documents.
11. – Élisabeth Malamut, Les cadeaux entre souverains byzantins et étrangers aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Sergei MARIEV (éd.), *Bessarion's Treasure. Editing, Translating and Interpreting Bessarion's Literary Heritage* (Byzantinisches Archiv. Series Philosophica 3). – De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021. 24,5 × 17,5 ; relié. 286 p. Prix : 92,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-060180-0.

Cet ouvrage constitue les actes d'un colloque du même nom, organisé à Venise les 4 et 5 avril 2014. Dans le sillage de l'édition du *De natura* (Bessarion. *Über Natur und Kunst, De Natura et Arte*, Hambourg 2015 ; voir *REB* 76, 2018, p. 415-416), la même équipe avait souhaité approfondir l'enquête en réunissant des contributeurs spécialistes de différents aspects de l'œuvre littéraire, philosophique et théologique de Bessarion, afin de pouvoir mieux appréhender la stature intellectuelle du métropolite de Nicée devenu cardinal de l'Église romaine. Plusieurs articles de ce volume sont issus d'un travail en cours sur des éditions critiques de textes de Bessarion ou de son principal adversaire dans la controverse sur Platon et Aristote, Georges de Trébizonde. John Monfasani prépare en effet l'édition critique de la *Comparatio philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis* de Georges de Trébizonde ; John Demetracopoulos et Panagiotis Athanasopoulos sont respectivement le directeur et l'un des membres du projet *Thomas de Aquino byzantinus*, dans le cadre duquel seront édités les textes de Bessarion liés à Thomas d'Aquin ; Fabio Pagani s'est chargé de l'édition de la traduction latine des *Lois* de Platon par Georges de Trébizonde ; Annick Peters-Custot prépare l'édition trilingue de la règle des monastères italo-grecs conçue par Bessarion ; enfin Sergei Mariev a entrepris l'édition critique de l'ensemble de l'*In Calumniatorem Platonis* de Bessarion. C'est dire si les contributions de cet ouvrage sont nourries d'un travail direct sur les manuscrits permettant de reconstituer au plus près les différentes étapes de rédaction des textes cités. Voici la table des matières du volume :

1. – John Monfasani, Cardinal Bessarion and the Latins.
2. – John A. Demetracopoulos, Cydones Redivivus: Bessarion Self-placed between Greeks and Latins, the Scholastic *Quaestio*, and the Hard Quest for Truth.
3. – Panagiotis Ch. Athanasopoulos, Ways of Reception of Thomas Graecus and Thomas Latinus in Bessarion's Writings.
4. – Fabio Pagani, Philology in/of a Byzantine Quarrel: Bessarion v. George of Trebizond.
5. – Eva Del Soldato, Bessarion as an Aristotelian, Bessarion among the Aristotelians.
6. – Annick Peters-Custot, Bessarion's Monastic Rule, the Modalities of its Redaction, and its Impact on the Italian-Greek "Basilian" Monasteries.
7. – Frederick Lauritzen, Bessarion before the Synod of Trebizond.

8. – Georgios Steiris, Michael Apostolis on Substance.
9. – Sergei Mariev, Bessarion against George of Trebizond on the Soul.

Jacques MEISSONNIER (éd.), avec la collaboration de Christine LAMARRE, Françoise PERROT, Alain RAUWEL et Hugues RICHARD, *De la Bourgogne à l'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur le Doyen Jean Richard*. – Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon, Dijon 2020. 24 × 15,5. 798 p., avec illustrations en noir et blanc et en couleur, plans, tableaux. Prix : 35 €. ISBN 978-2-9573638-0-3.

Ce volume de mélanges s'ouvre avec ce qui peut être considéré comme une première partie (les 160 premières pages), centrée sur le dédicataire lui-même et son parcours scientifique et institutionnel à travers une biographie et à la lumière d'une série de témoignages le concernant, auxquels vient s'ajouter la bibliographie de Jean Richard, réunie par Jacques Meissonnier et qui comporte 938 titres. Ensuite, commencent les 43 études offertes dans le cadre de ces mélanges et organisées selon trois thèmes chers à Jean Richard : « Pays bourguignons », « Orient et croisades » et « Clercs et commanditaires ».

*Pays bourguignons*

1. – Gérard Taverdet, Decize, un observatoire éduen ?
2. – Christian Sapin, Dispositions et construction monastique préromane et romane, la question des premiers cloîtres en Bourgogne.
3. – Jacques Meissonnier, Toponymie de Terre Sainte en Nivernais.
4. – Patrice Beck avec la collaboration de Corinne Beck, Carlos Castillo, Patrick Chopelain, Frank Faucher, Pascal Listrat et Jean-Louis Maigrot, « La laine de Bourgogne : production et commerce (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles) ». Une approche archéologique.
5. – Pierre Gresser, Les délits dans les forêts princières du comté de Bourgogne sous Philippe de Rouvres et Marguerite de France (1349-1382).
6. – Rudi Beuland, La grâce de Jehan Richart. Un exemple représentatif de la défense des privilèges de la commune de Dijon.
7. – Vincent Tabbagh, À propos de quelques conceptions religieuses exprimées par des testateurs dijonnais vers 1400.
8. – Jacky Theurot, Au temps de Philippe le Bon, la ville de Poligny, ses chantiers et ses hommes au regard des comptes de gabelles (1447-1465).
9. – Jean-Marie Cauchies, Échos bourguignons à Mons (Hainaut) au temps de Charles Quint : le bourgeois Antoine de Lusy et son journal.
10. – Christian Dugas de la Boissonny, Limites de coutume, de droit écrit et usages ruraux dans deux communautés du Clunysois.
11. – Hannelore Pepke, Les sept vies des archives de Drée.
12. – Christine Lamarre, De la Société libre des sciences, arts et agriculture de la Côte-d'Or à l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon.
13. – Catherine Gras, La générosité des collectionneurs dijonnais envers leur Musée.
14. – Hervé Mouillebouche, Le chanoine Léonce Raffin (1873-1970) : historien bourguignon et curé de la Madeleine.

*Orients et croisades*

15. – Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Les sceaux seigneuriaux de type monumental en Terre sainte, histoire et diffusion d'un modèle.
16. – Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Les effectifs du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (1112-1178).
17. – Émilie Maraszak, Mélisende, reine de Jérusalem et soutien de l'art croisé (1131-1161).
18. – Karam Rizk, Les Francs vus par Michel le Syrien d'après sa Chronique intitulée *Description des temps*.
19. – Benoît Chauvin, Un manuscrit inconnu de l'*Historia hierosolimitana* de Baudri de Bourgueil (vers 1170-1180 ?).
20. – Denys Pringle, La *Description de la Terre Sainte* de Belardo d'Ascoli (vers 1165-1187).
21. – Jean-Michel Mouton et Jacques Paviot, Un témoignage inédit sur la bataille de Ḥaṭṭīn (4 juillet 1187) et les relations entre Saladin et Renaud de Châtillon.
22. – Anthony Luttrell, Les origines diverses des ordres militaires syriens.
23. – Brendan Osswald, L'État épirote, acteur de la résistance contre la Quatrième croisade.
24. – Hans Eberhard Mayer, Les chambellans de Jérusalem de 1220 à 1269.
25. – Benjamin Z. Kedar, Le miracle du Feu sacré à Jérusalem : des origines à la suppression papale.
26. – Marie-Anna Chevalier, La « liberté » des ordres militaires, une vérité dans la Roumanie et la Morée franques au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ?
27. – Peter W. Edbury, Le *Cocharelli Codex*, une version génoise de l'Histoire chypriote (vers 1250-1320).
28. – Michel Balard, Les Levantins de Gênes : de l'Ancienne à la Nouvelle Mahone de Chio.
29. – Bruneilde Imhaus, Du Mont Carmel à l'île de Chypre. Les Carmes et l'icône de la Vierge à l'Enfant : une mise au point.
30. – Gérard Dédéyan, Les relations entre l'Église arménienne et l'Église romaine (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles) sous le regard de Jean Richard.
31. – Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, *Pro honore et utilitate Religionis et dicte insule* : les peurs des habitants de Nisyros devant les avancées ottomanes.

*Clercs et commanditaires*

32. – Matteo Campagnolo, Le christianisme de Constantin et son reflet monétaire à la lumière d'un passage de Zosime.
33. – Marielle Martiniani-Reber, La chasuble de saint Ebbon, un ornement liturgique entre Orient et Occident.
34. – Alain Rauwel, L'abbé Jarenton et les influences casadéennes sur le monachisme bourguignon.
35. – Édouard Bouyé, Les papes, leurs roues et leurs devises (XI<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles).
36. – Denyse Riche, De l'autorité abbatiale à Cluny.
37. – Robert Favreau, Le tragique épiscopat poitevin d'Adémar de Peyrat (1197-1198).
38. – André Vauchez, La papauté et l'importance des miracles dans l'appréciation de la sainteté dans la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.
39. – Jean-Daniel Morerod, Le pape et les cardinaux comme facilitateurs de crédit : une lettre négligée de saint Boniface de Lausanne (1239).
40. – Françoise Perrot, La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris : la première rose revisitée.

41. – Pierre Jugie, Jean, abbé de Notre-Dame de Cuissy, ordre de Prémontré, et évêque d'Elusa dans le patriarcat de Jérusalem, 1345-1346.
42. – Yves Beauvalot, Le premier projet du sculpteur dijonnais Étienne Masson (1654-1719) pour le monument funéraire des Gagne de Perrigny en 1681.
43. – Bertrand Marceau, Les archives de l'ordre de Cîteaux à l'époque moderne. Pour une enquête européenne systématique.

Franco MONTANARI (éd.), *History of Ancient Greek Scholarship, from the Beginnings to the End of the Byzantine Age*. – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2020. 23,5 × 15,5. 709 p. Prix : 75 €. ISBN : 978-90-04-42740-2.

Le présent ouvrage reprend une partie des contributions publiées en 2015 dans le *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (2 vol., plus de 1500 p.) ; elles en constituaient la première partie, historique, avant des études plus ponctuelles, par domaine. Les articles, d'après l'éditeur, ont été revus ; on ne note cependant pas de changement majeur, malgré quelques modifications dans la structuration du propos. Cette nouvelle publication rend plus aisément accessible, y compris en termes de prix, une histoire du savoir sur les textes dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge grec, jusqu'à la chute de Constantinople. On notera que le dernier millénaire n'est traité que par un seul article (contre trois pour la période précédente, depuis l'époque classique), qui occupe environ un tiers du volume.

1. – Anna Novokhatko, The Origins and Growth of Scholarship in Pre-Hellenistic Greece.
2. – Fausto Montana, Hellenistic Scholarship.
3. – Stephanos Matthaios, Greek Scholarship in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity.
4. – Filippomaria Pontani, Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529-1453).

Francisco MONTICINI, *Caduta e Recupero. La crisi di Età Paleologa tra Umanismo e Mistica* (Dossiers Byzantins 19). – Centre d'études byzantines néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, EHESS, Paris 2021. 24 × 17. 326 p. Prix : 65 €. ISBN 979-10-94824-05-5.

Le traité *Des Songes* (*Περὶ ἐνυπνίων*, plus connu sous son nom latin *De insomniis*) de Synésios de Cyrène a donné lieu, au début du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, à deux commentaires : celui, bien étudié, de Nicéphore Grégoras (édité par P. Pietrosanti en 1999), et une série de scholies plus brèves d'un auteur anonyme. Constatant la simultanéité de ces deux commentaires d'un texte à forte coloration néoplatonicienne, l'auteur a entrepris d'établir l'identité du scholiaste anonyme (un certain Eudaimonoïoannès) et d'éditer ses scholies ; cette édition est cependant repoussée en appendice (p. 233-296), la partie principale de l'ouvrage étant consacrée à une étude sur les raisons de l'intérêt porté, en ces années 20 du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, au traité de Synésios. Une première partie (p. 15-48) évoque les questions que posent Synésios et son traité sur les songes. Puis, recourant à l'image des pièces d'un puzzle, l'auteur brosse un panorama de la vie politique et intellectuelle entre le Concile de Lyon et la seconde guerre civile, en se focalisant sur Nicéphore Grégoras, et établit l'identité du scholiaste. La troisième partie est consacrée



à une analyse détaillée des scholies éditées en appendice. Une quatrième partie part de cette analyse pour exposer les problèmes d'une société prise entre la nostalgie de l'Antiquité (dont témoigne l'attrait du néoplatonisme) et le « repliement sur soi » (*ripiemento in se stessi*) que constitue l'hésychasme palamite. Puis l'on trouve en appendice l'édition critique des scholies. Une bibliographie clôt l'ouvrage.

Maria NYSTAZOPOULOU-PÉLÉKIDOU, *Γεωπολιτική και πολιτισμός στα μεσαιωνικά Βαλκάνια*. – Εκδόσεις Λειμών, Athènes 2021. 24 × 17. XIII-396 p. ISBN 978-618-5259-84-6.

Dans cet ouvrage, Maria Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou a réuni plusieurs études traitant de la géopolitique et de la civilisation des Balkans sur une vaste période allant du 6<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup>/16<sup>e</sup> siècle. Leurs sujets prennent place au long de quatre moments historiques : l'installation des Slaves dans la péninsule balkanique (6<sup>e</sup>-7<sup>e</sup> s.), la christianisation des Slaves et le développement d'un alphabet spécifique, les croisades et notamment la quatrième qui installe un pouvoir latin à Constantinople, et l'apparition des Ottomans en Europe de 1354 à la fin du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle. Précédés d'une courte introduction (p. 1-6) et suivis d'une postface (p. 305-312), ces huit articles (dont certains ont connu une publication antérieure, parfois dans une autre langue, et ont été mis à jour) illustrent la variété des centres d'intérêt de l'auteur. Pour le public non hellénophone, nous donnons ici la traduction de leurs titres :

1. – L'espace. L'espace géographique et son étendue historique.
2. – Le réseau routier de la péninsule des Balkans et sa contribution à l'évolution historique des peuples des Balkans.
3. – Les Slaves. Leur apparition et leur installation dans la péninsule des Balkans. Introduction à leur histoire précoce.
4. – L'ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques. Les Slaves : facteurs géopolitiques et préhistoire.
5. – L'influence du droit byzantin sur le droit des États balkaniques. Textes juridiques et législations.
6. – L'idéologie politiques des États balkaniques. L'influence de l'idéologie politique de Byzance.
7. – Littérature et éducation dans les États balkaniques. La contribution de l'éducation byzantino-hellénique.
8. – L'influence de l'art byzantin sur la peinture monumentale des Balkans. Conjoncture historique et politique étatique.

Alexander RIEHLE (éd.), *A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography* (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World 7). – Brill, Leyde-Boston 2020. 24,5 × 16 ; relié. XII-531 p., avec illustrations en noir et blanc et en couleur, diagrammes, tableaux. Prix : 238 €. ISBN 978-90-04-41369-6.

Ce volume, avec ses 17 études et son introduction, présente au lecteur un genre littéraire qui, bien que faisant l'objet d'un nombre d'études grandissant, reste néanmoins

d'accès relativement peu aisé et rend ce recueil une entreprise sans doute méritoire. Après une introduction pertinente et bien maîtrisée, le sujet est d'abord contextualisé par rapport à d'autres traditions épistolographiques et ensuite analysé sous différents angles, pour enfin être traité à l'aide de nouvelles méthodologies de recherche. Cet ouvrage est certainement une lecture nécessaire qui est aussi une invitation à mieux étudier et davantage valoriser l'épistolographie byzantine. Les études sont précédées par la liste des illustrations, des diagrammes et des tableaux, et par les biographies scientifiques des auteurs ; elles sont suivies par la bibliographie générale, l'index général et les index des termes grecs, des manuscrits et des papyrus. Alexander Riehle, *Byzantine Epistolography: a Historical and Historiographical Sketch*.

I. *Contexts for Byzantine Epistolography*

1. – Thomas Johann Bauer, *Letter Writing in Antiquity and Early Christianity*.
2. – Jack Tannous, *Syriac Epistolography*.
3. – Lena Wahlgren-Smith, *Letter Collections in the Latin West*.

II. *Byzantine Letter-Writers in Context*

4. – Floris Bernard, Michael Psellos.
5. – Florin Leonte, *The Letters of Demetrios Kydones*.

III. *Forms and Functions of Byzantine Epistolography*

6. – Sofia Kotzabassi, *Epistolography and Rhetoric*.
7. – Alexander Beihammer, *Epistolography and Diplomats*.
8. – Florin Leonte, *Didacticism in Byzantine Epistolography*.
9. – Divna Manolova, *Epistolography and Philosophy*.
10. – Emmanuel C. Bourbouhakis, *Epistolary Culture and Friendship*.
11. – Floris Bernard, *Epistolary Communication: Rituals and Codes*.
12. – Stratis Papaioannou, *The Epistolographic Self*.
13. – Niels Gaul, *The Letter in the Theatron: Epistolary Voice, Character, and Soul (and Their Audience)*.
14. – Cecily J. Hilsdale, *Letters and Letter Exchange in Byzantine Art*.
15. – Carolina Cupane, *Letters in Narrative Literature*.

IV. *Byzantine Epistolography and (Post-)Modern Theory*

16. – Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Letters and Network Analysis*.
17. – Alexander Riehle, *Letters and New Philology*.

Christos STAVRAKOS (éd.), *Epirus Revisited. New Perceptions of its History and Material Culture* (Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 16). – Brepols, Turnhout 2020. 23,5 × 15,5. 246 p., avec illustrations en noir et blanc, plans, carte, graphiques. Prix : 65 €. ISBN 978-2-503-59261-9.

Ce volume réunit les communications présentées lors de la session thématique « Epirus revisited – New Perceptions of its History and Material Culture » qui s'est déroulée pendant le 23<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines de Belgrade, en août 2016, auxquelles viennent s'ajouter deux autres, présentées au cours de deux colloques différents en 2019. Les études s'étalent sur une période allant de l'Antiquité tardive au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle et leurs titres sont suffisamment explicites quant à leur

contenu. Les articles sont précédés par une liste des abréviations bibliographiques et suivis par un *Index Nominum*.

1. – Brendan Osswald, The State of Epirus as Political Laboratory.
2. – Christos Stavrakos, The Albanian Family of Spata in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Epirus: The Epigraphic Evidence.
3. – Katerina Chamilaki, The Excavation of a Late Antique Building Complex at Drymos, Aetoloakarnania.
4. – Ioannis P. Chouliaras, Excavation of an Early Byzantine Basilica in Drymos of Vonitsa (Akarnania). The Halls « A » and « D ».
5. – Björn Forsén et Brikena Shkodra-Rrugia, The Early Christian Landscape of Dyrrachium: The First Miles Along the Via Egnatia.
6. – Galina Fingarova, The Church of Saint Mary in Apollonia: An Expression of Byzantine Imperial Claims.
7. – Lorenzo Riccardi, Uniform, Incomplete and Partly Lost. On the Mosaic and Sculptural Decoration of the Paregoretissa Church in Arta.
8. – Katerina Kontopanagou, The Christian Monuments of Epirus in 17th and 18th Century: Creating the Artistic, Social and Economic Profile.
9. – Efstratia Sygkellou, Seeking Byzantium: A Tour around the Ambracian Gulf through the Eyes of the European Travelers (17th-19th Century).
10. – Demetrios S. Georgakopoulos, The *Despots* of Ioannina and Albanians According to the Author of the *Chronicle of Ioannina* (1367-1399).

Vassiliki VLYSSIDOU (éd.), *Byzantine Authors and their Times* (Research Series 8). – National Hellenic Research Foundation, Section of Byzantine Research, Athènes 2021. 28 × 21. 467 p. Prix : 40 €. ISBN 978-960-7905-65-9.

Le présent volume rassemble une vingtaine de contributions qui portent sur des auteurs byzantins allant du 5<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, en mettant l'accent sur leur production littéraire dans une perspective idéologique et sociale. Aussi s'inscrit-il dans le sillage de bon nombre de travaux récents, dûment cités dans l'introduction rédigée par l'éditrice du volume Vassiliki Vlyssidou, qui privilégie une approche littéraire des textes byzantins : ces derniers ne doivent pas être réduits à une lecture exclusivement historique. Il est également question de la construction de la figure auctoriale et des stratégies narratives déployées par les auteurs, un sujet qui a récemment suscité l'intérêt des byzantinistes (voir ci-dessus, p. 358-360, le compte-rendu de Nilsson, *Writer and Occasion* [...], 2021). En effet, l'auteur byzantin n'agit pas en vase clos, mais interagit avec la société de son temps (sur ce point, voir *REB* 79, 2021, p. 333-335, à propos d'Alwis, *Narrating Martyrdom* [...], 2020) et appartient souvent à une élite, en fonctionnant comme membre d'un réseau politique et social très soudé. La production littéraire byzantine ne doit pas être dissociée du cadre social et idéologique dans lequel ces auteurs agissent. Il est ainsi question du regard qu'ils portent sur le passé lointain, mais aussi de leur façon de présenter leurs expériences personnelles. Sont privilégiées les comparaisons soit entre des textes de la même période, soit entre des écrits de la plume du même auteur, ce qui met en évidence la pluralité des regards qu'il est possible de porter

sur la littérature byzantine. Il n'a pas en effet, selon l'éditrice, l'ambition de fournir une enquête globale et exhaustive sur les auteurs byzantins et leur temps, mais plutôt celle de relever la richesse de cette production littéraire et de donner l'impulsion à de nouvelles recherches.

Le lecteur aura plaisir à découvrir ce beau volume, édité avec soin, où défilent plus d'une vingtaine d'auteurs byzantins, dont les écrits sont replacés dans leur contexte social, politique et idéologique, en privilégiant une approche littéraire. À la polyphonie des auteurs byzantins s'ajoute un riche éventail de genres littéraires représentés, allant de l'historiographie jusqu'à l'hagiographie. De par son originalité et ses analyses menées avec finesse, le présent travail se recommande sans réserve.

1. – Helen Saradi, Zosimos: Reflections on the Decline of the Roman Empire.
2. – Tèlémachos K. Louggès, Ο Καισαρεύς Προκόπιος και η κοινωνία της εποχής του.
3. – Ioannis Theodorakopoulos, The Religion of John Lydos: Antiquarianism and Religious Identity in the Sixth-Century Byzantine Intelligentsia.
4. – Panagiotès Giannopoulos, Νικηφόρος πατριάρχης, Γεώργιος Σύγκελλος, Θεοφάνης Ομολογητής: οι κύριοι ιστορικοί της πρώτης εικονομαχίας.
5. – Nike Koutrakou, From *Homologia* to *Antilogia*: Resistance and Propaganda by Byzantine Hagiographers of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.
6. – Vlada Stanković, Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople (858-867; 877-886) as an Author.
7. – Vassiliki N. Vlyssidou, Génésios : l'historien insubordonné de la cour de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète.
8. – Dimitris Krallis, Time, Space, and Physical Reality: Byzantine Authors and the Materiality of the Roman Imagined Community.
9. – Floris Bernard, The Poems "To Oneself" of John Mauropous: Traditions and Self-representative strategies.
10. – Darko Todorović, Theophylact of Ohrid between the Doukai and the Komnenoi.
11. – Leonora Neville, Enemies of Empire in the *Muses*, Nikephoros Bryennios' *Material for History*, and Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*.
12. – Alicia Simpson, The Imperial Feminine in Niketas Choniates' *History*.
13. – Charis Messis, Ο Θεόδωρος Βαλσαμών και η παρουσία του στο λογοτεχνικό περιβάλλον του δεύτερου μισού του 12ου αιώνα.
14. – Lev Kukhovitskiy et Varvara Zharkaya, The Authorial Self of an Hagiographer through the Lens of his Letters: The Case of Constantine Akropolites.
15. – Aikaterinè Mètsiou, Ο Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης και η αυτοκρατορική εξουσία του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου.
16. – Éléonora Kountoura Galakè, Ο Μανουήλ Ολόβωλος και η Λατίωνων φωνή: διανόηση και πολιτική.
17. – Iōannis Polémis, Η τυπολογία στα έργα του Θεοδώρου Μετοχίτη: εφήμερη πραγματικότητα και επουράνια σταθερότητα στο Ποίημα 19.
18. – Anna Sklabénitè, Η εικόνα του ανώτερου κλήρου μέσα από τη Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά.
19. – Dionysios Stathakopoulos, John VI Kantakouzenos and Money: A Reading.
20. – Günter Prinzing, On the Poem by the Hieromonk and Exarch Matthew About the City of Theodoro (Crimea).

## OUVRAGES REÇUS

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## RÉSUMÉS D'AUTEURS

REB 80, 2022, p. 5-68.

Francesca SAMORÌ, *I codici autografi del diacono Giorgio Metochites e la tradizione manoscritta delle sue opere*. – Nonostante il ruolo importante che ebbe durante l'unione di Lione del 1274, il diacono del clero imperiale Giorgio Metochites (ca 1250-1328) risulta ancora oggi poco noto e studiato come personaggio storico e autore. Il presente articolo si propone anzitutto di indagare la tradizione manoscritta delle sue opere, affidata a quattro codici autografi e a sei apografi, mettendola in relazione con le vicende biografiche dell'autore. Dell'*Historia dogmatica* sono conservati tre autografi (Vat. gr. 1583, Laur. plut. 7.31 e Marc. gr. II, 8), mentre i tre scritti minori (*De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *In Maximum Planudem*, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*) sono custoditi in copia autografa nel Vat. gr. 1716. La ricostruzione dei *milieux* culturali e sociali in cui questi manoscritti vennero prodotti, conservati e tramandati si riallaccia a personaggi chiave nella storia dei rapporti fra le due Chiese, come il domenicano Filippo Incontri di Pera, il cardinale Bessarione e l'erudito seicentesco Leone Allacci.

In spite of the role that he played during the so-called Union of Lyon of 1274, the deacon of the imperial clergy George Metochites (ca. 1250-1328) has been very little studied both as an historical figure and an author. This paper offers a detailed survey of the manuscript tradition of his works, which consists in four autograph manuscripts and six later copies. Three autographs of the *Historia dogmatica* are preserved (Vat. gr. 1583, Laur. plut. 7.31 and Marc. gr. II, 8), whereas the remaining autograph, Vat. gr. 1716, contains Metochites' minor works (*De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *In Maximum Planudem*, *In Manuelem Moschopulum*). The manuscript tradition of the works of George Metochites is related to some of the most important figures in the history of the relations between the Byzantine and the Roman churches, i.e. the Dominican friar Filippo Incontri of Pera, cardinal Bessarion, and the 17<sup>th</sup>-century scholar Leone Allacci.

REB 80, 2022, p. 69-111.

Kostis SMYRLIS, *Contextualizing Theodore Metochites and his refoundation of the Chora*. – This paper proposes a re-examination of the career of Theodore Metochites and of his foundation, the monastery of the Chora, based on known material as well as hitherto unused sources, namely a letter collection that is here ascribed to him and some monastic documents. One of these documents allows us to redate the

completion of the Chora and Metochites's promotion to *megas logothetes* to before 1317, events until now dated to 1321 on the basis of Nikephoros Gregoras's *History*. The paper studies Metochites as an official and a magnate, arguing that he was a loyal and overall efficient administrator and stressing the role of entrepreneurship in his enrichment. Monastic refoundations, including the Chora, were a key element of the imperial project to revive Constantinople. It is suggested that this task was delegated by the emperor to his high dignitaries who had to act as civic benefactors. Although Metochites was obliged to participate in this project because of his rank, the Chora gave him also the opportunity to reach the top of the hierarchy.

L'article propose un réexamen de la carrière de Théodore Métochitès et de l'histoire de sa fondation, le monastère de Chôra, en se fondant sur des textes connus ainsi que sur des sources inexploitées, à savoir une collection de lettres qui lui est ici attribuée et certains documents monastiques. Un de ces documents nous permet de dater l'achèvement de Chôra et la promotion de Métochitès à la dignité de grand logothète d'avant 1317, événements qui étaient jusqu'ici datés de 1321 selon le témoignage de l'*Histoire* de Nicéphore Grégoras. L'article étudie le statut officiel et la fortune de Métochitès, et suggère qu'il était un administrateur loyal et plutôt habile, tout en soulignant ce que sa richesse devait à ses activités d'homme d'affaires. La refondation de monastères, comme celle de Chôra, était un élément essentiel du projet impérial visant à revivifier Constantinople. On peut faire l'hypothèse que cette tâche ait été confiée par l'empereur à ses hauts dignitaires, qui devaient agir comme des bienfaiteurs de la ville. Bien que Métochitès ait été, du fait de son rang, obligé de participer à ce projet, Chôra a aussi constitué pour lui une opportunité pour arriver au sommet de la hiérarchie.

REB 80, 2022, p. 113-127.

Andreas GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS and Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *The office of the Byzantine Kensor/Κένσωρ and its representatives*. – The paper examines the Byzantine institution of *kensor* and the persons appointed to this position. The office first appears in the *Escorial Taktikon* (971-973) and is mentioned mostly in 11<sup>th</sup>-century seals and written sources, from which it cannot be deduced that it was a judicial officer, as has been argued by certain scholars, but only that several *kensores* had legal training. The seal of the *protokensor* Nikolaos Chrysoberges and the mention of a “tagma” of *kensores* on the seal of Ioannes Pentailas, in combination with the etymology of the term, lead us to the proposition that it had something to do with the keeping, revising and checking of tax lists. Finally, for the first time, a complete list of *kensores* is presented in alphabetical order, after a systematic review and critical (re)examination of the sigillographic material.

L'article examine la fonction byzantine du *kensôr* et les personnes qui l'ont occupée. Cette charge apparaît d'abord dans le *Taktikon de l'Escorial* (971-973) et est pour l'essentiel mentionnée dans des sceaux et des sources écrites du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle ; on ne peut en déduire que le *kensôr* était un officier de justice, comme ont cherché à le montrer certains savants, mais seulement que plusieurs *kensôres* ont eu une formation juridique. Le sceau du *prôtokensôr* Nikolaos Chrysobergès et l'attestation d'un *tagma* des *kensôres* sur le sceau de Iôannès Pentailas, mis en relation avec l'étymologie du mot, nous conduisent à proposer l'hypothèse que la fonction ait pu avoir un lien avec la tenue, la révision et la vérification des listes fiscales. Enfin, pour la première fois, nous présentons une liste complète, dans l'ordre alphabétique,



des personnes qui ont occupé la fonction de *kensôr*, après révision systématique et réexamen critique du matériel sigillographique.

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 129-179.

Efi RAGIA, *The social position of the soldiers and the "military lands": an interpretation (6th-10th centuries)*. – The social position of the soldiers in Byzantium, as it appears in the sources, particularly in the 10th century, depended primarily on the ownership of land plots that have been characterized as "military lands". Our information, which comes mainly from the legislation of the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, is contradictory in itself, while other evidence indicates that soldiers were, most of the times, "poor". The present study attempts to interpret this "poverty" through the origins of the "military lands", the significance of service as a social condition, and the legislation from the 6th to the 10th centuries.

La position sociale des soldats à Byzance, telle qu'elle apparaît dans les sources, en particulier au 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, dépend principalement de la possession de terres qui ont été décrites comme des « terres militaires ». Nos informations, qui proviennent pour l'essentiel de la législation des empereurs de la dynastie macédonienne, sont en elles-mêmes contradictoires, tandis que d'autres sources indiquent que les soldats étaient, la plupart du temps, « pauvres ». Cette étude tente d'interpréter cette « pauvreté » et cherche les réponses dans l'origine des « terres militaires », le sens du service comme condition sociale et la législation des 6<sup>e</sup>-10<sup>e</sup> siècles.

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 181-227.

Syssel G. ENGBERG, *Political use of the Old Testament in Byzantium: Encaenia, dedication of a church*. – This paper attempts to interpret the relationship between historical events and liturgical development in Constantinople, with a focus on the Byzantine Old Testament lectionary (*prophetologion*) and the feast of the dedication of a church, or *encaenia*, meaning the initial consecration or the re-dedication of a church, but also the annual commemoration of either of the two. An examination of the Old Testament texts read at this particular festival, and of their symbolic meaning, may tell us something about the political importance of the construction, or restoration, of churches by the emperor and his use of the *encaenia* to consolidate his position. The analysis comprises all three *encaenia* feasts present in the repertoire of the *prophetologion*: that of the Hagia Sophia, the church of the Saviour above the Chalke Gate, and the Anastasis church in Jerusalem.

Cette étude tente d'interpréter les relations entre événements historiques et développements liturgiques à Constantinople, en se concentrant sur le lectionnaire byzantin de l'Ancien Testament (*prophetologion*) et sur la fête de la dédicace d'une église, ou *encaenia*, c'est-à-dire la consécration initiale ou la nouvelle dédicace d'une église, mais aussi la commémoration annuelle de l'une ou de l'autre. L'étude des textes de l'Ancien Testament lus lors de cette fête et de leur sens symbolique peut nous éclairer sur l'importance politique de la construction ou de la restauration d'églises par l'empereur et sur l'usage que ce dernier fait des *encaenia* pour consolider sa position. L'analyse comprend les trois fêtes d'*encaenia* qui sont présentes dans le répertoire du *prophetologion* : celles de Sainte-Sophie, de l'église du Christ-de-la-Chalké et de l'église de l'Anastasis à Jérusalem.

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 229-255.

Fabio ACERBI et Bernard VITRAC, *Les mathématiques de Michel d'Éphèse*. – L'article présente et discute deux liens entre le commentateur byzantin Michel d'Éphèse et les mathématiques : le fait qu'il ait possédé un manuscrit des *Éléments* d'Euclide qui faisait autorité, et des indices de lecture de l'*Introduction arithmétique* de Nicomaque.

Two pieces of evidence are presented and discussed that connect the Byzantine commentator Michael of Ephesus with mathematics: the fact that he owned a reference manuscript of Euclid's *Elements*, and traces of his reading of Nicomachus' *Introductio arithmetica*.

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 257-308.

Daniel DURAN DUELT, «*Sobre la demanda que vos e vuestras hermanas havedes en el emperio de Grecia*». *Mujeres, poder y diplomacia en el Mediterráneo medieval: una mensajería de Fernando IV de Castilla a Bizancio en favor de Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia*. – Este artículo presenta cuatro cartas informando de una mandadería desconocida enviada por Fernando IV de Castilla a Andrónico II Palaeólogo en 1312. El objetivo principal de esta misión era reclamar ciertos derechos pertenecientes a Vataza Láscaris Ventimiglia y sus hermanas. Para contextualizarla, el artículo repasa la trayectoria de las mujeres de la familia Láscaris en la Corona de Aragón, Castilla y Portugal. Se centra principalmente en su papel en el complejo tablero político y diplomático ibérico de finales del siglo XIII y principios del XIV. Las capacidades personales de esas mujeres y el prestigio social de sus orígenes bizantinos les permitieron tejer una extensa red de relaciones políticas y económicas. Esos vínculos explican la organización de una embajada al servicio de sus intereses particulares.

This article presents four letters informing us of a previously unknown "mandadería" sent by Ferdinand IV of Castile to Andronicus II Palaeologus in 1312. The main objective of this diplomatic mission was to claim some property rights belonging to Vataza Laskaris Ventimiglia and her sisters. The article reviews the life of these women of the Laskaris family in the Crown of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal, and focuses mainly on their role on the complex stage of Iberian politics and diplomacy of the late 13th and early 14th centuries. The personal capacities of these women and the social prestige of their Byzantine origins allowed them to build an extensive network of political and economic relationships. These connections explain the despatch of a royal embassy solely to serve the interests of these women.

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 309-314.

Werner SEIBT und Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Sarmekia – ein neues byzantinisches Thema?*. – Im 11. Jahrhundert wurden insbesondere in den neu erworbenen Gebieten auch einige neue byzantinische Themen – unter dem Kommando eines Strategen, der wiederum dem jeweiligen *Dux* bzw. *Katepano* unterstand – errichtet. Mehrere sind primär durch Siegel bezeugt. Aus der Zeit 1040/1060 stammt ein neu bekannt gewordenes Siegel eines στρατηγός τῆς Σαρμεκίας mit

dem für damalige Zeit niedrigen Rangtitel *σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος*. Dieser Offizier war höchstwahrscheinlich ausländischer Herkunft – vom Vor- und Beinamen sind allerdings nur einige unsichere Lettern erhalten. Die Autoren schlagen eine Lokalisierung von Sarmekia an der Ostgrenze von Vaspurakan vor, da dort – nahe der Stadt Salmās (heute im NW Iran) – das Toponym Saramerik (und ähnlich) bezeugt ist.

During the eleventh century, some new Byzantine *themata* were established, especially in newly conquered territories, and placed under the command of a *strategos* (who was a subordinate of the *doux* or *katepano*). Quite often seals are the only documentation for them. For the period between 1040 and 1060, a new seal in the collection of Wassiliou-Seibt mentions a *στρατηγὸς τῆς Σαρμεκίας* with the title *σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος*. This officer was apparently of a foreign origin, even if his first name and surname are not clearly readable. The authors propose to locate this Sarmekia on the eastern border of Vaspourakan, because of the toponym Saramerik (and similar forms) attested not far from the town of Salmās (in north-western Iran).

*REB* 80, 2022, p. 315-331.

Alessio SOPRACASA, *La sigillographie byzantine à l'épreuve du numérique : SigiDoc 1.0*. – Cet article se propose de présenter un outil d'édition scientifique numérique de sceaux byzantins appelé SigiDoc : ce standard d'encodage, qui utilise le langage XML et est directement issu de l'expérience d'EpiDoc (consacré notamment aux inscriptions et aux papyrus), a été récemment publié dans sa première version stable, 1.0, par une équipe franco-allemande de chercheurs. SigiDoc a été conçu pour permettre à la sigillographie byzantine d'exprimer un potentiel encore insuffisamment exploité à travers un système de balisage sémantique qui ne requiert pas une longue formation et qui peut être librement utilisé de manière indépendante par tous. Quelques exemples sont donnés du traitement par SigiDoc de certaines informations pour les rendre disponibles pour différents usages (recherche, indexation, partage, etc.), tout en soulignant la continuité et les changements à l'égard du travail traditionnel du sigillographe. Grâce à des projets de recherche qui viennent d'être lancés ou qui le seront bientôt, l'équipe de SigiDoc s'est également donné les moyens nécessaires pour poser les fondations d'une sigillographie numérique.

This article introduces a tool for the digital scholarly editing of Byzantine seals called SigiDoc: this encoding standard, which uses the XML language and is directly based on the experience of EpiDoc (dedicated in particular to inscriptions and papyri), has recently been released in its first stable version, 1.0, by a Franco-German research team. SigiDoc was designed to allow Byzantine sigillography to express its still insufficiently exploited potential through a semantic markup system that does not require extensive training and that can be freely and independently used by anyone. Some examples are given of how SigiDoc processes selected information to make it available for different uses (searching, indexing, sharing, etc.), while highlighting the continuity and changes with the traditional work of the sigillographer. Thanks to research projects that have just been launched or will soon be launched, the SigiDoc team has also given itself the necessary resources to lay the foundations of a digital sigillography.